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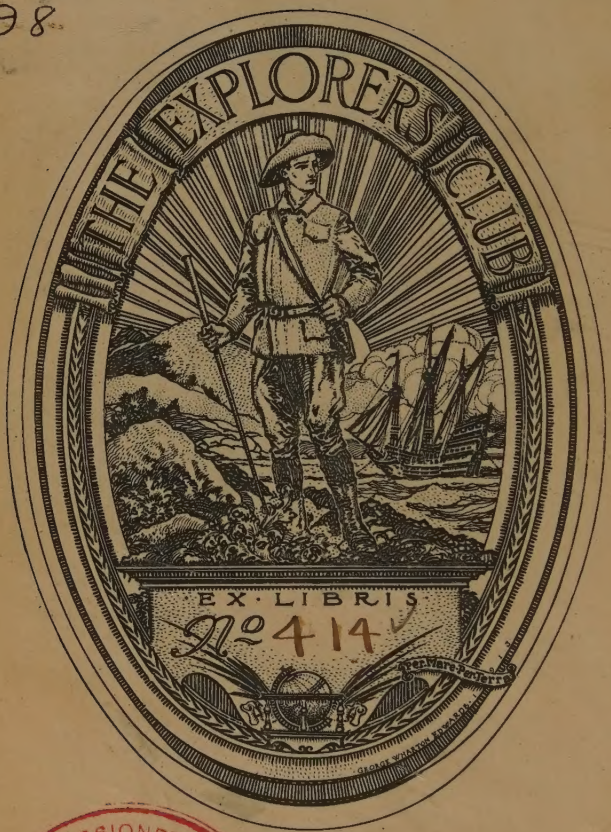

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PRESENTED BY

James B. Ford

Hakluytus Posthumus
or
Purchas His Pilgrimes

In Twenty Volumes

Volume XVI

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MCMVI

EXPLORERS
JAMES B. FORD
CLUB

Hakluytus Posthumus

or

Purchas His Pilgrimes

Contayning a History of the World
in Sea Voyages and Lande Travells
by Englishmen and others

By

SAMUEL PURCHAS, B.D.

VOLUME XVI

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THE SIXTEENTH VOLUME

OF

Purchas His Pilgrimes

Contayning English Voyages to the East, West, and South parts of America: many Sea and Land Fights: Plantations in Guiana, and many strange adventures of Englishmen amongst the Americans

To the Most Reverend
Father in God,
GEORGE,
Lord Archb. of Canterburie His Grace,
Primate of all England and Metropolitan,
One of His Majesties most Honorable
Privie Councell,
His very good Lord.

HAving brought unto your Grace the Sheafe of my first Fruits to bee waved before the Lord, I am bold now also to offer (not after 7. but above 77. weekes) these wave loaves for my harvest, that both may bee hallowed by the same Priestly hand: in which respect your Graces Name which first honored my Pilgrimage, hath the last place in these Pilgrime-Volumes, that my All might be blessed by your gracious embracing (the Alpha and Omega of my Dedications) and might bee by your Fatherly benediction commended to vulgar use. The sutablenesse of the former worke to your Graces Place and recreations, caused the former presumption: but now the Author, by frequent Dedications knowne and graciously acknowledged Yours (how unprofitable a servant soever) is guiltie not of single boldnesse; beautifying the Frontispice with His Highnesse Name unto your Graces

entertainment (especially in this time so many wayes Festivall) that your Graces Name and entertainment might so much more Entitle and Endeare the same to His Highnesse. The authorising of Books in justest order belongeth to your Grace, as doth the Author also: whose mistie conceits of ignorance, or smokie vapours of ambition, suffering the exhaling rayes of Princely heat and Highnesse, hope in the Middle Region of your Gracious and vertuous moderation to be so mildly attempered, that they shall neither fall short in vanishing dewes, nor be rejected after a short blaze as falling Starres, nor transcend into combustious Comets, nor fall downe in furious Stormes, but gently descend as fresh and fruitfull Showers on the thirstie Candid Readers. Pardon farre-fetched similitudes to a Historie of farre-fetched rarities, and the Elements of the world borrowed to patronise our world of literate Elements, not being (as the commendable labours of Others) a Booke of Voyages and Travels in the world, but the World historised in a world of Voyages and Travels. Wherein our Ship hath beene longer in her Circum-Navigation then any of the World-Compassers here related; often in danger to be overset, whiles the Authors impotent and impatient Genius filled all her sailes to the Top and Top-gallant beyond the proportion of her balast; whereby some leakes of unwitting errors, happening in so new a course thorow so various Seas, implore your Graces indulgence to the Ship and Pilot, Sir Francis Drake a Ministers sonne, after a happy invironing of the Globe, feasted Queene Elisabeth aboord his Argo, and then laid her up at Deptford, devoting her Carkasse to Time, Her (or rather his) exploits to Fame and Eternitie. An English Minister, beginneth and endeth his more then Circling Navigation with the glorious Name of His Majestie, in poore, but his best entertainment, and returning thus manned and freighted, humbly sueth to bee laid up in the Liberties and Libraries of Saint James, Yorke-house, Westminster,

and Lambith, Here also the Pilot further petitioneth, that his Body being more leakie then his Ship, your Grace (to whom principally the promise was made) will accept this Part of payment in satisfaction of the whole debt of his Europæan Peregrination and Christian Visitations. But a long Epistle were injurie to your Graces more necessarie imployments for the Church and State: My selfe am the Epistle, this Worke the Seale, this Epistle but the Superscription, these Pilgrimes all humble Sutors for your Gracious favour to the worst of

Your Graces

Chap.

Samuel Purchas.

Chap. I.

A briefe Relation of the severall Voyages, undertaken and performed by the Right Honorable, George, Earle of Cumberland, in his owne person, or at his owne charge, and by his direction: collected out of the Relations and Journals of credible persons Actors therein.

THe first Voyage of this Right Honorable Earle was intended to the South Sea: and begun from Gravesend, June 26. 1586. with three Ships and a Pinnace; the Red Dragon Admirall, of 260. Tunnes, with 130. men, commanded by Captaine Robert Widrington: the Barke Clifford Vice-admirall, of 130. Tunnes, with 70. men, commanded by Captaine Christopher Lister (he had beene taken prisoner in Barbarie at the battell of Alcassar, in which King Sebastian was slaine) the Roe Rere-admirall, commanded by Captaine Hawes: the Dorothee, a small Pinnace of Sir Walter Raleighs (This voyage being published at large in Master Hakluyts printed voyages, I will here but briefly runne over) Septemb. 7. they fell with the Coast of Barbarie, haling in with the Road of Santa Cruce: after that they anchored in Rio del Oro, and searched up the River, finding it fourteene or fifteene leagues upward as broad as at the mouth, some two leagues over. The last of September they resolved for Sierra Leona, from whence they departed the seventh of November. The fourth of

First voyage 1586.

The Spanish King had imbargued all English ships in his Ports of Spaine and Portugall 1585. whence warres were not only expected at home, but every where honorably sought and happily prevented. See Hak. tom. 3.

Sierra Leona.

Januarie they fell with the American shoare in 30. degrees and 40. minutes South latitude, the weather temperate. Jan. 10. they tooke (a little short of the River of Plate) a small Portugall ship, and in her Abraham Cock of Leigh neere London, married in that Country, who was brought home by the Admirall. They learned that in that River were five Townes each of seventie housholds or more. Buenos Aeres, fiftie leagues up the River, the rest fortie or fiftie above each other; Tuccaman the uppermost 230. leagues from the entrance: In which was store of Corne, Cattell, Fruits, but neither Silver nor Gold. In this Barke were five and fortie Negroes. The next day they tooke another, in which were five and thirtie Negro women, foure or five Friars, one an Irishman. Their Bookes, Beades, and Pictures, cost above 1000. Duckets. The Bishop of Tuccaman had sent for them to take possession of a Monasterie. They learned of Master John Drake who went in consort with Captaine Fenton, cast away neere the River of Plate, his companie taken or slaine by the Salvages: of which John Drake and Richard Fairweather escaped with two or three others in a Canoa to the Spaniards and lived in those parts. Here also they tooke Miles Philips left in the Countrey by Sir John Hawkins.

Abraham Cock. Andrew Battell was one of his companie. See of this voyage, Tom. 1. l. 7. c. 3.

John Drake. Fenton and Wards expedition. See Hak. l. 3. I had it also written. [IV. vi. 1142.]

After counsell taken they fell Aprill 3. with the Land of Brasil in 16. degrees and a Terse, and watered in the Road of Camana. They proceeded and anchored before the Towne of Baya, and found in the Harbour eight Ships and one Carvell. The next day they forced the Portugals to abandon foure of the best of those ships, and towed them forth in despight of infinite store of great and small shot from the shoare and ships: one Hulke having in her foure and twentie pieces of Ordnance. The least of these prizes was 130. Tunnes. After this they haled the Hulke and commanded the Master to follow them, which he did, together with a Carvell with fiftie Butts of wine. They fetched reliefe from the shoare also in despite of innumerable Indians and all the enemies

Baya.

Bold courage.

forces. May 24. they tooke a ship of 120. Tunnes laden with Meale and Sugar. But the voyage to the South Sea was defeated by some mens desire to returne, in which Captaine Delamour tooke a small Pinnace. The Flemmish Hulke taken into the Fleet in stead of the George cast off, furnished with her men, suddenly tooke fire and perished, Ship, Men, and Goods. Septemb. 29. the residue reached the Coast of England after an unprofitable and unfortunate voyage.

Hulks disaster.

IN the yeare 1587. when the Towne of Slewse was beseeged by the Duke of Parma, Sir Roger Williams being Governour there, the Earle put himselfe in person to make proofe of his valour in that service, but at his arrivall found the Towne surrendred unto the Duke, the said Sir Roger being not able to hold out longer. Anno 1588. amongst many of the Nobility which distributed themselves into divers of her Majesties Shippes upon the approach of the Spanish Armada, the Earle put himselfe aboord the Bonadventure commanded by Captaine George Raymond; when they wanne that honour that no Sea can drowne, no age can weare out. The Queene so accepted this Noble Earles resolution, that she gave him leave the same yeare to goe as Generall, and for his greater honour and ability was pleased to lend him the Golden Lion, one of the Shippes Royall, to be the Admirall; which he victualled and furnished at his owne charge and adventure, having Commission to pursue his intended voyage towards the Spanish coasts, under the broad Seale of England, bearing date the fourth of October, 1588. Attended with many brave Gentlemen he set forth about the end of October, and in the Narrow Seas met with a Shippe of Dunkerke called the Hare, laden with Merchandise for Spaine, which after some fight he tooke and sent home. But contrary windes first suspended, and after that a storme (which forced them to cut the maine Maste overboord) deprived him of further hopes and ability to prosecute his true designes.

The Earle in Sluce, 88. service.

Second voyage 1588.

Hare taken.

A.D. 1589. *Third voyage* 1589.

HIS spirit remaining neverthelesse higher then the windes, and more resolutely by stormes compact and united in it selfe, he procured anew of her Majestie the Victory, one of the Royal Navie, accompanied with the Meg and Margaret, two small Ships and one Carvell; which were set forth at his charges, and manned with 400. Mariners and Souldiers: the Admirall commanded by his Lordship, and under him Captaine Christopher Lyster: the Meg by Captaine William Mounson Vice-admirall: the Margaret by Captaine Edward Careles alias Write Rereadmirall: the Carvell by Captaine Pigeon. The eighteenth of June they set forth from Plimmouth and within three dayes met with three French Ships, Leaguers of New Haven, and Saint Maloes laden with New-found-land fish: two of them with the Margaret not able to endure the Sea, were sent for England. The thirteenth of July his Lordship met with eleven Dutch Ships which at first made shew to abide a fight, and after a few shot yeelded and sent their Masters aboord shewing their Pasports from Hamborough, Lubecke, Bream, Pomer land and Callice: who confessed that they had goods aboord to the value of foure thousand & five hundred pounds of a Jew of Lisbone; which being delivered and distributed, his Lordship set saile for the Asores. The first of August he had sight of Saint Michael, and to disguise himselfe put forth a Spanish Flagge. Espying foure Shippes in the Roade, he resolved that night to cut their Cables and to bring them away: which he accordingly performed before he was descried. The Spaniards in three of them leaping into the Sea, with much noise and outcry gave the alarme to the Town, which made many vaine shots at his Boate in the darke. The fourth was the Falcon of London, under the name of a Scottish Ship, having a Scottish Pilot. The three Spaniards were laden from Sivill with Wine and Sallet Oyle. The Pinnace tooke a small Shippe wherein was thirty tunnes of Madera wines, some Wollen Cloath, Silke and Taffata. The Carracks were departed from Tercera

The League then was enemy to Queene Elizabeth.

Jew of Lisbone.

The Azores foure Ships taken.

eight dayes before. He manned his Boates and obtained refreshing at Flores professing himselfe a friend to their King Don Antonio. From thence rowing a shipboord, the Boate was pursued two miles together by a monstrous Fish, whose Finnes many times appeared about the gils above water foure or five yards a sunder, and his jawes gaping a yard and a halfe wide, not without great danger of overturning the Pinnace, and devouring some of the company: but at the last they all escaped. Here his Lordshippe met and accepted into consort Captaine Davies with his Shippe and Pinnace, a Shippe of Sir Walter Raleighs, commanded by Captaine Markesbury, and the Barke Lime.

A monstrous Fish.

[IV. vi. 1143.]

Having intelligence that the Carracks were at Tercera, he came up to the road of Fyall the seven and twentieth of August, and descrying certaine Shippes at anchor close aboord the shoare, he sent his Boates which boorded a Ship of 250. tunne armed with foureteene cast Peeces, and continued fight till a supply of Boates came from the Fleete to second them, and then recovered the prize. The Spaniards (except John de Palma) leapt all overboord to swimme to the shoare, which was so neere that the Ship was moored to the Castle, from whence the great Ordnance plaied all the time of the fight: onely it was not a play to the Master of the Carvell, whose calfe of his legge was shot away. This Shippe came laden from Port-Ricco with Sugar, Ginger, and Hides. The Ship-boates fetched also out of the Roade some other small Ships laden from Guinnee with Elephants teeth, Graines, Coca nuts, and Goate Skinnes: most of which prizes he sent for England. The next day, eight Englishmen prisoners stole from Tercera in a small Boate, having no other yard for their maine saile then two Pipe staves. These told his Lordship, that the Carrackes were departed a weeke before, which moved him to returne for Fyall with purpose to take that Towne.

See Linschot. c. 96.

A prize of Port Ricco.

Guinnee Ships taken.

He arrived, September the tenth, landing his men,

Fyall taken.

the Platforme shot at them in their march, but they comming up found it and the Towne abandoned, and tooke thereof possession. This Towne containeth 500. housholds well and strongly built of Lime and Stone, well stored with fresh water, delicate Fruites and Grapes of divers sorts. He set a guard to preserve the Churches and Religious Houses, and staid there foure dayes till the ransome was brought him, which was 2000 Duckets, most of Church Plate. He shipped from the Platforme eight and fiftie Peeces of Iron Ordnance. The Governour of Graciosa sent his Lordship sixtie Butts of Wine, but excused his want of fresh water. A ship of Weymouth came thither with a Spanish prize worth sixteene thousand pounds, and brought newes of the West Indie Fleete shortly to come; which after three or foure dayes playing to and fro in rough weather (I let passe a Shippe of Saint Malo, which he took laden with New-found-land Fish) he espied going into the haven at Angra in Tercera to the number of fifteene saile, being too farre to Leeward to come neere them: and they being strong and fortified with the Castle and Fort, he was forced to give over. And although he left a Pinnace for advice, intending to waite for them at Sea; yet she returned with newes that they had taken off their sailes, and downe their topmasts with resolution of longer stay. Wherefore he sailed to Saint Michaels, and being there repelled from watering, went to Saint Maries, where they found two Brasil Ships laden with Sugar, which the Ilanders sought to bring a ground: but Captaine Lyster hastning the attempt in the face of the enemie and danger of continuall shoare-shot, borded the uttermost, cut asunder her Cables and Hawsers and towed her away, whiles Captaine Davies entred the other then a ground and abandoned, and was forced to forsake her. Two men were slaine and sixteene hurt. But a greater losse followed whiles the Earl in person sought to get the other ship, Captaine Lyster rashly disvaluing the enemies force, the Barre also detayning them on ground in the midst of

The spoile.

Ship of Saint Malo.

Captaine Lysters valorous attempt.

His audacious enterprise and rash endangering of the rest.

danger from the enemie, to the losse and hurt of eightie men. His Lordship received three shot upon his Target, and a fourth on the side, not deepe, his head also broken with stones that the bloud covered his face, both it and his legs likewise burned with fire-balls.

The Meg being leakie was sent with the prize into England, and his Lordship held his course for Spaine. By the way he tooke a Portugal ship laden from Brasil, and after that another which was one of the fifteene which had before entred Angra, being a ship of 400. Tunnes, laden from Mexico and Saint John de Ulhua with seven hundred hides, sixe chists of Cochenele, certaine chists of Sugar and some Silver. The Captaine was an Italian, and had in her five and twentie thousand Duckets adventure. Thus full of joy they resolved homewards, but Sea-fortunes are variable, having two inconstant Parents, Aire and Water. His Lordship sent Captaine Lyster in the Mexican prize for Portsmouth, which at Helcliffe in Cornwall was wracked, the Captaine and all his companie drowned except five or sixe. Scarsitie of drinke caused by contrarie windes, caused his Lordship to seeke to recover some part of Ireland for reliefe; but wayting for entrance was put off againe, their Beere and Water being all spent. Three spoonfuls of vineger were allowed to each man at a meale with some small reliefe squeezed out of the lees of their wine vessels: which continued fourteene dayes without other supply then the drops of Haile and Raine, carefully saved with Sheets and Napkins. Some dranke up the soyled running water at the Scupper-holes; others saved by devise the runnings downe the Masts and tarred Ropes; and many licked the moist Boards, Railes, and Masts with their tongues like Dogs. Yet was that Raine so intermingled with the sprie of the foaming Seas in that extreme storme, that it could not be healthfull: yea, some in their extremitie of thirst dranke themselves to death with their Cannes of salt-water in their hands. Notwithstanding this extreme scarsitie, his noble charitie caused

American ships taken.

Captaine Lyster drowned.

Miserable distresse for want of drink.

Salt deadly draught. The Earles equitie and courage.

equall distribution of the small store they had aswell to all his prisoners as to his owne people. By this time the lamentable cryes of the sicke and hurt men for drinke was heard in every corner of the ship: for want whereof many perished (ten or twelve every night) more then otherwise had miscarried in the whole Voyage. [IV. vi. 1144.] The storme continuing added to their misery, tearing the ship in such sort, as his Lordships Cabbin, the dining roome, and halfe Decke became all one, and he was forced to seeke a new lodging in the hold. His minde was yet undaunted and present, his bodily presence and preventions readie. The last of November hee spake with an English ship, which promised him the next morning two or three tunnes of Wine, but soone after unfortunately came on ground. The next day hee had some supply of Beere, but not sufficient to enable him to undertake for England. Hee therefore (the winde serving) put into Ventre Haven, in the Westermost part of Ireland, where having well refreshed, the twentieth of December he set sayle for England. His Lordship in this Voyage tooke thirteene Prizes, but that which was worth more then all the rest was lost, yet the profit redoubled his adventures. At his arrivall in London, hee met with the unfortunate newes of the death of his eldest Sonne Francis Lord Clifford, which died the twelfth of December, 1589. yet was comforted with the birth of the Ladie Anne Clifford (borne the last of January following) his Daughter, (and by the death of Robert Lord Clifford, who dyed the fourteenth of May 1591. his heire), now the vertuous wife of the Right Honourable Richard Earle of Dorset.

Ventre Haven in Ireland.

The Countesse of Dorset borne Jan. 31. 1589.

The fourth Voyage 1591.

THis Honourable Sparke was further kindled and enflamed by former disasters, and obtayning of her Majestie a new ship called the Garland, a ship of sixe hundred tunnes, added the Samson Vice-admirall, a ship of his Lordships, of two hundred and sixtie tunnes, the Golden Noble Reare-admirall, and to them the

Allagarta, and a small Pinnasse called the Discoverie. With these he set forth 1591. at his owne charge to the Coast of Spaine, where hee tooke good purchase, a ship laden at Saint Thomas with Sugars, which he was forced to cast off by an irrecoverable leake: another also which after long contrary winds in her course for England, was driven to put into a Spanish Harbour for want of victuals. But in two other hee was more unfortunate. For Captayne Munson being sent to dispatch the goods, and the Golden Noble to accompany them (which the nights calmenesse prohibited) the ships beeing thus severed, were by the Gallies of Penecha set upon, his Lordship being within hearing of the shot, but by reason of the calme not able to releeve them: so that the two ships were recovered, Captayne Bayly slaine, Captayne Munson and the rest carried Prisoners to Penecha, and thence to Lisbone. His Lordship wrote to the Archduke Albert, then Vice-roy, for their good usage, otherwise threatning requitall to theirs of whom he presumed hee should take store. For feare whereof the common sort were returned a few dayes after new clothed, Captayne Munson with sixe others only detayned. His Lordship having intelligence of a great Armada prepared in the Groyne, to bee sent against the Lord Thomas Howard then Admirall of her Majesties fleet at the Asores, attending to surprize the West Indian fleet, sent the Mooneshine with advise; otherwise the Lord Howard had runne the fortune of Sir Richard Greenvile, who lost his ship and life, or rather exchanged the one for honor, and for the other made the Spaniards the greatest losers in so deere a purchase. Thus weakned by disadventure, he was forced to returne for England.

Ship of Saint Thome taken.

Chance of warre: Takers taken.

Advise.

Sir R. Greenvile.

HIs Lordship considering the inconvenience of her Majesties command, not to lay any Spanish ship aboard with her ships, lest both might together be destroyed by fire, rather chose to seeke out amongst

Fifth Voyage 1592.

the Merchants, then to make further use of the ships Royall. And so hee hired the Tigre a ship of six hundred tunnes, furnished by the Owners for three hundred pounds a moneth wages, in which he went in person, thereto adding his owne ship the Samson, and the Golden Noble, with two small ships.

Ill beginnings. These in the yeere 1592. were set forth, but so crossed with winds, as three moneths victualls were spent in Harbours before they could get to the Westward of Plymmouth : whereby also one of his Lordships principall designes was frustrate, which was the taking of the Carrikes outward bound, as also the meanes to performe his intended Voyage to the West Indies. Whereupon, not like to satisfie that expectation which might arise from a personall expedition of his Lordship, he transferred the chiefe command to Captayne Norton, and returned to London, leaving instructions with the Admirall to goe for the Asores. Captayne Norton neere Cape Finisterre, met two of the King of Spaines Gallions, returning from Brest in Brittanie; in fight with whom the Golden Noble received a shot in her fore-mast, which made them doubt of her further sufficiencie: but having fished it aswell as they could, Captayne Cave her Commander espied an Argosie bound for Lisbone, and gave chase to her within shot of the Fort of Cascaiis within five fathome water of a shoald called Catchops, and there in sight of the men on shoare laid her aboard, and returned into England with her.

His returne, and Captayne Norton substituted.

Argosie taken.

Flores courtesie. The Admirall with the rest of the fleet arrived at the Asores, and having watered and refreshed at Flores (which that Iland permitted to all men of warre, as not able to withstand them) put to Sea and spreading themselves, the Santa Cruce was descried, which made all the haste she could for Angra in Tercera. They hasted after, and being within halfe a league of her, they espied Sir John Burroughs in the Ro-bucke, a ship of Sir Walter Raleighs of two hundred tunnes (which had ridden unseene on the Easterne side of the Iland) stand-

Santa Cruce a Carrike.

Sir J. Burrough.

ing to crosse the Carrickes way, so that now she was forced, the wind being Westerly to luffe up, & recover the Road of Lagowna on the South end of Flores. [IV. vi. 1145.]

The law and custom of the Sea, making al ships of war then together (though not formerly consorted) equall sharers according to their tunnage of the prizes gained, Captayne Norton out of civil respect (and not needing help) consulted with Sir John Burroughs, and they agreed to board her the next morning. But a storme in the night forced them al from their anchors, which the next day being somwhat allaied they recovered the road & found the Carrike warped as neer the shore as they could, having indevored also to put ashore such goods as time would permit) and fired, with all her sayles and flags up and Ordnance laden, which went off on every side when the fire came to them: a sight more pleasing to the Portugals then the English, whom those accounted now the Owners of that consumed substance. The surge also (issue of the late storme) scarsly permitted their Boates to land, to seeke to get wrackes, and what the Portugals had carried ashoare: every man (for feare of wracking the Boates on the Rockes) being up to the neck, and some over head and eares before they could obtayne the shoare, where also they were forced on hands and knees to climbe up a steep hill; on the top whereof stood many Ilanders tumbling downe great stones on them. But all difficulties were made easie by resolution and hope, which brought them to the Towne (now forsaken by her Inhabitants) and made them Masters of the wracked goods, which seemed to flye thither for refuge from the fire and water.

Sea-custome of sharing.

Portugals fire their Carrike.

Auri sacra fames.

Towne taken.

Whiles they were thus employed about this burnt Carrike, Sir Robert Crosse Captayne of the Foresight of her Majesties, Master Tomson Captayne of the Daintie (a ship of Sir John Hawkins) Captayne Newport in the Golden Dragon came into this consort. They were much grieved with this spectacle, but comforted that there had but one of the five Carrickes passed, this had fallen

into this terrible Purgatory, and three were still expected. They spread themselves, & continued expecting from the nine and twentieth of June, till the third of August, at which time Master Tomson first had sight of the great Carricke, called Madre de Dios, and comming up, gave her a broad-side of Ordnance; & falling a sterne came (having laden his Ordnance) again and againe to deliver his peales to hinder her way, till the rest of the fleet could come, the Carricke answering with the like. Sir John Burroughes and the Golden Dragon came in about three a clocke, and Sir John received a shot of a Canon Perier under water in the Bread-roome, which made him beare up to stop his leake. Sir Robert Crosse was the next, who to give her his broad side, came so neere, that becalming his sayles he unwillingly fell aboard the Carricke, which having lashed her fast by the Strowdes, sayled away with her by her side. The Earle of Cumberlands ships, worst of sayle, were the last which came up, about eleven aclocke at night, not minding then to boord her: But hearing the Foresight, calling to Captayne Norton, And you be men, save the Queenes ship: he gave order to the Samson, to lay her aboord on the one side, and promising to doe the like in the Tigre on the other, which about twelve a clock was performed. The Tigre running stemling aboord, broke her beake-head to the huddings; the Samson laid the Foresight aboord, and entred thorow her into the Carricke, whereby the Foresight without entring any one man, tooke opportunitie to free her selfe.

Madre de Dios a great Carrik.

The fight.

Queenes ships danger.

Carrike entred.

And now both ships companies beeing entred into the Fore-cheynes, the Fore-castle was so high, that without any resistance the getting up had beene difficult. But heere was strong resistance, some irrecoverably falling by the boord, and the assault continued an houre and an halfe, so brave a bootie making the men fight like Dragons, till the Fore-castle being gained, the Portugals stowed themselves in holds. The English now hunted after nothing but pillage, and were readie to goe to the

Fight and English Victorie.

PVRCHAS
HIS
PILGRIMES.

IN FIVE BOOKES.

The sixth, Contayning *English* Voyages, to the East, West, and South parts of *America*: Many Sea and Land Fights, Inuasions *and Victories against the* Spaniards *in those parts, and the Spanish* Ilands, and Coast Townes on this side; Plantations *in* Guiana, *and many strange aduentures of English-men* amongst the *Americans.*

The seuenth, *Voyages to and about the Southerne* America, with many Marine Obseruations and Discourses of those Seas *and Lands, by* English-men *and others.*

The eighth, Voyages to and Land-Trauels in *Florida, Virginia, and other parts of the Northerne* AMERICA. French Plantings, *Spanish* Supplantings; *English-Virginian* voyages, and to the Ilands AZORES.

The ninth, Engliſh *Plantations*, *Diſcoueries*, *Acts*, *and* Occurrents, in *Virginia* and *Summer Ilands*, ſince the *Yeere* 1606. *till* 1624.

The tenth, *Engliſh* Diſcoueries and Plantations in *New England*, New-found-land; *with the Patent and Voyages to* New *Scotland:* Relations alſo of the Fleets ſet forth by *Queene* ELIZABETH *againſt the* Spaniards.

The Fourth Part.

Vnus Deus, Vna Veritas.

LONDON
Printed by *William Stansby* for *Henrie Fetherſtone*, and are to be ſold at his ſhop in *Pauls* Church-yard at the ſigne of the Roſe.
1625.

eares about it, each man lighting a Candle, the negligence of which fired a Cabbin, in which were sixe hundred Cartrages of Powder. The rumour hereof made them all readie to forsake the Carrike, when Captayne Norton with some others with buckets of water, adventured the quenching of that fire: Feare of leake by the fight and neernesse of the shoare were great parts of his care. All these dangers freed, contention about so rich a pillage was wel-nigh kindling in the Commanders, beeing so diversly commanded and employed: but Sir John Burroughes pretending the Queenes name, Captayne Norton yeelded that hee should take care of the Carricke, which he accordingly repayred, lands about eight hundred Negros on Corvo, detaynes the ordinary Saylers, commits the Gentlemen to a ship of the Earle of Cumberlands to goe whether they would, who escaped not a second rifling by other Englishmen of warre, which tooke from them (thus negligently dismissed) nine hundred Diamonds besides other odde ends. The Earle of Cumberland had notice by a Pinnasse sent from Captayne Norton twentie dayes before the Carricke came into England, and had Commission from the Queene for her safe harbouring. Hardly she escaped the Rockes of Silly (the Tigre also participating in that danger) and came to Dartmouth, being so huge and unweldie a ship, as shee was never remooved out of that Harbour, but there laid up her bones. His Lordships share would have amounted according to his employment of ships and men, to two or three Millions, but because his Commission large enough otherwise, had not provided for the case of his returne, and substituting another in his place, some adjudged it to depend on the Queenes mercie and bountie. Neyther yet by reason of some mens imbezelling had her Majestie the account of the fifth part of her value; and the Earle was faine to accept of sixe and thirtie thousand pounds for him and his, as out of gift.

Danger by fire.

Contention about the bootie.

In M. Hak. his second Tome, this Carrikes purchase is attributed principally to Sir J. Burgh. there may the Reader also see her dimensions & goods &c. I have here followed that Relation which I found, and leave free judgement to the Reader. My copie also argueth my Lords case, which I have omitted. [IV. vi. 1146.]

Sixt voyage. 1593.

THe next yeere 1593. his Lordship procured two ships Royall, the Golden Lion Admirall commanded by himselfe, the Bonadventure Vice-admirall, and therewith employed the Backe Chaldon, the Pilgrime, the Anthonie, and the Discoverie: which three last when hee came to the Coast of Spaine hee sent for the West Indies. Hee tooke from the protection of fourteene great Hulkes, two French ships of Saint Malowes (which then held for the league, and were therefore reputed in state of Spaniards) of great value, one of which he carried with him, and sent the other into England. The Spaniards having intelligence, set forth an Armada against him, which waited for him at the Ilands, and the Earle hearing of their beeing at Flores, and within five leagues of them, lighted on a ship which they had sent to descry, which before shee could recover her fleet, he tooke. He learning by these that the Spanish fleet trebled the force of his, having kept company with them one day, quitted them and kept tenne or twelve leagues distant from them three weekes. In which space he fell sicke beyond hope of life, without returne or refreshing from the shoare. Captayne Monson with much hazard, procured him some refreshing from Corvo; and leaving the rest of the ships (which tooke one Prize after) hee returned for England, this prooving the most gainfull Voyage which he made before or after.

Two French ships very rich taken.

Scout taken.

His sicknesse and returne.

The seventh Voyage. 1593.

THe Anthonie of one hundred and twentie tunnes, commanded by Captayne James Langton, Pilot Antonio Martino a Spaniard, which had long lived in those Indies, and wel acquainted with those Ports: the Pilgrime of one hundred tunnes, commanded by Captayne Francis Slingsbie, Diego Petrus a Spanish Pilot, and the Discoverie: these three after farewell solemnely taken and given by shot on all hands, shaped their Course for the Antillas, and fell with the Iland of Saint Lucia, there and at Matinnio, refreshing themselves three dayes, they concluded to attempt the taking of the Rancherias, which

are the Pearle-fishings of Margarita, contayning sixe or seven severall small Villages, which for that purpose they inhabit but not above one of them at once, when their fishing failes there, removing to another and so by course, having emptie houses standing alway readie for that purpose. The Pearles for more safetie are monethly carried to the Towne of Margarita three leagues from the waters side. They kept out of sight all day for feare of discoverie, and at night landed and visited two emptie Rancherias: but taking a Spaniard which then came thither in a Boate with two Indians, they made him their guide to the inhabited Rancheria, five leagues off, commanding the Boates to row along the shoare, and not to double the point till evening. The two Captaynes with eight and twentie men, marched by land in the heat, which with want of water much annoyed them. They came thither in the beginning of the night, and agreed to assault the place in three places at once, notwithstanding their small numbers, lest they should gather head any where. The Spaniards at first thought it had beene some false alarme of the Governour, and bid away with this jesting, but finding it earnest, hastily fled to the woods. Thus did they take the Towne, with some two thousand pounds value in Pearle besides what other pillage the Souldiers gate. Their weapons they brake for feare of pursuite.

Pearl-fishings.

Rancheria assaulted and taken.

In the morning they went aboord the fishing Boats, and tooke their Oysters gotten the night before: and gate aboord their ships (much in suspense for them, not knowing of this sudden enterprize) the fifth day after they had gone from them. The shippes now comming before the Towne demanded ransome for their houses and Canoas, to redeeme which from destruction they gave two thousand Duckets in Pearle. But Carvels of advice having every-where given intelligence of them, at Cumana they found them on their guard and returned, not without losse. Thence they coasted Terra Firma, till they came to the Ilands of Aruba and Corresao,

Aruba and Corresao.

R. de Hache.

where they landed and refreshed themselves: Thence to Rio de Hache, which they thought to have taken, but found the enemy ready for them, with other intelligence that they had carried their goods into the Mountaynes.

They therefore set saile for Hispaniola, came to Cape Tuberone, and thence to the Bay of Saint Nicholas, and thence to Fort Plat, and others on the North side: thence to Mona, and so Savona, where they watered againe, in this manner. The Iland is low destitute of any Spring, and to the Sea a small fine Sand. Not twenty paces from the wash of the Sea digging a hole and setting therein a Hogshead (the head knocked out) water is plentifully taken, seeming to be no other then the Sea water, losing the saltnesse in that passage. Thence they went to the River of Socko, about 5. l. Eastward of Saint Domingo, and went in the night 4. l. up and suddenly surprised an Estanca, that is, a Farme place, where slaves keepe the great mens cattle, make their Cassavi bread, dresse their Ginger and Fruites, and doe other offices of Husbandry. Being therefore possessed, they came to parlie for ransome of their Houses, and for their Negros, for which they gave them the flesh of thirtie Beeves with Cassavi and Fruites. Beefe will not keepe in those parts above foure and twenty houres, unlesse first salted, and then dried in the Sunne, being first cut into two sides like Bacon, without any bone left in it, nor any peece of flesh thicker then a mans hand. It must first be searched with a Knife, then rubbed over with Salt, and having so remained twelve houres must be dried in the Sunne: and foure hot dayes drying will save it sufficiently.

Strange watering.

Estanchas or Stantias.

Beefe how kept there.

[IV. vi. 1147.]

Ri. Marracava.

Other Estancas being likewise taken yeelded like contributions. From thence they went upon another River called Marracava, where there was an Ingenio of Sugars which they tooke for their provisions and caused the owner to ransome it from burning. Thence they went to the mouth of the harbour of Saint Domingo, and rid

there at the East side of the same, at Point Torrosilio to intercept any Shipping comming forth. The Sergeant Mayor came hither to treat for ransome of some prisoners, and with him an Englishman of Captaine Lancasters company of Captain Raymunds fleete, whose Ship was newly cast away comming out of the East Indies unto those parts, a little to the West of Saint Domingo at Acoa. The Spaniards set forth two Carvels to intercept the Boates, which they did, but the Ships recovered the taken and takers together. They brought foure brasse Falcons of Captaine Lancasters Ship, ten others of Iron they left for the heavinesse being somewhat farre from the water. They tooke also a fine Friggot hidden under the trees, which they brought for England.

Cap. Raymund.

Thence they went for Jamaica, and there found two Barkes laden with Hides and Cannafistula, one of which they manned and sent for England, taken by a French man of warre by the way. Thence they went to Cuba, to Cape Corientes, and Cape Saint Antonio, to expect shipping comming for the Havana, but in vaine. Thus after eight moneths spent in the Countrey, the Antonie and the Frigot went to the Bay of Honduras; the Pilgrime at Havana spent some few dayes, and then set saile for England, where they arrived in Plimmouth, May 14. 1594.

Jamaica.

Bay of Honduras.

The Antonie and the Frigot within foure leagues of Porto cavallo descried seven Shippes in the Road, the least of ninescore tun. They anchored within Caliver shot of the Spanish Shippes and mored their Ships a head and sterne, and bent their broad sides unto them, and there fought all that day with those seven Shippes and all night, now and then a shot: Captaine Langton sent the Boate and Shallop to the shore, from whence they brought a Frigot of twenty tunne. The next morning they fired the Frigot, and with their Boates purposed to bring her crosse the Admirals halfe. But when they saw them comming, they all ranne into the Boates and got ashore The Admirall let slippe the other sixe,

Porto Cavallo.

The fight.

unhanged their Rudders, and carried them ashore that none should saile away with the Shippes if they were taken. They laded the Admirall with the best out of all the Shippes, and sent ashore to know if they would *Ships fired.* ransome the rest, which they delaying, they fired one of them laden with Hides and Logwood, and then another laden with Susaparill. But the King of Spaine had forbidden them any ransoming, and they came not. All their Ordnance was heaved overboord saving two or three Brasse peeces, in hope some Englishmen might be the better for them afterward. One of them was a Shippe of five hundred tunnes. They brought away the Admirall of 250. and came into Plimmouth the fifteenth of May, the next day after the Pilgrims arrivall.

The eight Voyages 1594.

ANno 1594. The Earle of Cumberland on his owne charge with the helpe of some adventurers set forth for the Tercera Ilands the Royall Exchange, Admirall of 250. tunnes, commanded by Captaine George Cave: the May Floure Viceadmirall, of like burden, commanded by Captaine William Antonie: the Samson Rereadmirall, commanded by Captaine Nicholas Downton, a Carvell and a small Pinnace. They set forth from Plimmouth, April 6. In the way they tooke a small Barke laden with Galicia wines, &c. June the second, they had sight of Saint Michael; After ten dayes they descried the *The great Carrike called Five wounds.* great Carricke of 2000. tuns, called the Cinque LLagas or Five Wounds. The May Floure first got up to her and received an unwelcome salutation. In the night the Samson came in and continued the fight, and at last the Admirall. They agreed that the Admirall should lay the Carrake aboord in the Prow, the Viceadmirall in the Waste, and the Rereadmirall in the Quarter. But it fell out that the Admirall laying her aboord at the looffe, recoiled a sterne, the Viceadmirall being so neere that she was faine to runne with her bolt sprit betweene *Borded.* the two quarters, which forced the Rereadmirall to lay her aboord on the Bowe.

After many bickerings, fire-workes flew about interchangeably. At last the Vice-admiral with a Culvering-shot at hand fired the Carrick in her Sterne, and the Reare-admirall her Fore-castle by a shot that gave fire to the Mat on the Beake-head, from thence burning to the Mat on the Bolt-sprit, and so ran up to the Top-saile-yard: they plying and maintayning their fires so well with their small shot, that many of those which came to quench them were slaine. These fires encreased so sore that the Vice-admiralls fore-saile and fore-top-saile were both burnt, the Reare-admirall being in like predicament, whiles the Admirall with much danger and difficultie quenched the fires throwne into her from the Carrick. To save themselves in this heat and furie, the Admirall and Vice-admirall fell off, leaving the Reare-admirall foule of the Carricks sprit-saile-yard in great danger to have beene consumed with her, had they not helped her off with their Boats.

Carraks fired.

English Ships in danger.

In this distresse the companie brought the Commander Don Francisco de Melo to put forth a flagge of truce: but the Carricks Carpenter more desperate, comforted him with hope of quenching the fire, whereupon he cryed, Coragio, I will never yeeld, notwithstanding the protestations, contestations, and obtestations of the lamenting out-crying companie. One ran enraged on him, charging him with this foule uncharitablenesse, threatning vengeance on him and his for his obstinacy in suffering so many soules to perish, rather then to accept the English assistance. Some of their chiefest, rich in chaines and jewels, cast off all, and naked as they were borne cast themselves into the Sea to adventure upon English mercy; amongst all which, was taken up by the Reare-admirals Boat, two men of note and three of inferiour qualitie. These three were clothed and set on land: the other two were Don Nuno Velio Periera (who had somtimes bin Governour of Mozambique and Sofala, and returning for Spaine in a Carrick of great value, lost neere Bona Speranza, was now here a passenger)

[IV. vi. 1148.]

Pittifull distresse of the Carrike.

and Bras Carero, Captaine of another Carrick cast away neere Mozambique, here also a passenger. These two were brought into England and ransomed. Three impediments happened to the Assailants, the Reare-admirall hurt with a shot and made in person unserviceable being a valiant man; the Vice-admirall slaine; and the Admirall himselfe Captaine Cave shot at the first thorow both the legs, whereof shortly after his returne hee dyed. The Carvell and Pinnace were accidentally absent: one and twentie were slaine in the fight. In the Carrick were many of qualitie; and before infection had fallen amongst them neere the Cape, their number of white and blacke men exceeded 1100. all which perished but those before named. The burden of this Carrick and her lading in wealth did farre exceede the Madre de Dios, returning after a long voyage fraighted with pearles, jewels, drugs, silkes (her meanest lading pepper) besides the best of the Nacharet (lately cast away) her commodities, the Captaine whereof had beene Bras Carero aforesaid.

The impediments of taking the Carrike.

They set saile after this disaster for Flores and after some refreshing, on the nine and twentieth of June descryed another Carrick of 1500. Tunnes, which they supposed to bee the Saint Philip one of the King of Spaines men of warre. After some more cautelous fight occasioned by that conceit, they sent their Boat to summon her to yeeld to the Queene of Englands ships under the command of the Earle of Cumberland, or else to undergo the fortunes of the Five wounds, the sorrowfull witnesses whereof they presented those two former Captaines: to whom the Generall Don Lewys de Costynio answered; As your Generall hath beene at the burning of the Five wounds, so I have beene at the burning and taking of the Revenge of the Queene of Englands. Therefore let him doe what he dare doe for his Queene, and I will doe what I am able for my King: commanding the Boat instantly to be gone. The fight was renewed, but intermitted by the calme, and remitted by the

Another Carrike.

remisser companie, their Captaines being slaine and wounded. Whereupon they gave over and arrived in England in August and the beginning of September, having done much harme to the enemie, and little good to themselves.

The ninth voyage. 1595.

THe Earle not liking his ill partage in the Madre de Dios, nor this unhappier losse of two Carricks for want of sufficient strength to take them, builded a ship of his owne of 900. Tunnes at Detford, which the Queene at her lanching named The Scourge of Malice, the best ship that ever before had beene built by any subject. Shee made his Lordship three voyages, and after was sold to the East Indian Companie, whence shee made many returnes (before in the name of the Dragon related) and proved fortunate against the Portugals in the East. His Lordship had thought to have gone in her in person, and prepared the Alcedo his Vice-admirall, commanded by Captaine Monson, the Antonie commanded by Daniel Jarret and the old Frigot. But when he had gone as farre as Plimmouth on his intended voyage, Her Majestie by Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkins, sent for him to returne, which commandement his Lordship obeyed, but the ships proceeded to seeke their adventure, giving command of the Admirall to Captaine Langton ; which Captaine Monson misliking went forth severally to seeke his owne fortune in the Alcedo. The Scourge, the Antonie, and the Frigot, went together to the Asores, where first they tooke a Saint Thome Carvell of 100. Tunnes laden with Sugars. After which neere the Iland of Flores in a fogge they espyed a great Ship lying by the Lee, which they conceived to be a Carrick, but found it to be the Saint Thomas, Vice-admirall of the King of Spaines fleet, lying for the waftage of the East and West Indian fleetes : with whom they fell in so hot a fight that shee was glad to beare up to recover her selfe amongst the rest of her Consorts ; which after the cleering of the fogge they discerned not

The Dragon a fortunate ship to the East Indian Societie : surprised unluckily by the Dutch, see Hores relation. To. 1. *l.* 5. *An.* 1595. *Fight.*

farre from them. Thence they went to the Coast of Spaine, where they tooke three Dutch ships of the East-Countries laden with Wheat, Copper, and other munitions and provisions for the King of Spaine. Having spent their victuals they returned.

Tenth voyage. 1596.

AN. 1596. his Lordship set forth againe the Scourge of Malice, in which he went in person accompanied with the Dread-naught of the Queenes, and some other small ships; and about thirtie or fortie leagues from England was incountred with a storme, wherein the Scourge spent her mayne mast, and was made unserviceable for that voyage: so that hee was forced to returne for England in the Dread-naught.

[IV. vi. 1149.]

Eleventh voyage.

THe same yeere perceiving that the Earle of Essex and the Lord Admirall were to goe to the Coast of Spaine with a great fleet of the Queenes, together with a squadron of Flemmish men of warre, his Lordship thought good to await some gleanings in so great a Vintage, and set forth the Ascension of 300. Tunnes and foure and thirtie pieces of Ordnance, manned with 120. men, commanded by Captaine Francis Slingsby, chiefly to expect such ships as should come from Lisbone. The Ascension thus furnished, met with such a fret of winde that with all haste they handed in their sailes, and being within

Godwine sands.

the Hooke of Godwine Sands drove with two anchors ahead, till they were within two Cables length of the Sands. They then let fall their short anchor, which by Gods grace stayed them till the next day noone (hourely expecting their wrack) and at last cut their Cables. Having refurnished themselves at Plimouth they set forwards and comming to the Rocke, lay off and on. After some frustrated attempts by the Boat on a Carvell (in which the Captaine was sore wounded) the King of Spaines Admirall Sirago set forth sixe ships against them,

Sea fight.

and himselfe and another ship laid the Ascension aboard, the one on the Bow, the other on the Quarter, and

now the mouthes of the great Ordnance (being neere in place to whisper) roared out their thunders and pierced thorow and thorow on all hands. Which ended, the Spaniards leaped into the fore-chaines and mayne-chaines, thinking to have entred the ship, but were bravely repelled. The English seeing many Spaniards together under the Admirals halfe decke, discharged amongst them a Fowler laden with case shot to their no small harme: so that the Spaniards had enough and were content to fall off. Of ours two and twentie were slaine and hurt, which losse lighted asmuch on them which hid themselves as those which stood to the fight. To prevent the like afterwards, they put safe in hold the Chirurgeon, Carpenter, and Cooper for the publike dependance on them, and made fast the hatches that others should not seeke refuge. But the Spanish Admirall making a bravado, and seeing them readie to receive them, tacked about and went in for Lisbone without any further leave-taking. The Ascension continued on the Coast till they had but fourteene dayes victuals left, and then returned with hurts to themselves, and losse also to his Lordship.

The twelfth voyage.

AN. 1597. the undanted Earle having furnished and victualled his owne ship the Malice-Scourge, undertooke a voyage in person. Under him in it commanded Captaine John Wats outward, and Captaine James Langton homewards. The Merchant Royall was Vice-admirall, commanded by Sir John Barkley; Captaine Robert Flicke commanded in the Ascension, Reare-admirall; Captaine Henrie Clifford commanded the Samson, after whose death at Porto Rico, Christopher Colthurst was her Captaine; Master John Ley, and homewards Thomas Cotch Captaines of the Alcedo; Francis Slingsby Captaine of the Consent; Captaine James Langton of the Prosperous, and homewards Captaine John Wats; Captaine Henrie Palmer in the Centurion, and homewards after his death his sonne William Palmer; Hercules Folyambe Captaine of

Names of the ships and their Captaines employed in the twelfth voyage.

the Gallion-Constance; Captaine Flemming in the Affection; Captaine Christopher Colthurst in the Guiana, homeward Gerard Middleton; Captaine Henrie Jolliffe in the Scout; Captaine Robert Careles, and after his death Andrew Andrews in the Antonie; Captaine Edward Goodwin in the Pagasus; Captaine Henrie Bromley in the Royall Defence; Captaine John Dixon in the Margaret and John; Master John Lea Captaine of the Barkley Bay; William Harper Captaine of the old Frigot. To make up the score we may reckon two Barges used for landing of men, as occasion required.

For the land Souldiers, Sir John Barkley was Coronell Generall: Captaine William Mesey Lieutenant Colonell: Captaine Hercules Folyambe Sergeant Major: Captaine Arthur Powell Lieutenant Colonell of the Earles Regiment: Captaines, Lewis Orrell, Thomas Roberts, Henrie Gyll, Thomas Coche, Hugh Starkie, Ralph Rookesby, Roger Tirwhit; Captaine Andrew Andrewes Leader of the Earles Companie: Captaine James Tothill Leader of Sir John Barkleys Companie: Captaines, James Evans and George Orrell Corporals of the field: Captaine John Man Provost Marshall: Captaine Arthur Milles Master of the Artillerie and Provant Master.

The noble Earle thus attended and furnished (chiefly at his owne charges) set saile with this Fleet from Portsmouth the sixt of March. But you shall have a better Relator.

His Lordship having had the spoile of all things at his pleasure, prepared for the sending aboard the Ordnance, Munitions, Bels, Ginger, Sugar, &c. of brasse Ordnance hee tooke above sixtie peeces: setting saile for England July 16. In which returne his Lordship lost a Barge, by his commandement sunke in the Haven to the prejudice of the Enemie. Another Barge cast away in a storme at the Bermudas. The Pegasus wracked upon Goodwin Sands, and the old Frigot upon Ushent, with the losse of about seven hundred men, whereof six hundred dyed of the bloudie flix and Calenture at Porto

Rico: sixtie slaine in fight, and fortie drowned in the wracks of the old Frigot and Pegasus.

Chap. II.

[IV. vi. 1150.]

The Voyage to Saint John de Porto Rico, by the Right Honorable, George, Earle of Cumberland, written by himselfe.

WOrthiest of your Sexe, my chiefe Commandresse, to give content to your wish in bare plainnesse. I have set downe the courses and fortunes of my late performed journey. The sixth day of March, with my whole Fleet I set saile out of the Sound of Plimouth, the winde being prosperous though much. Wee kept altogether till the when the faire passage put mee in hope that God had prepared this an unlooked for fortune, if it were well handled, in getting upon the Coast of Spaine sure intelligence whether the Carricks were gone, and how neere they were readie if not gone. The doing of which undiscovered, though I knew was hard; yet not impossible for him that could well worke: And considering the mightie importance, I tooke the course to doe it my selfe, taking with me Guiana and the Skout; which two I meant should onely be seene upon the Coast, and left the rest of the fleet, appointing them where to lye till I came unto them. But God whose will is beyond mans resolutions, forced mee to alter this; for my Masts not made so sufficiently as I expected, both now began to shew their weaknesse, especially my mayne Mast, which I continually looked would have gone over board. My Mariners were at their wits end; and I protest I would have given five thousand pounds for a new one; the greatest part of my strength both by Sea and Land having beene lost, if that ship had returned in this extremitie.

1596.

His purpose frustrated.

Defect in the mayne Mast.

Hearing all that would, I heard many opinions to little purpose, and at length resolved (though many thought

it dangerous) lest the winde should with a storme come
The Burlings. up at West North-west, to goe to the Burlings and there ride, till my Masts were fished, my selfe knowing the Roade, though not any else in my ship: the windes they spake of, I feared not; my onely doubt was that I should
Penechia. be discovered, being within three leagues of Penechia; Carvels comming off every day to fish; but this extremitie forced device how to hide what I was. For goe thither I must, hopelesse otherwise to repaire those desperate ruines. My ship was black which well furthered my device, and though shee were great, yet shewed not so afarre off. Wherefore I came in about eight of the clocke at night upon Thursday, when I was sure all the Fisher-men were gone to sell their fish at Lisbone, and from the mayne they could not make moe: this was the sixteenth of March. Before the morning I had downe my top-masts, my mayne yard unrigged, and all things readie for my Carpenters to worke. The small ships with mee I made stand off to Sea all day, that not having any in my companie I should be the lesse suspected. And thus with a strange Flagge and Ancient upon my poope, I rid without giving chase to any, as though I had beene some Merchant, every day divers ships comming by me that were both good prize, and had beene worth the taking. Upon Sunday night the Fisher-men returne to the Burlings; wherefore to goe away undiscovered of them, and also soone to meet with my fleet, which I had appointed to tarry for mee in that heigth betwixt twentie and thirtie leagues off, and that they should keepe with them what ships soever they met, that were outward bowne: I ceased not working day nor night, and by Saturday at night was readie to set saile, when within night I heard the Ordnance goe off betwixt me and the shoare, and well knew it was a small ship of Hampton and my little Pinnace the Skout, that were in fight with a ship which they chased to windward of mee before night, and fearing their match too hard, as in truth it proved. I, for losing time let slip mine

anchor, and soone came to helpe the poore little ones much over-matched. At my first comming up shee shot at me; yet forbare I, and went so neere that I spake to them, and demanding of whence they were? answere was made, of Lisbone. Then assuring my self shee was a Biscaine, and would fight well, I came close to her, and gave her my broad side, which shee so answered as that I had three men killed, five or sixe shot, and my ship in sixe or seven places, some of them very dangerous. So I laid her aboard and tooke her, shee proving a ship of Hamburgh, laden with Corne, Copper, Powder, and prohibited commodities. I made the more haste to end this fight, for that I would be out of the sight of the Land before day, which as I desired I was, and there met with a French man laden with Salt going into Lisbone: which small Barke was very fit to serve my purpose. For putting some of my men into her, I sent her into Cales Road, commanding them to fall with it by day in the morning, and keeping themselves close to shew none but the French, and make a waft to call some Portugall to them for Pilotage up the River. This device succeeded well; for betimes in the morning they were fast by a Carvell that was going to fish, which (not suspecting them) came close to them, so as the men I put in shot at them with Muskets so fast, as not any of them durst stirre to handle their sailes till their Boat went aboard, and so brought them off to me. These men came that night from Lisbone, and assured me that the next faire winde there would come forth five Caracks, with more treasure then ever went in one yeere for the Indies, and five and twenty ships for Brasil. This welcome newes was accompanied with the meeting againe of my whole fleet, which at that very instant I descryed. So none being joyned, I wished for nothing but an happy houre to see those long-looked-after Monsters, whose wealth exceedes their greatnesse, yet bee they the greatest ships in the world. My fleet being thus joyned, I called all the Captaines and

Biscainers good fighters.

Ship of Hamburg taken.

Intelligence from Lisbone. Five Carraks and twentie five ships.

[IV. vi. 1151.]

Masters aboard, and gave directions where and in what order we should lye, and how we would fight, not doubting to meete them being undiscovered, and well knowing the way they would come. Being drawne from our rests with our joy in our hope, wee so long continued gasing for that which came not, as I began to feare some unluckie accident, and leaving my fleet alone, with a Carvell I went in with the shoare, and with her and my Boat got another Carvell, by whom I understood that the very same day that I tooke the first Carvell at the Rock, there came into Lisbone a ship that brought Spaniards out of England, and was in Plimouth when I came by, which assured them that I was comne forth, and they verily beleeved was looking for them, so as they sent Carvels of advice to search everywhere for me, one of which when I returned to my fleet, I understood had comne by them to windward and discovered them all. So I feared it was vaine to tarry there any longer; for either they would shift their course or not come at all. So knowing that their seeing of me could not hurt, I went to see if they were comne so low downe the River, as that it were possible to lay them aboard in the night where they rode. Now againe I left my fleet at Sea, and (the winde something favouring me) got in betwixt the Cat-ships, from whence I saw them riding in the Bay of Wiers. Here had I too much of my desire, seeing what I desired to see, but hopelesse of the good I expected by seeing them: for they were where no good could bee done upon them, riding within the Castle of Saint Julian, which hath in it above an hundred peeces of great Ordnance; so as though I could have got in (which I verily beleeve I could) it had not beene possible to have returned, the winde being ever very scant to come forth withall, and hanging for the most part so farre Northerly, as that for feare of the Cat-ships, I must of force have comne close by their platformes. With this unpleasing sight

New intelligence.

Another attempt.

No hope that way.

I returned to my fleet, and that night being the fift of Aprill, wee went altogither for the South Cape. The eight day I went from thence towards the Canaries, and the thirteenth day I came to Lancerota, where by divers both Englishmen and Spaniards I had beene informed that there dwelt a Marquesse, that was worth 100000. pounds, if he could be taken suddenly: which I doubted not, having aboard mee three or foure which had beene prisoners there, who assured me they could bring me into the Road by night: and being on land could guide me to the Castle where he dwelt, how darke soever it were. But they fayled in all: for when I came to the land, they knew not where the Road was, so as I was forced to anchor finding ground, but where it was they knew not. And in truth, it was so neere a ledge of Rocks, as if we had gone any further, the ships had beene in danger. In the morning, though then I had no other hope left me to catch the Marquesse, save onely that perhaps he would hold his Castle; yet I thought it meete to set all my Souldiers on shoare, for that till this time I never had given them any trayning, and well knew many of them to bee very raw and unpractised to service at land. Wherefore my selfe then fearing an ague, tooke physick, was let bloud, and sent Sir John Barkley with them, knowing for certaine that place could make no resistance against such a force. So being landed they marched to the Towne, which the guides said, was but three miles from the landing place. But it proved more then three leagues, the most wicked marching for loose stones and sand that ever I saw. That night I heard not from them, nor the next day till night, when I had word brought that they had taken the Towne and Castle without resistance. Onely as they marched the people of the Countrie (I meane the Mountayners) would watch if any straggled, and would most desperately assault them with their Lances, being so swift of foot, as when once they runne, not any

He comes to the Canaries.

Rich Marquesse.

Poore performance of rich promisers.

He lands his Souldiers.

Sir John Barkley.

Towne and Castle taken.

could come neere them. In the Castle was not any thing but some few peeces of Ordnance dismounted. *Poore purchase and yet too rich.* In the Towne (whose houses were most beggarly) some little wine onely, which little was too much; for it distempered so many, that if there had beene a strong enemie to have attempted, they should have found drunken resistance; the meaner sort being most overthrowne alreadie, and the Commanders, some distempered with wine, some with pride of themselves, or scorne of others, so as there were very few of them but that fell to most disorderly outrage one with another. And Sir John Barkley with much griefe told me, if I tooke not some severe course to remedie those things, he assured himselfe it would be the ruine of our voyage. *The Earles honorable care and wise provision.* Whereupon the next day I went on shoare to see my men trayned, and calling all the Commanders before me, rebuked them for those faults, and gave Articles bóth for their courses at Land and Sea, reading to them my Commissions, that they might know I had full power to execute those punishments I set downe for every offence; and assuring them I would not be slow in doing it if they offended. The next day being the one and twentieth of Aprill, I set saile, and betwixt the Grand Canarie and Tenerife met with the Royall Defence, a ship which should have comne with mee out of England, but being not readie followed me; and thwart the Rocke, after I was comne from thence met with a *Carvell stollen forth by English captives.* Carvell, which by ten English men that were prisoners in Lisbone, was stollen forth in the night. They assured me (word being brought thither that I was gone off the Coast) they resolved to send forth the Carracks, and that within a few dayes they would come forth. Which I making knowne to all my Commanders, they agreed with me that it was fit to spend some few dayes and looke for their comming; so did we: but not seeing them, the yeere was so farre spent that I assured my selfe they were either gone by, or would not goe this yeere, their time for doubling the Cape of [IV. vi. 1152.]

Buona Speranza being now past; for they never went out so late but once, and then were all forced to returne. *Danger of late going forth for the Cape of Good Hope.*

Though many would imagine the missing of this faire fortune should much have troubled me; I assure you it did not: the reason I will let you know hereafter. Now againe, calling all the Captaines and Masters aboard me, I first asked them whether they thought it was fit to tarry any longer upon that hope, telling them mine opinion how little reason there was in it, and that longer stay might much hurt our other purposes, to which all agreeing, we resolved to proceede. Then I asked whether they thought the time was not too farre spent to get Farnanbuco? to which many answered; No. And though I well knew what it was, I would not reply till I had called two Portugall Pilots, which I brought with me out of England, old men that had at the least beene twentie times apiece there out of Portugall: And asking their opinions, they told us that they had gone it at that time of the yeere, but divers times put backe, and at their best passage beene sixe or seven weekes in getting one degree. To which there were that answered, though sometimes it happened so, yet it might fall out otherwise: and if not, though we should be long in getting thither, yet there was assurance to win that place with ease, and getting it to have wealth enough. Till this I kept secret, what now every occasion gave mee fit time to utter. Having dispatched from mee a ship that was in Trade at the Canaries and bound for England, and being so farre shot to the Southwards, as I was sure not to meet with any going to the Northwards, so as not any newes where I was could come into Spaine, till it came out of the Indies: which winning of time would give me so good leisure to fortifie my selfe in the place whither I meant to goe, as hardly I would bee supplanted till either wee honorably quitted the place, or had supply; you may

Old Portugall Pilots.

Rash advisers.

The Earles mature and discreet intendments.

see, too griedie desire is a dangerous enemie, for where I should have but lightly touched this as yet, I was almost entring into the bowels of my intention, the time ripe I saw to speake more freely then I had done. I told them I had advisedly considered, of all these things now pleaded, and could, as I thought, before their speech have given them so sufficient reasons for the shaping of some other course then Brasil, as would have stayed all these pleadings. But I thought it better first to heare every one speake his minde, and then to utter my conceit. Which though I assured my selfe was the best for us, yet if any amongst them could give reason against it, I would not onely take it well, but be drawne to them. Then layed I before them how our men were alreadie many of them sicke; and that undoubtedly the crossing the Line would keepe those from recovering, although the passage were as good as man could wish. Besides, I remembred them of intelligence given us both upon the Coast of Spaine and the Iland, that the King had sent thither to defend the place against me six hundred Souldiers; and also it was likely that he had given order, that if they saw not themselves strong enough to resist, that with their portable goods they should flee into the Mountaines, and set their Sugar and Brasill wood on fire; then were we sure to have nothing: and lastly, if wee beat long under the Line, undoubtedly the most of our men would fall sicke, and then should we be forced to returne without doing any thing; for to no other place could we goe, once bearing up upon that occasion.

His speech.

With this I pawsed, to heare if there would be any thing said by them: but not any speaking, I told them I well perceived by their silence the doubts my wordes had driven into their mindes: but not to conceale any longer from them, that which hitherto I had for all their goods done, the truth was I never had intention, after I found I could not get out of England before

His purposes and probabilities.

Christmas, to goe for Brasil, but onely for the west Indies, where there were many possibilities to make a voyage by: as first, the sacking of Margarita, which they knew was rich; then Porto Rico, after that Saint Domingo, then in July the outward bound fleet would be in the Acoa, where we could not misse them: and if these gave us not content, in the end of July or August, wee should meete the fleet at Cape Saint Antonio. Many of these reasons I uttered, more to carry my men with good liking thither, then for any thought I had of divers of them. And my speech had desired successe, for they all went with greedie *They proceed.* desire, and hopefull expectation, I appointing them to make what haste they could to Dominica, where we would stay one for another, thinking it better to goe straggling thither then to goe togither, there being possibilitie to meete some purchase by the way, which we were in most likelihood of when we spred furthest. Therefore we spred thus till we met at Dominica, wee straggled all saving the Alcedon, the Centurian, and two Flemmings, laden with Corne, which I tooke upon the coast of Spaine, and still carried alongst with me, as chiefe meanes to effect my most desired purpose. These, with all the rest came safely to Dominica, where *They arrive* wee carried our sicke people ashoare the three and *at Dominica.* twentieth of May, and tarried till the first of June.

This Iland is onely inhabited by Indians that mightily hate the Spaniard, but love the English very much. They brought us great store of Potatoes, Pines, Plantins, Tabacco, Mammyes, Indies-pepper, and other of their Countrie commodities to trade. They most desired to have Swords, Hatchets, or Knives, and very much Clothes. But if they could get none of these, they would sell their commodities for glasse beades, and such trifling things. From hence I went to the Virgines Ilands which are not inhabited, and there *Las Virgines* purposed againe to muster my men, the Iland of Dominica being so wooddie as that there I could not

doe it; and in the evening the third day I came there to an anchor. The next morning early I had them on shoare, and after mustering them for many respects, found it meete to speake to them, which as neere as I can remember, was thus: Kinde Countrimen and fellow Souldiers, I am sure there is none here but have marked, and the wisest wonder at my light regarding the many grosse faults committed amongst you since my comming to Sea; suffering every man to doe what he would, urging no man further then he listed: Many courses drew me to this patience, onely one I will now utter, the rest being fitter to conceale to my selfe, then to make so many acquainted with. The great hope of meeting the Caracks made me hope for a short journey; which hapning, I thought it better to returne with every mans good word, then by just punishing of any to have their ill word at my returne. But that hope as you now see is altogither passed, and now we are settled to another course, which though it may be will not prove altogither so rich, and must of force keepe us longer abroad; yet I assure you upon my honour and conscience, I doe constantly beleeve there will spring out of it more glorie to God, more service to our Prince and Countrie, and more honour to our selves, then could have done by the Caracks if we had taken them all. For the better performance we must fall to another course; I in governing, you in obeying; I in directing you what to doe, you in following my direction. To which end I have already delivered you certaine Articles, wherein you may see how the breach of them shall be punished. And though these twentie dayes at the least you have had them amongst you, yet heare I, there are some which wish they could but light upon so much as they would conceale from me. Base conditions be hatefull things in men professing Armes, there is none baser then theft; and no theft so base as for a man to steale from his owne companion. And he that concealeth any thing gotten in this journey, stealeth from every man in it,

[IV. vi. 1153.]

My Lords speech.

Basenesse of theft.

all going to have their part of whatsoever is gotten. This I thought not unfit particularly to touch, because the speech hath given great offence to the whole Armie, and no doubt may encourage some men of lewd and base humours amongst us to doe the like: but let the warning I now give you drive those thoughts out of their thoughts that hold them: and be also a warning that they heedfully observe the rest of the Articles. For I assure you, my over-patient and forced sluggish humour is shaken off, and I will neither over-see, nor suffer to passe unpunished ill deservers.

This delivered, I presently shipped my men which were by muster and gave order to set saile. Now having set all things in order, and wanting nothing but sure knowledge, where might bee our safest and most commodious landing, there were many of my Masters and Sea Captaines that would willingly have gone through the Virgines, as Sir Francis Drake did, when hee was there. But I finding the way through the passages more certaine and safe tooke that course; more desiring to be the first that tooke Porto Rico, then the second that passed through the Virgines. And the fift day in the morning, I sent for Captaine Lanckton, and Knotsford, who was Master of the Gallion, very expert in those Countries, and was Pilot with John Hawkins when hee dyed, and putting either of them into a small Pinnace, sent them before that they might make the landing place before night, and my selfe with the fleet did linger, and so when it was darke, putting out all our sailes, came to them undiscovered, which was about one of the clocke that night. But they did mee no good, for the place they went to discover was further from them then they expected, so as it was darke before they came to it, and for feare of carrying me to leeward stayed, and told me they had done nothing. Wherefore I stood close upon a winde off and on, untill the morning, when being close by the shoare there was to my seeming a smooth landing place,

Sir Francis Drake.

They arrive at the Iland.

Evill surmises. which by all them in my fleet that were there with Sir Francis Drake, I was told was impossible to get, the
His search. winde over-blowing all day out of the Sea. Wherefore I tooke my Boat and Sir John Barkley with me, rowed thither, and found it not onely smooth, but by the view of our eyes a most goodly sandie Bay, to march all alongst by the Sea side till wee came to the Towne. Being well pleased with this sight I returned aboard, and gave order to all the Commanders presently to land there.
Objections. But by divers of them many objections were made against landing there. First, that the march seemed to be great: Then, that none knew the way: and lastly, if the Towne stood in an Iland, as they often had heard it did, we should be forced to returne to our ships, not having
The Earles answere. meanes to get unto them. Gentlemen, said I, a willing minde makes long steps with great ease: I have beene sicke and am not now strong; you shall goe no further nor faster then I will doe before you: for guides wee need no better then our eyes; the Towne standing by the Sea side, and we landing from the Sea see no other but faire sandie Bayes all the way thither: so as much neerer we might land if we were sure there were any where to leeward such a head-land as this that maketh smooth landing within it. But that being uncertaine I meane to take this, which I doe assuredly beleeve God hath directed us unto; for I am sure, it is better then any ever told me of. And for your last argument, that if it be an Iland we shall not get into it, that reason is nothing; for you see our Boats may row by us, and when we shall come to any water they may set us over, if it be deepe: in shallow places we shall passe our selves. So all you have or can say being now throughly answered, let me have no more speaking, but get your men all into your Boates, and follow in order as I have directed you. I will goe before in my Boat, and when you see my Colours displayed, make all the haste you can to land. This doe with good heart and courage, assuring your selves you have the mayden-head of Porto

Rico, and so possesse the keyes of all the Indies. And though there bee not so many millions in it as there was when a greater force then we went without it; yet assure your selfe the Towne is rich. The last yeere there were eighteene ships laden with Ginger and Sugar from it. I assure you there are mynes of gold in it. And though these be motives to draw you to fight, yet [IV. vi. 1154.] have I not told you of one. You being Souldiers, and carrying the mindes of Souldiers, will, I doubt not, carry you beyond all profit. It is thought by men of judgement too strong for this strength to carry, because it hath alreadie resisted a much stronger force: so as we should have just cause to be proud of taking it, and (beleeve me) assured we are to take it, now we see where to land quietly, the Indian Souldiers living too pleasantly to venter their lives: for if they live two or three yeares, they get with the labour of their slaves (without taking any paines themselves) whatsoever they loose; so as they will make great showes, and it maybe indure one brunt; but if they doe any more, teare me in peeces.

This said, the Captaines that were there went for their men, telling all the rest my resolution. And as soone as they saw me rowe towards the shoare all followed as I had directed. Thus landed we the sixt day in a most fine place, where not any wet his furniture nor saw any enemie. By which meanes all our troopes were put in good order, and we made much stronger; then a small resistance before we were martialled would have made us. This place was leagues from the Towne, towards which we marched in the extreame heate of the day, the way being sandy, and would no doubt have tired many, but that going all alongst by the Sea, we at pleasure marched in it when we listed; and besides had the place wee went to, still in our sight, which standing upon the top of an hill shewed much nearer then it was. When wee had gone some three leagues, we saw six or seven Horsemen; which (the forlorne hope) comming within sixteene or twenty score of, presently turned their Horses

They land the sixt of June.

and galloped away. Not long after there came a Negro willingly offering his service, which I was most glad of; assuring my selfe he would have guided me to the Towne: but he not speaking Spanish nor understanding it, we were led by him to the entrance of the Sea that maketh the Iland, where I imagined with Boates to get over. But of that we were hindred by a bulwarke standing on the Iland side close upon the mouth of the entrance, and having in it five peeces of Brasse. The entrance is not above sixtie yards over, and a little within it is stopped quite over with piles driven in; so as it was not possible to get in there so long as the enemy possessed it. Then were we at our wits end, but I assured my selfe there was some other good way over where those Horsemen rid which we saw before; and with much a doe made this dumbe guide understand that I would have him carry me to the place where they went over. When I perceived he understood me, I followed him through the most wickedest wood that ever I was in in all my life, & at length he brought me to the reare part of all my troope. And for that it grew late, and I was loath to loose any time, I made them march, being Sir John Barkleys Regiment; and gave order mine owne should come in the reare, not having place nor time then to shift them. We had not gone farre, but we crossed the footing of the Horsemen we saw before, and following them were about Sunset brought to a narrow Bridge, whereon three might goe a front about two score over, and to our seeming about the midst of it a strong Gate of wood close shut; and at the further side of the water a Block-house with Ordnance, by which there stood five Spaniards. When I and Sir John Barkley had viewed this place, we understood by another Negro, that comming thither, at a low water we might passe over wading besides the Causie. And he telling us that it was not low water till two of the clocke in the morning, we returned to a little plaine (that we passed by before) to rest our men and give them some

Negros misleading.

A Bridge.

refreshing, for the better inabling them to fight in the morning.

THus farre the same honourable hand hath beene our Actor and Authour: but here when hee comes to doing, breaks off speaking, and (tam Marte quàm Mercurio) exchangeth words for swords, and Mercuriall arts into Martiall acts; of which we have another Relator, as of the rest of this Voyage: a man neere in attendance to his honourable Master. But I cannot give him that which yet this gives him, a name.* It is a copious discourse, which we have somewhat abridged; both in that former part of the Historie, which you already have from Him which best knew it; and in the rest, in some superfluities or digressions (seeming such at least to me, who having so much worke, make my selfe more to make the Reader lesse) providing neverthelesse that not a drop of necessary bloud be lost, or strange injected, how often soever we seeme to open a vaine to our redundant Authors bleed. It was another cause which made me leave out a politicall discourse and State-moral mysterie of this History, written by the same Noble Commander, whose worth here we honour. The times are altered, and howsoever Planets have their peculiar course, fixed Stars must move with their Orbe, and follow the first Moveable. The men of Bethshemesh bought dearely their prying into the Arke: and I know not how I may be tolerated to utter now in publike, those State-mysteries which he then in private counselled for his Countries good. I could also be willing, as I know the world would be greedie of such morsels: but Aesops Dogge snatching at the shadow of a morsell in the water, lost that which he had in his mouth; and his Crowe gaping to sing to please the Foxe displeased her selfe with losse of all her other wealth and purchase. Every where in this vaste worke we have beene wary, and yet scarce wary enough of this danger, in our wariest warinesse; wherein

*I have since heard that his name was Doctor Layfield.

yet (if any such fault be) it is not an itching finger, busie in things above us, but store of businesse in so multiforme a taske perhaps hath occasioned oversight to eyes, otherwise dimme enough. Once; whatsoever the King and State disclaime, I disclaime also as not mine, because I and mine are theirs, and no farther desire to be or see mine owne then in the publike, of which, and for which (under God) I am, have, can, write, do, speake, acknowledge all things. I will pry in the East and West Indies rather then state it at home.

[IV. vi. 1155.]

Chap. III.

A large Relation of the Port Ricco voiage; written, as is reported, by that learned man and reverend Divine Doctor Layfield, his Lordships Chaplaine and Attendant in that expedition; very much abbreviated.

§. I.

The Shippes emploied in the Voyage and accidents on the Coasts of Spaine, in the Canaries, and the Navigation thence to Dominica.

Ann. 1596. *Aug.*

HIs Lordship being authorised by Letters Patents given at Westminster the foureteenth of January, to levie Forces serviceable by Sea and Land, came downe to Portesmouth the eight of February, wherein nothing memorable happened till Munday, being the thirteenth of March.

Worthy act of a worthy man.

While we were at Morning Prayer, his Lordship happened to see a Gallant of the company (purposely I name him not) reading of Orlando Furioso; to whom himselfe in person went presently after Service, all the Company being by, and having told him that we might looke that God would serve us accordingly, if we served not him better; bad him be sure that if againe he tooke him in

the like manner, he would cast his Booke over-boord, and turne himselfe out of the Ship. The next day by observation it was found, that towards the evening we had runne within five or sixe and twenty leagues of the North Cape: whereupon his Lordship gave direction to the Vice-admirall, that he should carry his Flagge in the Maine-top, and with a peece of Ordnance should hale in the rest of the Fleete to his Lee, and that they all with him as their Admirall for the time, should this night winde South and by West; and there they should ride off and on scattering themselves to the North and South, in the height of the Burlings, till his Lordshippe should come to them. In the meane season himselfe attended onely with the Guiana, and the Scourges scout, run to fall in with the North Cape, meaning by the taking of some Carvell or some Fisherman to have some certaine intelligence in what forwardnesse the five Carracks were which at this very time his Lordship knew were outwards bound, The defect of his maine Maste caused him to stand in for the Burlings.

The Burlinges or Berlinga.

The Burlings is an Iland something longer then broad, and by the violent beating of the Sea, it selfe almost made two Ilands, and within few yeares it will be so; exceeding rockie it is and barren above measure. We found no living thing in it, but Lysards and some few Conies.

The Canarie Ilands.

Upon thursday, being the thirteenth of Aprill, we had sight of the Ilands. The first that was within kenning, was Alegrança, the most Northerly of the Canaries: we left it on the star-boord side, as also three little hils rather then the Islands having all one name of the Grange. In the afternoone we had Lancerota, one of the six great Canaries, in cleere kenning. The next morning twixt five and six, we were come to an anchor in the Roade, which beareth East South-east of the Iland. His Lordship had taken colde with watching the last night, whereupon he found himselfe so ill the next morning (being good Friday) that he kept his Cabbin, and was glad to take some strong Physicke: He sent therefore

for Sir John Barkley his Lieutenant generall, and gave him order to land with certaine Companies, to the number of betweene five and six hundred men. They were in their March by ten that morning, and marched the next way (as they thought) to the chiefe Towne of the Iland, but their foremost desire was if they might, to have surprised the Marquesse, who commandeth both that and the next Iland called Forteventura, as his owne possession. The Towne is from the place they landed at, as they conjecture, some ten miles at the least. By five in the afternoone they entered the Towne, which besides the expectation they found clearely quitted of the enemy, and nothing in a manner left, saving good store of very excellent Wine and Cheese. After the Towne was assured, Sir John sent a troope to a strong Hold some halfe a mile of from the Towne, called the Castle; a place which the Marquesse had fortified with good store of Munition and Ordnance. When our Troopes were come up the Hill, they found twixt 80. and 100. Ilanders and Spaniards within and about the house, but without fight they quitted the place, so that our men entered it without losse or danger. They found in it a dozen or more cast Peeces of Brasse, the least Bases, the most whole Culvering and Demiculvering, and an innumerable company of Stones laid in places of greatest advantage. The House it selfe built of squared stone, flanked very strongly and cunningly, both for defence and offence: the entrance thereunto not as in our Forts of equall height with the foundation and ground, but raised about a Pikes length in height, so that without the use of a Ladder, there could be no entrance there. I have heard sundry of our wisest Commanders say, that if they had drawne in their Ladder and onely shut the doore, twenty men victualled might have kept it against five hundred. The Towne consisteth of somewhat more then a hundred houses, whose building is rude, being commonly but of one Storie; their Roofes flat and something sloping to cast of raine, covered onely with Canes or Straw laid

They take the chiefe Towne of Lancerota.

The Castle taken.

[IV. vi. 1156.]

The Towne described.

upon a few rafters, and very dirt cast upon all, which being hardned by the Sunne, becommeth of showre-proofe.

Inhabitants. The Inhabitants are of very able and active bodies, their stature commonly tall, of swiftnesse (in that Mountainous Countrie) not farre behinde their Horses and Cammels: their Armes are Pikes and Stones; when a Peece is presented to them, so soone as they perceive the cocke or match to fall, they cast themselves flat to the ground, and the report is no sooner heard, but they are upon their feete, their stones out of their hands, and withall they charge with their Pikes, and this in scattered incounters or single fight (for either they know not or neglect orderly battalion) oftner giveth then receiveth hurt. The Iland it is not round, but stretched somewhat in length to the North-east and South-west, parted by a ridge of Hils from end to end, as Italie is by the Mountaines-Apennine. These hils are barren, otherwise then that in prettie store they feede flocks of Sheepe and Goates. Their Vallies promise no fruitfulnesse, being very sandy and dry, something like Rye-fields in England, and yet they yeelde passing good Barley, and Wheate. Their beasts be Sheepe and Goates, few Neate, many Asses, fewer Camels, but fewest Gennets, and these of no great stature. The Iland is thought to exceede the Wight both in breadth and length: of the Temper a man may judge (besides that it lyeth in 28. degrees, and some minutes) by the complexion of the Inhabitants, which is blackish, and by their Harvest-time, which was past before the middest of Aprill, and looke for a second about Michaelmas, their landing there was upon good Friday. The next day, the fifteenth of Aprill, Sir John Barkeley, being out of hope to finde the Marquesse, not knowing where to seeke him, whom feare had taught to hide himselfe closely, marched backe to the Navie, without farther harme to the Towne or Castle, then borrowing some necessaries. There is in the Towne a Church of old, and a Frierie not yet finished. Their Church hath no windowes, nor admitteth light

The Iland of Lançerota.

Beasts.

One harvest done before the middest of Aprill.

The Church.

otherwise then by the doores ; it hath no Chancell, but is one undevided roome, stone seates along the sides, and in the one end an Altar with the appurtenants: for the people seemeth full of ignorant Superstition, many Buls and Pardons being found in divers houses. The Friery is a prettie square, with more commodities of fresh water and Gardens, then any other place of the Towne, even the Marquesse his house.

They came that night to the waters side, yet thought it better to lodge abroade then aboord, though there were Boates to receive them. The next day being Easter day, his Lordship having something recovered his strength, after dinner went ashore to the Companies, having seene them trained, knowing that the enemy watched for advantage of scatterers, saw all his men shipt first, and then himselfe tooke Boate. The next day, being Munday, all the Captaines dined aboord the Admirall, and after dinner his Lordship caused his Commission (which was exceeding large in many points) to be openly reade ; and Articles of government were given for Sea-matters to the Captaine of every Ship, and for service by Land to the Captaine of every company ; besides which Articles to the Sea Captaines, was delivered a sealed letter, which they should open, if upon any accident they lost the Fleete, and thereby learne direction where to seeke his Lordship. But withall it was expresly articled, that in no other case they should adventure to open it ; and that if they came into any danger of being taken by the enemy, they should not faile to cast the Letter over-boord sealed, as it was delivered ; for in no sort would his Lordship have his purpose disclosed, no not by examination nor torture.

While his Lordship was coasting neere Teneriffa, the breathes rather then windes were so divers, that it was doubled on every side almost and came so close aboord the shore, that we did easily see into Santa Cruz, and some other coasting Townes, and might discerne the men upon the hils, the rather by conjecture, by reason of the

eminencie and height thereof; among which there is one above the rest incomparable, generally held to be much higher then the Pyke of the Açores, being then covered with Snow, when the bottome was as hot as at Mid-summer it is in England. The Iland though to the Sea a very high land, yet is full of many very fruitfull Plaines, and Vineyards, yeelding to the King yearely (by credible mens report) 28000. Buts of Canary-Sacke. Certaine it is, that in common reputation it is held richer not onely then the rest, but even then the grand Canaria it selfe (though it seeme not so goodly a champion Countrie (for we had that also in very neere kenning.) And that the King esteemeth it more, no man can doubt seeing he keepeth a farre greater Garrison there, then in the Canaria.

Pike of Teneriffe.

Riches thereof.

Captaine Charles Leigh which hitherto had commanded of the Alcedo, on the fourth of May last, the Fleete and in his owne Barke, called the Blacke Lee, runne himselfe alone for the River of Orenoque. His Lordship after divers consultations determined that the Fleete should goe for Dominico. (His speeches, Captaine Slingsbies employment, and other particulars, are here for brevity omitted.)

Captain Leighs voiage to Orenoque.

An old Portugall Pilot told his Lordship that he had beene in eight and twentie voyages into Brasil, but at this time of the yeere onely in one; wherein, hee saith, the windes were so contrarie, and they had so many other difficulties, that they were forced to put in againe and loose that yeeres voyage; so that the windes being in these parts at set times of the yeere, themselves also constantly set, we might well thinke wee should bee encountred with the same difficulties. All this while we held on our course for the West Indies, running West and by South, and West South-west, but bearing still to the Westward, both because we are likelier to keepe the fresher gale that way (though some were of contrarie opinion) and because the later wee entred within the Tropick, we should bee the likelier to meet with

[IV. vi. 1157.]

the Brasil fleet, whose course homewards must of necessitie be much to the North. By Wednesday the tenth of May (for till then wee met not with any memorable accident, seeing to tell of the flocks of flying fishes, might justly seeme triviall) we were come so directly under the Sunne, that none could see evidently the shadow of a stile set perpendicularly, but if there were any it inclined rather to the due South. For by observation by the Astrolabe (the use of the staffe now fayling) we were found to have passed our Tropick three degrees and a halfe, and the Sunnes declination that day was precisely twentie degrees. This was more cleerly perceived at night by taking the height of the Crosier (a starre which of all other distinctly to be perceived neere the Antartick Pole, serveth for those Southerly parts, as the lesser Beare doth to the Northerly countries.)

Sunne in their Zenith.

The Crosier.

It is a long step from the Canaries to the West Indies, which first of all wee had in our kenning upon Sunday being the one and twentieth of May. But to lay, if it be but a handfull of peeble stones, in this gap. Upon Saturday being the thirteenth of May, we had the first gust, and it had many followers, for few days passed without raine. When this raine began, immediately wee all felt a very noysome savour, it was very sulphurous, and lasted so long as the raine did. Whether this proceeded of the nature of the water that fell from so neere the Sunne, or from the ship being very drie (as on land after a great drought there will rise a hot savour) it is not cleerly knowne, nor yet determined, but that others may the better, this observation is expressed. This savour was not felt upon the decks, nor any where else besides the Cabbin, or at least not any where so much. The reason whereof may happily bee, that the aire being suddenly beaten in, and that by narrow passages, came the more violently, and by consequent the more sensibly into the Cabbin, then into other parts of the ship, and therefore whatsoever qualitie

Gusts.

Unwholsome raine.

it bore with it, it was there the strongliest felt. In the following of as great gusts as that which came first, there was no such savour felt, the fleet going still farther and farther from the Sunne. And which may be most to the purpose, not any of them that felt it, found any distemper after it, onely the sense was much displeased therewithall; his Lordship had at this time taken much physick, but still rather to prevent sicknesse, then for to recover health (for God be thanked, his body was very able to obey his minde) finding no difference in the world in the working of physick there and in England. Navigators may helpe themselves by his Lordships observation: That upon Friday being the ninteenth of May, the colour of the Sea began sensibly to alter, that whereas before it was of a cleere azure, it then began to incline to a deepe blacke. We were that day a hundreth and sixtie leagues (or thereabouts) from the West Indies and held ourselves so certainly in the height of Dominica, that wee runne a due Westerly course. It is not unlikely but this colour will be found in the same place at another time. And in such a course, wherein (besides the great difference of Cardes) a man must bee forced to trust to a dead reckoning; this may bee some helpe to a heedfull man. Upon Sunday in the evening his Lordship directed the Master to runne that night with an easie saile, because he tooke himselfe neerer land then most of the Mariners would consent to, being himselfe the first that both spyed and cryed land; they were but few that did assent at the first: some desired it so much, that they durst not let themselves be over credulous; others happily would have had themselves the first discryers, but his Lordship still made it land. Wee set saile for the land, and within two houres it was made to bee Matinino. Leaving it therefore on the larboard side, wee stood for Dominica, and within an houre or thereabouts had it in kenning.

Colour of the Sea black.

Matinino.

Dominica.

[§. II.

§. II.

Description of Dominica and the Virgines. Their landing on Port Ricco, march, fights, and taking the Towne.

BY two in the afternoone wee were come so neere aboard the shoare, that wee were met with many Canoes, manned with men wholly naked, saving that they had chaines and bracelets and some bodkins in their eares, or some strap in their nostrils or lips; the cause of their comming was to exchange their Tabacco, Pinos, Plantins, Potatoes, and Pepper with any trifle if it were gawdie. They were at the first suspicious that wee were Spaniards or Frenchmen, but being assured that wee were English they came willingly aboard. They are men of good proportion, strong, and straight limmed, but few of them tall, their wits able to direct them to things bodily profitable. Their Canoes are of one Tree commonly in breadth, but containing one man, yet in some are seene two yonkers sit shoulder to shoulder. They are of divers length: some for three or foure men that sit in reasonable distance, and in some of them eight or nine persons a rowe. Besides their Merchandise for exchange, every one hath commonly his Bowe and Arrowes; they speake some Spanish words: they have Wickers platted something like a broad shield to defend the raine, they that want these, use a very broad leafe to that purpose, they provide shelter against the raine because it washeth of their red painting, laid so on that if you touch it, you shall finde it on your fingers.

Naked Indians.

[IV. vi. 1158.]

Their Canoas.

The people described.

Red painting.

That night, having with much adoe found land, within a quarter of a mile of the shore, we ankored for that night onely, for though there were a good watering place, and a very sweete riveret fast by us, yet his Lordship ment to way ankor the next morning, and to beare in to another watering place, wherewithall we certainly looked for a hot Bathe. Their Oares wherewith

Their Oares.

they rowe are not laid in bankes as Ship-boates have, but are made like a long Battledoore, saving that their palmes are much longer then broade, growing into a sharpe point, with a rising in the middest of them a good way; very like they are to blades of bigge Westerne Daggers, that are now made with graving. The shankes of these Oares are of equal bignesse, and at the top crosset, like a lame mans crutch. These they use alwayes with both their hands, but indifferently as they finde cause to steere this way or that way. The next morning wee bore in to the North-west end of the Iland, where we found a goodly Bay able to receive a greater Navie then hath beene together in the memorie of this age. There his Lordship found the hote Bathe fast *A hot Bathe.* by the side of a very fine River. The Bathe is as hot as either the Crosse-bathe or Kings-bathe at the Citie of Bathe in England, and within three or foure yards runneth into the River, which within a stones cast disburdeneth it selfe into the Sea. Here our sicke men specially found good refreshing. In this place his Lordship staid some six dayes in watering the whole Fleete, which in that time was all come saving the Frigat, one of the blacke Pinnaces, and one of the Flemmings (which we hoped to be before us, for they have directions.) It was held convenient here to take a Muster of our companies, and something better to acquaint every one with his owne colours; but the weather was so extreamely foule, that in three or foure dayes spent to this purpose, there could be nothing done. Upon Wednesday therefore, being the last of May, it was resolved to stay no longer there, but to come againe to ankor at the Virgines, *The Virgines.* and there bestow one day in training our men. For that was our way to Saint John de Puerto rico, whether his Lordship now declared it was his purpose to goe first of all. By this time (for his Lordship would not have anything done in that foule weather) the other blacke Pinnace was taken down for a long Boate to serve for the more convenient landing of our men.

That evening and the next morning all our men were brought aboord, and on thursday night our sailes were cut for the Virgines. To describe this Iland, it lieth North-west and South-east, the soile is very fat, even in the most neglected places, matching the Garden-plats in England for a rich blacke molde: so Mountainous (certaine in the places where we came neere the Sea-coasts) that the Vallies may better be called Pits then Plaines, and withall so unpassably wooddie, that it is marvailous how those naked soules can be able to pull themselves through them, without renting their naturall cloathes. Some speake of more easie passages in the Inland of the Iland, which make it probable that they leave those skirts and edges of their Countrie thus of purpose for a wall of defence. These Hils are apparelled with very goodly greene Trees, of many sorts. The tallnesse of these unrequested Trees make the hils seeme more hilly then of themselves happily they are: for they grow so like good children of some happy civill body, without envie or oppression, as that they looke like a proud meddow about Oxford, when after some irruption, Tems is againe cooched low within his owne banks, leaving the earths Mantle more ruggie and flakie, then otherwise it would have bin; yea so much seeme these natural children delighted with equalitie and withall with multiplication, that having growne to a definite stature, without desire of overtopping others, they willingly let down their boughes, which being come to the earth againe take roote, as it were to continue the succession of their decaying progenitors: and yet they doe continually maintaine themselves in a greene-good liking, through the libertie partly of the Sunnes neighbourhood, which provideth them in that neerenesse to the Sea, of exceeding showres; partly of many fine Rivers, which to requite the shadow and coolenesse they receive from the Trees, give them backe againe, a continuall refreshing of very sweete and tastie water. For the Inhabitants of this Countrie. A Captaine or

Description of Dominica.

two watering neere the place where his Lordship first anchored, found a leasure to rowe up a River with some guard of Pikes and Musketers, till they came to a Towne of these poore Salvages; and a poore Towne it was of some twenty cottages rather than Houses, and yet there was there a King, whom they found in a wide hanging garment of rich crimson Taffetie, a Spanish Rapier in his hand, and the modell of a Lyon in shining Brasse, hanging upon his breast. There they saw their women as naked as wee had seene their men, and alike attired even to the boring of their lippes and eares, yet in that nakednesse, they perceived some sparkes of modestie, not willingly comming in the sight of strange and apparelled men: and when they did come, busie to cover, what should have bin better covered. The Queene they saw not, nor any of the Noble wives, but of the vulgar many; and the Maidens it should seeme they would not have so squemish, for the King commanded his Daughters presence, with whom our Gentlemen did dance after meate was taken away. This withdrawing of their wives seemeth to come of the common jelousie of these people; for (it is reported) that though they admit one man to have many wives, yet for any man to meddle with another mans wife, is punished with death, even among them. And no mervaile if the severitie of law be set instead of many other wanting hinderances. It seemeth that themselves are wearie of their nakednesse, for besides the Kings apparrell, they are exceeding desirous to exchange any of their Commodities for an old Waste-coate, or but a Cap, yea or but a paire of Gloves.

A Town found in Dominica.

Wilde Majesty.

[IV. vi. 1159.]

Adultery punished with death.

It is pretie that they say is the difference twixt the habit of a Wife and a Maide. The Maide weareth no garter (and indeede she needeth none) but the Wife is the first night she is married (which is not done without asking at the least the consent of her parents) so straightly gartered, that in time the flesh will hang over the list. The haire of men and women are of like length, and

Difference of maide & wife.

fashion. But of all other things it is most memorable, that whereas their Houses are private to all other uses, yet they have one common place, where all their men at least take their diet, nature teaching them that Law which in Licurgus his mouth was thought strange and perhaps needelesse. The King sitteth in the same great roome with the rest, but withdrawing himselfe into some more lovely part, accompanied onely with three or foure of the best esteeme; their meates are their fine fruites, yet have they Hennes and Pigges, but it should seeme rather for delight, then victuall: their drinke is commonly water, but they make drinke of their Cassain, better of their Pines (and it should seeme that might be made an excellent liquor,) but the best and reserved for the Kings cup onely of Potatoes: their Bread is Cassain. The last report of them shall bee what I have seene in experience, namely their great desire to understand the English tongue; for some of them will point to most parts of his body, and having told the name of it in the language of Dominica, he would not rest till he were told the name of it in English, which having once told he would repeate till he could either name it right, or at least till he thought it was right, and so commonly it should be, saving that to all words ending in a consonant they alwayes set the second vowell, as for chinne, they say chin-ne, so making most of the monasillables, dissillables. But it is time to leave them who are already many leagues of.

Common diet roome.

Kings state.

Desire to learn English.

They come to the Virgines.

On thursday night his Lordship set saile for the Virgines, and on saturday morning had them in sight: and in the afternoone we were come to an ankor. On Whitsunday in the morning betimes (for there was a fit place sought out the evening before) our land forces went on shore, and there his Lordshippe tooke a perfect muster of them. The Companies indeede were (though after much sicknesse) goodly, in number one might well say not so fewe as a thousand. When the Companies had bin trained into all sorts, and faces of fights, at length

My Lords land companies about one thousand.

his Lordshippe commanded the Drummes to beate a call, and the troopes being drawne in the nearest closenesse that conveniently they might be, that he might be heard of all, his Lordship standing under a great cliffe of a rocke, his prospect to the Seward, stept upon one of the greater stones (which added to his naturall stature, gave him a pretty height above the other company) so commanding audience, made a speech to them.

The speech you have before in his own relation, and therefore here omitted.

After which, the Fleete then within one dayes sailing from Puerto Ricco, his Lordship presently appointed Officers for the field. They all made up a dozen Companies: whereof if any wanted the full number of 80. they were plentifully supplied, by a large overplus of gallant Gentlemen that followed his Lordships colours, borne by Captaine Bromley; and Sir John also had more then 80. so that the whole Armie appointed to Land, was neere upon a thousand, specially seeing the Officers of severall Companies were not reckoned in these numbers. The Offices thus bestowed, his Lordship forthwith commanded every man to be shipped in Boates, and to goe aboord, where after dinner it was debated, whether it were better to passe through the Virgines, a way not clearely unknowne (for divers of our company both Souldiors and Marriners had gone it before with Sir Francis Drake, in his last voyage) or else to hold the old course through the Passages. It was acknowledged that the Virgines was the neerer way, but withall none can denie, but that it was the more dangerous; for the way is very narrow (about the breadth of Thames about London) and we durst not promise our selves the continuance of a leading winde. The way through the passages was found to be farther about, but withall it was without danger, and therefore having no great haste choose the safer way by the passages; for (said his Lordship) I choose rather, to be the first that shall take Puerto rico, then the second that shall passe the Virgines. The Virgines are little Ilands not inhabited; some thinke for want of water, some thinke that is no cause, and that

See before the names of the Captaines and Commanders, here omitted.

Sir Fr. Drake.

The Virgines described.

there is store of water. They are very barren and craggie, somewhat like the Burlings, but being much more sandie, as it is much more hot. Among these many scattered Ilands there is one called the Bird-Iland, by reason of the incredible store of Fowle. So stored is it with plenty of Fowle, that never was English Dove-coat more willing to yeelde her increase then that hillocke, for you may take with your hands onely, as much as you will to the filling of Bushels and Quarters. That evening we cut sailes, and ranne through the Passages in the night time.

Bird-Iland.

[IV. vi. 1160.]

Incredible store of Birds.

Upon Monday afternoone, we made our selves to be not farre from Puerto rico; and our desire was to beare in with it in the morning before day, that by that meanes we might least of all be discovered. For this cause therefore the Scout and the Anthony were sent before to make our landing place, and that done to returne, which was about midnight. His Lordships greatest care was and had bin some dayes to set his men safely and well on land, for he doubted not to make them a way, if once they were landed without impeachment. Himselfe therefore having commanded that Sir John Barkley should come aboord with him, tooke a Boate and went himselfe no otherwise accompanied then with Sir John and the Cocksons gyng, to discover a landing place. Without long stay he returned againe, so wet, that he was forced to change his apparell, but withall gave present commandement that every Captaine and Ship should put their men into Boates, and that they should follow his bloudy colours, which he would have presently landed.

They land upon the Ile of Saint John de Puerto rico the sixt of June.

By eight of the clocke that tuesday, being the sixt of June, his Lordships regiment, and most part of Sir John Barkleys were landed, which amounted neere to the number of a thousand men. We began to march as soone as we could be brought into any order, & the forlorne hope drawne out, which was led by Captaine Andrewes the Commander of his Lordships private

Company, which that day was brought up in the Battell by Captaine Powell, Lieutenant Colonell of his Lordships regiment. The way we marched was along the Sea side, commonly on firme, sometime on loose sand, but yet it was a faire march, for three leagues at the least, till we met with a blacke-Moore, who we hoped should have bin our Guide (and so he was willing to be) but he neither spake good English, nor good Spanish, and besides was affrighted, so that a great while he did mislead us; for through most unpassable rocks and clifts he brought us: for betwixt the clifts where we stood, and the Iland wherein the Towne stood, there we saw an arme of the Sea, in breadth not Caliever shot, but on the other side was a fort with five peece of great Ordnance, and some, though not many, Musketeers; for both the evening before they had discovered our Navie, and this morning our landing, as we were sure by divers Horsemen, whom we saw come forth to view our strength. Here there was offer made by some, so to plant a number of Musketeers in these rockes, as that they might beate them in the fort from their Ordnance: this was thought possible, and afterwards was done but now deferred, because though we had no annoyance of the fort, yet we knew not how to get over, for the depth of the passage meerly unknown, and our Boats yet had not found any landing place neere the fort. And while here we were at a flat bay, even at our wits end, what course we might take to come to the Towne, there was sent a Peece or two of great Ordnance (but without any hurt) from another fort, which standeth upon the narrowest part of the same arme of the Sea, and was the onely passage that was used from the maine Iland where we were, to the Iland where the Towne is. Here the Nigro was something comforted, and brought to the little wit he had; at length, with much adoe, being made to understand, we tooke our selves to be out of the way, because wee could not passe that way; partly with threatning and partly with promises if he brought

Negros misguiding.

us into a better way to the Town; he began againe to leade, and we to follow with as nimble mindes as weary bodies, for we had marched from morning till now that it was even in the edge of the evening; but we would not be weary.

Bad March. At length through many untroden pathes, or rather no pathes, but such wodden holes, as would have taught the most proud body to stoope very humbly; he brought us into a beaten sandy way. But for all this we were not neere the Bridge which must be passed, and divers even of our leaders began after so long and troublesome a march to faint, so that order was given to stay the Vantgard, when it pleased God to helpe by one meane or other to as many Horses, as kept us from staying our march. There might be seene a poore tyred Jade, without Saddle or Bridle, onely with a match in his mouth very welcome to them that commanded the best Horses of England. But at length we overcame the length of the way, and even to the Bridge were come, but it was so late, that that night we were out of hope to passe it, being (as we had great reason to thinke) fortified against us. Onely the Companies were commanded to keepe their guard, till his Lordship in person with Sir John Barkley went as quietly as they could to take view of the place; which they found to be narrow and a long Cawse-way leading to a Bridge reaching from the one Iland to the other. The Bridge they perceived to be pulled up, and on the other banke was there a strong Barricado, a little beyond which was a Fort with Ordnance. But how much or what we could not learne, nor by how many men it was held, yet perceived they it absolutely not to be passed but at a low water. Our Mariners and Sea-men could say little to the ebbing and flowing in this Countrie, and therefore the onely way to know the fit time of assault, was to set a continuall watch to give present information of the ebbe. The meane time the Armie was led backe to repose themselves a while.

Bridge and Barricado.

In a great Lawne we all sat or lay downe, and with fresh water, which the first Negro, and another, that was afterwards taken in this wood, led our men to, they refreshed themselves; some had some Bread, his Lordship was no niggard of that he had. [IV. vi. 1161.] His lodging that night was his Target; I lay at his head, and to my remembrance, never slept better. In the morning (two houres at least before day) the allarum was given very quietly, and was readily taken, for we needed not but to shake our eares. The Companies were streight ranged, and every man had forgotten how weary he had bin the last night, so forward they were to be in service. Even betwixt his Lordship and Sir John Barkeley there grew a little question; whether of them should have the point that day. Sir Johns answer was, that his Lordship might command them all, and therefore it was at his pleasure to have or leave the point; but since it had pleased him to divide the Armie into two Regiments, and his Lordshippes Leaders had all the last day had the Point, he tooke it to be neerer the order of the Warres if the other Regiment this day were respected. This reason together with request to his honour to remember himselfe to be the Generall, and therefore his place should not be so full of danger, so farre moved his Lordship that Sir Johns Regiment had the Point; neverthelesse his Lordshippe would be at the service in person. Thus the manner of the enterprize being upon the present resolved on, his Lordship put himselfe into his Armour, so did all the Commanders, and who else had Armours, for they looked that the service should be hot, as indeede it proved.

Sir John Barkeleys honourable ambition.

By and by the enemies Centinell had discovered the approach of our Companies, and they tooke the Alarum. It may be well said it was well fought by the English, and if it had bin day that every one might have seene what he did, it is to be thought so many would not have deserved so much commendation. The assault continued above two houres, during which time the Spaniards were

The fight betwixt the English and Spaniards.

not idle. For though the assalants left no way in the world unattempted, yet no way could they finde to enter the Gate. The Cawsey, which was the ordinarie way of passage, was purposely made so rugged: that our men to keepe them on their feete, made choise to wade in the water besides it. Here his Lordship was (by the stumbling of him that bore his Target) overthrowne, even to the danger of drowning; for his Armour so overburdened him, that the Sergiant Major that by chance was next had much adoe at the first and second time to get him from under the water: when he was up, he had received so much Salt water, that it drove him to so great extremity of present sicknesse, that he was forced to lye downe in the very place upon the Cawsey; till being somewhat recovered, he was able to be led to a place of some more safetie and ease; in which place the Bullets made him threatning musicke on every side. His Lordshippe being brought to this little safe place (whence yet he would not be removed till the fight was done) Sir John Barkeley led on his Regiment, from whom there were not lesse then 3000. English Bullets sent among the Spaniards, who had not so many hands as we, yet were not much behinde us, in sending these heavy leaden messengers of death. For besides six peece of great Ordnance, which were bent and played just upon the Cawsey, and some pretty store of Musketeers; at a port fast by the gate lay there a fowler, or a cast peece, that did more skathe, then all the rest, for that at once shot many murthering shot, whereupon the peece is also called a murtherer; for all this our Soldiers came to the very gate, and with Bils, some two or three that they had, wanting other fitter instruments, began to hewe it. At their ports and loope holes they were at the push of the Pike, and having broken their owne, with their naked hands tooke their enemies Pikes, and perforce brake them.

The Earles accidental danger.

Valiant assaults at the gates.

But for all this no entrance could be got. Sir John

Barkeley attempting to discover if any passage might be found of either side of the gate, twice waded so farre, that if he could not have swamme, he had bin drowned. They that were come to the gate called to their owne Companies, that some Pikes should be drawne to them: this word was given farther then was intended, for by and by all the Pikes were called for. Then his Lordships colours began to march, and to the Cawsey came, where hee was very exceeding sicke lying upon the ground in a place no lesse dangerous then if he had bin upon the Cawsey; a place so perillous that it had bin as safe being at the entry of a breach by assault: but the end was, it could not then bee taken; the tyde came in so fast, that what was at our knees before, was now come up to our middles: and besides the day began to breake, which though some thought would be advantagious for us, yet certainely it would have bin the death of many a man; their Ordnance being bent to scoure the Cawsey, and the ruggednesse which they had made to hinder our approach, had made us forsake it; which if the day had once discovered to them, they might easily have bent their Artillery to our much greater losse. But God would not have more bloud shed, nor ours as yet to have our wils. The Companies therefore were brought off to the place where we lodged all night, before where the Chirurgians were presently to looke to the hurt, which were not many, and the slaine much fewer, all under fiftie of both sorts. No Commander slaine or hurt but two Lieutenants. Lieutenant Cholmley, that had served excellently well, and Lieutenant Belings. The losse that the enemy had was much like, saving that of the assaults there were some few more slaine: from this place our Companies marched to the Sea-side, whether his Lordship had appointed victuals to meete them.

Sir J. Barkleys courage.

His Lordships perill.

The tide hindereth them.

His Lordship having given the Souldiours some time to refresh themselves, in the meane time went himselfe

His Lordship goeth aboord.

[IV. vi. 1162.]

aboord so sicke that in truth he was to be feared, with purpose to repose himselfe for that night, but his thoughts were so busied and restlesse, that within few houres he came ashore againe, and presently put in execution a purpose, which his Lordshippe had this meane time digested: it was to land men at the other Fort. For effecting whereof he gave direction that one of the Ships should beare in close to the shore, though it were (as indeede it proved) with apparent danger of casting her away: But the service was to be done whatsoever it cost: Withall there were in the rocks on the other side over against the Fort (I meane that which we first came to see, but could not come at) some fifty Musketeers placed, to beate the enemy from their Ordnance: meane while there were shipped in Boates Captaine Coach, and Captaine Orrell with two hundred Pikes and shot to land on the other side the Fort, twixt it and the Town, that they having made good the place, might either make a stand till the rest of the forces were landed (if it were thought needefull) or else might march and charge the other Fort on that side, when our men should assault it on this side. This plot tooke very good effect; for within an houre that the attempt was given, partly the Ship, and partly the Musketeers had so beaten the Fort, that the Boates had good leisure to land; whereupon within short space the enemy quitted the place without losse to be spoken of to our Companies: for of all ours there were not above three hurt, and one slain, onely the Ship was driven upon the rockes, and finally cast away. Their direction was that the Souldiers should make the place good (for there was no doubt of their sufficient strength) the Boats were commanded to come backe againe to his Lordship, who appointed to tarry at a Conduit which is in the maine Iland but from whence men might be landed betwixt the point or the Bridge, and the red fort, called Matadiabolo.

His returne and second Stratagem.

Good successe thereof.

Ship lost.

The red Fort, called Matadiabolo.

Our men were safely landed some pretty distance beyond the red Fort; where the Spaniards were ready to receive them, and a while they skirmished gallantly, but finding themselves overweake, they made an honorable retreat till they were fallen into the wood, in the edge whereof they made their first stand. Ours marched directly to the Fort, which they found quitted, and there lodged all that night. By that time that the Boates were come backe to his Lordship, the Moone was growne so light, and the water fallen to so dead an ebbe, that there was no hope of passage till the next floud. There was not so much as a candle or a match to be seene in the Fort, whereupon his Lordship told Sir John Barkeley that he tooke that Fort also to be quitted, the rather because some were seene passing from the Fort to the Frigat. Hereupon himself accompanied with Sir John Barkeley, went to the Cawsey to see if they could perceive any more certaintie, and Captaine Rukesby was sent and brought certaine intelligence, that the enemy was gone.

Spaniards beaten.

The English take the Fort.

Another Fort quitted.

By this time it was growne very late, and our men needed some refreshing: the Companies therefore were drawne up to the place where we had lodged the last night, where having eaten something they were within a while brought downe to the point, where meeting with Captaine Coach and Captaine Orrell, all began to march directly towards the Towne. And now our men made but little doubt of all, having once set safe footing in the lesser Iland. It was night when we began to march, and by breake of day we were at the Towne. This day was thursday, Jun. 8. The passage is wooddie on either side, and so narrow that not passing three at the most can march in ranke; and from the Towne this Fort is a mile and a halfe: yet all this way being so fit for Ambuskadoes, or for the Irish manner of charging by sudden comming on and off, there was not a Dogge that barked at us, so that in great quietnesse wee came to the Towne, and found it

They enter the lesse Iland and march to the Towne.

The Towne quitted of all people able to beare armes, and entred by the English.

quitted of all able to make resistance: for besides women and men, whom either age or wounds had disabled for the warres, all the rest had quitted the Towne, and betaken themselves as to their last hope, to one of their Forts to the Sea-wards, called Mora.

§. III.

The Fort Mora beseeged and taken. The Towne described: the Mines. Purpose to hold the place; altered by the death and sickenesse of many.

AFter that the place was assured with sufficient guards, and every Company quartered: first of all the Spaniards that were left were delivered to the Provost, and then his Lordship sent a Drum to summon the Fort to be delivered to him for the Queene of England, who had sent him thither to take it. The Governour made answere that the King of Spaine had sent him thither to keepe it, and that so long as he lived it should not be delivered. After this summons his Lordship tooke exceeding care for the taking in of this hold with the least losse of men that possibly might be; for he considered that he was to leave a strong Garrison there, and that he must himselfe goe home well guarded. His purpose therefore was to take it without fight, onely with a straight siedge to force them to yeelding: his Lordships speciall purpose and desire was by hunger to drive them to a yeelding (as in the end hee did) but withall he provided a batterie, if their victualls should last longer then he wished and hoped. At one time therefore he tooke order to cut off all possible meanes of reliefe of victualls, by sending Boates, which continually lay twixt the Fort and their Mayne; and withall hee provided two plat-formes, and severall Gabions, that from two places at once their wall might bee beaten. To this purpose there was brought from the Scourge two whole Culverings, and two Demiculverings, and about the

The Fort summoned.

The Governors bravado.

Care to save mens lives.

[IV. vi. 1163.]

Towne were found foure other peeces that would serve for batterie, among the which one was that which had slain Sir Nicholas Clifford there not long before. By Saturday the seventeenth of June the Ordnance was readie to batter. But his Lordship would not have them begin on the Sabbath day; so that it was deferred till Monday.

Sir Nicholas Clifford.

All this while the noise of warre was not so great among us, but that the still voice of Justice was well heard. It is no newes that in such companies there will bee outrages committed, and so was it there: for his Lordship publikely disarmed a very good Souldier, for over-violent spoyling a Gentlewoman of her jewels. But because this was not terrible enough to the rest, and he was desirous to arme Justice with the authoritie of all the Commanders, forthwith hee caused a martiall Court to bee called. Whereupon the Article of defacing Churches or Houses of Religion, and of offering force to Women, there were two condemned to die. Hee that had done violence to a Spaniards wife, was a Souldier, and had given very good proofe of his valour, so farre, that his Lordship had taken speciall notice of him, but being convicted of this crime, there was no place left for mercy, but hanged hee was in the market place; the Spaniards as many as would come, being suffered to be present at the execution. The other fellow was a Sayler and an Officer in the Vice-admirall, for defacing some things in the Church, without order from the Generall, hee was brought thrice to the Gibbet, and at length his Lordship was intreated to grant him mercy. These few but indeed notable examples of justice have since held us in much better termes of ruly obedience.

His Lordships justice.

Souldier disarmed for unmanly and unmannerly usage to a woman.

Churches and Women secured.

Ravisher executed.

Sacriledge terrified.

Upon Monday the batterie began to speake very loud: both the Gabions beat upon a Cavalero which they had made upon the Point next to the Towne. The Ordnance which they had planted thereon, by dinner time was judged to bee dismounted, and though that were the thing specially respected in the batterie, yet because

the Wall and the Cavalero that stood upon it began to nod, they beat that place till towards the evening. All this while scarce was there a Spaniard to be seene upon any part of their wall, whereas before the Ordnance began to play, there could not within the sight and reach of the Fort, foure or five of the Souldiers come together, but there would a shot of great Ordnance be sent to scatter them. In the evening the Canoneers found that they had spent all the Culvering shot, and therefore shut up that day with the lesser peeces. Against the morning there was more provided; but in the meane season it was perceived, that the Cavalero was alreadie sufficiently beaten, and that with the next raine (which in that Countrie and time of the yeere, is neither seldome nor little) it would fall, being (as all the Countrie is) of a sandie earth, it did but crumble into dust. The Canoneers therefore were appointed in the morning to beate the other Point neerer the Sea. For that so flanked the Gate, and the breach alreadie made, that without great danger there could not any approch be made, and his Lordship was growne exceeding niggardly of the expence of any one mans life.

Raines.

Parley demanded.

This wrought so with them in the Fort, that about one a clocke, they sent forth a Drum to demand parley. His motion was, that two of their Captaines might be suffered to speake with two of the English. It was granted; and they met in a place of the greatest indifferency that could be found, so that neither partie should discover others strength. The demands were delivered in Paper, written in Spanish: the summe whereof was; for themselves they desired that with Colours flying, match in their cocks, and bullets in their mouth be set beyond the Point at the Bridge, to goe whither they would. Further, they demanded all the prisoners to bee delivered without ransome, and that no mans negroes and Slaves should be detayned from them. His Lordship utterly refused any such composition, but told them because hee tooke no pleasure in shedding

Conditions demanded.

Christian bloud, hee would deliver them some Articles, which if they liked, hee would without more adoe receive them to mercy. Which Articles were these, delivered under his Lordships owne hand to the Governour.

A resolution, which you may trust to.

I Am content to give your selfe and all your people their lives, your selfe, with your Captaines and Officers to passe with your Armes: all the rest of your Souldiers with their Rapiers and Daggers onely. *Articles offered.*

You shall all stay here with me, till I give you passage from the Iland, which shall bee within thirtie dayes.

Any one of you, which I shall choose, shall goe with me into England, but shall not stay longer there then one moneth, but being well fitted for the purpose, shall bee safely sent home into Spaine without ransome.

It was doubted whether there were any in the Fort that spake English, and therefore some were wishing the Articles were translated into Spanish. But his Lordship peremptorily refused to seeke their language, but would have them to finde out his; but because it was now growne late, he gave them respite to thinke what they would answere till eight a clocke the next day, and promise was given on either side, that neither should practise to put things out of the state, they now were in. The next morning rather before then after the time appointed, there returned to his Lordship, besides the two former Captaines, both hee that now was, and hee that had beene last Governour, and withall they brought with them one of good place in his Lordships service whom they had taken prisoner, while he was viewing a peece of Ordnance that lay neere the Fort. These also required (as Captaine Lansois and the Sergeant Major before) private audience who without much difficultie yeelded upon the foresaid conditions; and farther desired they might have two Colours left them, & in lieu hereof they made promise that nothing should be spoyled in the [IV. vi. 1164.]

Spaniards yeeld the Fort.

Fort. That day the Governour and his Companie dined with his Lordship, and after dinner the Governour went and brought out his Companies out of the Fort (which of all sorts were neere foure hundred) and delivered the keyes to his Lordship, who immediately brought in his owne Colours, and Sir John Barkleys, and placed them upon the two Points of the Fort. The Spaniards without being pillaged (for beside all promises his Lordship suffered them to carry their stuffe away) conveyed safely into a strong Castle in the Towne called Fortileza. This Fort was taken in upon Wednesday being the one and twentieth of June, and upon Thursday our fleet was commanded to come into the Harbour, for all this while it had rid without. This Fort is to the Sea-ward very strong, and fitted with goodly Ordnance, and bestowed for the most advantage to annoy an enemie that possibly could bee devised. It is held absolutely impossible that any shippe should passe that Point without sinking instantly, if the Fort doe not graunt her passage: And the riding without the Harbour is very dangerous as wee found by the losse of many Anchors and Cables, to the extreme danger of many of the Ships, and the finall casting away of one of them. The Fort to the landward is not altogether so strong as towards the Sea, but yet being victualled able to abide a long siege.

The Fort Mora wherein were 400. Souldiers, delivered up to the English.

The description of the citie of Saint John de Puerto Rico.

The Towne consisteth of many large streets, the houses are built after the Spanish manner, of two stories height onely, but very strongly, and the roomes are goodly and large, with great doores in stead of windowes for receit of aire, which for the most part of the day wanteth never. For about eight in the morning there riseth ordinarily a fresh breeze (as they call it) and bloweth till foure or five in the afternoone, so that their houses all that while are very coole, of all the artificiall day the space from three in the morning till sixe, is the most temperate, so that then a man may well indure some light clothes upon him; from sixe till the breese rise is very soultering, from five in the afternoone hottest of all the rest till midnight,

Fresh aire.

Heat, how ordered.

which time also is held dangerous to be abroad, by reason of the Serenaes (they call them) which are raynie dewes. And indeed in the nights the Souldiers which were forced to lie abroad in the fields, when they awaked found as much of their bodies as lay upwards to bee very wet. *Great dewes.* The Towne in circuit is not so bigge as Oxford, but very *Greatnesse.* much bigger then all Portesmouth within the fortifications, and in sight much fayrer. In all this space there is very little lost ground; for they have beene still building, insomuch as that within these three yeeres, it is augmented one fourth part. The Cathedrall Church *Cathedrall Church described.* is not so goodly as any of the Cathedrall Churches in England, and yet it is faire and handsome; two rowes of proportionable pillars, make two allies besides the middle walke, and this all along up to the high Altar. It is darker then commonly Countrie Churches in England. For the windowes are few and little, and *No glasse windowes.* those indeed without glasse (whereof there is none to be found in all the Towne) but covered with Canvas, so that the most of the light is received by the doores, *The doores, &c.* the greatest whereof is just in the West end to the Seaward, so that out of it a man walking in the Church may behold the ships riding in a very faire Harbour. The other two doores (besides that which is private from the Bishops house) are on either side, a little above their Quire. For that of all other things is the most singular and differing from the fashion in England, that their Quire is in the very lowest and Westermost part of their *Quire in the lowest part of the Church.* Church, wherein is the Bishops seate raysed three good steps above the rest, and pompously built. On either side of him seeme to sit sixe Prebends, and upwards are places for singing men and Quiristers. Their Church wanteth no necessarie implement. On the North side a faire paire of Organs; at either side-doore a poore mans boxe: above the Organs on the same side, there is a decent Pulpit very conveniently placed; on the other side of the side-doores, there were two Lavers for holy water, to sprinkle the Incommers, and in the South-west

corner fast by the great doore is there a place seemly inclosed with Joyners worke, where is a faire Font placed. This Church is sacred to Saint John Baptist, as is all the Iland; besides his Image there were many other in particular shrines, which the Souldiers could not bee held from defacing unorderly. There are in the Citie three or foure little Chappels to Saint Anne, Saint Barbara, and others.

Chappels.

Besides the Fort, which held out those few dayes, and is of some twice twelve score removed from the Towne: there is in the West and by South side of the Towne a strong Castle, built of squared stone, commonly called the Kings house, named before Fortileza, wherein was found good store of Munition. Betwixt this Castle, and the Fort Mora, there is another peece of fortification of squared Stone and battlemented, it also coasteth along the Sea, and may beate the harbour. So that all things considered, it was the mightie hand of God, which with the losse of two men onely at one shot slaine with a peece of Ordnance, delivered a place of such strength, to so small a troope of men, the rather if it be considered, that we came not thither unlooked for; for they had particular warning a moneth at least before, and to the waterside where Boates use to land out of the harbour, they had cast up a strong ditch to impeach landing there, but God brought us a better way. There is also a faire Frierie standing on the North side of the Towne, but little distant from it: it is built of Bricke in a good large square, with a Church and Hall, and all necessary roomes for a Pryor and Covent of Fryers, it seemeth not to be perfected yet, for they are beginning of a Cloyster not yet covered. The Covent was fled all, saving one old Fryer, who in the little broken Latine that he had told me, that they were Dominicani ordinis prædicatorum mendicantium. The scituation of this place is exceedingly delightfull: it standeth upon the easie hanging of a hill, inclosed on three parts well neere by the Sea. The soile sandie and very light, like to our Rye-fields in England:

[IV. vi. 1165.]

The Castle.

Monasterie.

the temper as in that height hot, and yet rather effectually and in operation, then to the sense. There books have their glewed backs, there melted and loosened; Flowers or Fruites candied in England, there lose their crust, and English Comfits grow liquid. But after some little acquaintance, it is likely it would prove a very healthfull place; for though they speake of some mortality (as what place in the world is alwaies free from that scourge of God?) that hath bin there of late, yet have I bin told by them that have lived there, in seventeene moneths there have not above two bin buried, and those of extreame age. And at his Lordships comming hither people of 80. and 90. yeares old were of good abilitie of body.

Woods of unknowne trees.

The rest of this little Iland (at the least halfe of a league in length) is for the most Woods complaining of the want of dressing and industrie, yet are they all youthfully greene, and none without some fruite or other, but so strange as would pose the professors of that skill in England: and in these woods Horses and Oxen grow fat, if they be suffered to rest. Therein be also some large inclosures carefully dressed, not unlike to our manner of dressing Hop-yards, and every hillocke laden with the fruites of the Countrie. Lemmons or rather Lymes, and the goodliest Orenges that ever I saw are ordinarily to be found where no man set them. In and about the Towne there is store of Coker-nut-trees, which, beside the excellencie of the Fruite, give a very delightfull gracing to the Towne. There is not in this little Iland any knowne River or Spring, but hard beyond the point in the other Iland there is an excellent Conduit of very good fresh water, handsomely overbuilt with squared Stone; and in the Towne every house hath a large Well, and some two, so as they cannot want water in such plentie of raine, which is there both often and abundant. And if men will not lose themselves with overmuch ease and pleasure, there will be no necessarie thing wanting. But the eminent and knowne profits of this place are Ginger, Sugar and Hides, besides the secrets of the Gold Mines,

Why those mynes are neglected.

howsoever of late yeares neglected. Some reasons have beene given, why the King left working though he knew there were exceeding store of gold. The first is, the very store of Gold; for say they the sweetenesse he found, made him unwilling to have any copartners, and therefore knowing this place to bee the neerest to the Indies to those Countrimen, whom he most feared that they would in time become sharers with him, he would not lay such a baite to entice them to set footing there, where being once entered, they would not onely guild their fingers, and pay their Souldiers for the present with his Treasure, but would make this their baiting place in the longer journey to the other Ilands, and continent of the Indies, which are the very coffers whence he feedeth his warres. And if it be objected, that the working in these Mines was ceased before the King had cause to feare the English or French invasions thereinto, there being then no warres twixt him and them; let them rest satisfied, that with the answer made by a Spaniard to his Lordship, objecting the same, that the warres were then a brewing. Secondly, they say that the King left working in this, because he would have all not onely this, but the other Mines also; for he saw that all men, as they doe love wealth, so doe they also seeke after ease, And if with lesse labour they may get the same profit, none will undergoe needlesse travell. From which generall, the descent is very easie and direct to this particular. That if in a shorter voyage and lesse time his subjects were sure to make themselves Masters of as much gold, as if they went farther and should come no heavier home; hee should finde but few that would fetch gold from Peru, or the other more inland parts of the Indies, when as they might have it with halfe the travell, and in halfe the time. Besides, the Spaniards great lands and povertie of men will not suffer all workes goe forwards at once. There are among the Spaniards whom God hath delivered to his Lordships hands, the same Lansois of whom was spoken before. In what reckoning hee is held by the Spaniards, may bee

perceived, by their imploying him, in time of so great necessitie. Once it is confessed, that hee almost onely was hee that held the rest from present yeelding, and who after yeelding (which yet they say was without his consent) taketh the losse of the Spaniards most of all to heart. He seemeth truly to be wise above the common pitch of Souldiers which is his profession, yet hath he beene heard say and protest by the faith of a Souldier, that there is not so rich and good a myne in all the Kings Dominions to the Westward, as that of Puerto Rico. Others whose fathers were imployed in the workes, report what their dying fathers told them. But that which maketh most of all to the purpose, is the present preparation which the King is even now a making, for the reviving of these workes afresh in Puerto Rico, by setting two hundreth Negroes to worke, and for that purpose had sent great store of Mattocks and Spades thither, there found in his store-house, and for what other use they should have needed, is not well conceiveable. [IV. vi. 1166.]

Much time was spent in taking order how the Spaniards might be dispatched to Carthagena; (for thither it was resolved they should bee sent) being a place so farre to the leeward of Puerto Rico, as that they neither could in haste themselves make any head, nor send newes to Spaine, to procure the levying of any forces thence: and in providing victuals for this place, and repayring ships that were first to come for England. Upon Thursday being Saint Peters day, there was a saile discryed at Sea in the morning, and by noone shee was come into the Harbour, which with much astonishment shee found turned English. The Spaniards had some few dayes before reported that they looked for a ship to bring from the Havana much of the Souldiers pay that was behinde. This held us for the time in great suspence of hope and doubt, whether this might bee shee or no; the rather because this seemed to bee of the same bignesse that they had spoken of, but when shee was fallen into the trap, it was found indeed to bee a very Mouse, where we looked

Saile descryed.

A ship of Negroes.

for a Mountaine. For her lading was a number of poore naked Negroes from Angola to bee sold there. Yet was shee a pretie Boat, and of her lading likely to bee made of good use. Within few dayes after there was another saile almost taken after the same manner, yet perceiving a greater fleete riding there, then shee could hope to finde Spanish shee got her tack aboard, and went away lasking, so that though the Affection was sent away in chace after her, yet shee escaped.

Upon Friday being the seventh of July, all things being made readie for their passage, the Spaniards were imbarked in a Carvell, and in another ship, which during the time the ships rode without the Harbour, for feare of them whom shee could not passe, or envie that they should receive good by her, ranne her selfe desperately ashoare, but shee and most things in her were saved, and here she saved the sending away of a better ship. With these two, wherein the baser Spaniards were put, there were two other ships sent to waft them, wherein also went the Governour and some few others, who deserved some respect. And for themselves it was permitted them to come directly home for England. The next day being the eighth of July, there came to his Lordship two Negroes from the mayne Iland with a flagge of truce, and a letter from one Seralta, an ancient Commander in that Iland, and who upon a wound received in the first fight at the bridge had with-drawne himselfe into the Countrie. The effect of his desire was, that being in great distresse through feare of the English, that daily marched up and downe the Countrie, he desired his Lordship to grant him and his protection to travell without danger. Whereunto his Lordship made this answere to be written, and sent him. That he must absolutely denie his request, but yet if himselfe, or any of his Nation, or any dwelling with him or them would within eight dayes come unto him to Puerto Rico, he should by the vertue of that his Letter bee protected from being taken or spoyled, by any of his Souldiers:

and this hee willed him to signifie to them neere about him, that they might give notice of the same throughout the whole Iland. And further, his Lordship promised that to as many as would come, that they should both come safely, and if they so would should bee imbarked, and sent away as the Governour with the rest of the Spaniards were alreadie.

His Lordships honorable resolution and intendment was, not to come so farre from home, to take onely or spoile some place in this other world, and then run home againe: but hee had determined (by the leave of God) to keepe Puerto Rico, if it pleased God to give it into his hands. That was the place he meant to carry, whatsoever it might cost him, being the very key of the West Indies, which locketh and shutteth all the gold and silver in the Continent of America and Brasilia. He knew that Saint Domingo might with much lesse losse bee taken, and would bring much greater profit for the present; in regard whereof, and of the desire hee had his Adventurers should become gayners, his thoughts sometime tooke that way, but finally they stayed at Puerto Rico, and there setled themselves. As this was his resolution before hee had it, so was it also after he had it, and then not onely his, but every man of worth or spirit saw such reason in his Lordships designments, that some thought themselves not so graciously dealt withall, that they were passed over, when others were named to stay. But God had otherwise disposed. For within a while that his Lordship had beene in Puerto Rico, many of our men fell sicke, and at the very first not very many dyed. The Spanish as well as the English were both sicke and dyed of the sicknesse, as besides Seralta was seene in divers others. Others suspected their bodily labours to have procured it, and both seeme to have concurred.

Purpose of stay and holding the place.

Alteration by sicknesse and mortalitie.

In July and August is their Winter, so called for their great raines at those times, which to bodies alreadie rarified by the heat of the Sunne then over them, and yet rather where vehement exercise hath more opened

Winter (so called of [IV. vi. 1167.] *abundance of rain) in July and August.*

The disease.

the pores whereby inward heat is exhaled, must needes be very dangerous. It was an extreme loosenesse of the body, which within few dayes would grow into a flux of bloud, sometimes in the beginning accompanyed with a hot Ague, but alwayes in the end attended by an extreme debillitie and waste of spirits: so that some two dayes before death, the armes and legs of the sicke would be wonderfull cold. And that was held for a certaine signe of neere departure. This sicknesse usually within few dayes (for it was very extreme to the number of sixtie, eightie, and an hundred stooles in an artificiall day) brought a languishing weaknesse over all the body, so that one mans sicknesse (if hee were of any note) commonly kept two from doing duties. And this was it, which rather then the number alreadie dead, made his Lordship first thinke of quitting the place. For though towards the beginning of July, there were not much above two hundred dead, yet was there twice as many sicke, and there was no great hope to recover the most of them. The ships were left weakly manned, for when we landed we landed about a thousand men, of which the greater part was dead or made unserviceable for the present. There were above foure hundred reported dead when his Lordship left the Towne, and surely as many so sicke, that most of them could not bring themselves aboard, before his Lordship left the place. After that it was once openly given out what his Lordship purposed, then was order taken to make readie the ships, in which time these things happened. Upon Friday the seventh of July, there was a saile discryed, which being come in was found to bee one of our owne, though made ours by purchace. Heretofore it was noted, that at our comming from the Canaries, wee wanted the Frigat and one of the black Pinnaces, which being sent upon a piece of service with Captaine Slingsby in the Consent, had left him, and were gone after a chace, but how farre or whither none knew till this saile came in, which told us that they had taken that chace, whose lading was Muttons onely and

400. English dead of sicknesse in Puerto Rico.

Hennes, passing from one Iland to another, but withall they had so irrecoverably lost the fleet, that after they had there stayed five or sixe dayes, beating up and downe to finde us againe, but without effect. Captaine Harper that commanded the Frigat, was forced to breake open his Letter, to know his direction whither his Lordship had appointed him to come to him. According whereunto they first stood for Margarita, where not finding his Lordship, nor hearing any newes of the fleet; they put off againe for Puerto Rico, according to the direction they had received. But by reason of the violence of the Current there not so well knowne to them, they were driven to the leeward of Puerto Rico, and so had beene at Domingo before they came to us. There they heard newes of his Lordships being at Puerto Rico, and that he had taken the Towne, but the Fort held out still. Making therefore all the haste they could, bearing up as high as the Passages, they got thither at last. The men in this ship were they which had beene in the black Pinnace, but because shee began to bee leakie, and not to brooke these Seas, they had sunke her, and put themselves into the prize, which being of better saile then the Frigat, had out-gone her some dayes sayling, for they told us shee would also bee there within few dayes, and so shee was on Tuesday next after, having lost one man of their companie, all the rest were very strong, and in good liking. Upon Wednesday the nineteenth of July, there came into this Harbour a Carvell: Shee was found to bee of Margarita, laded onely with passengers that were bound for Spaine. There were also found some rags and medicine pearle, to the value of a thousand Duckets; the men were not many, and it should seeme they had not further furnished themselves, then might provide them necessaries at their arrivall in Spaine, and to present their friends. Upon interrogatories therefore he found it very certaine by the agreeing confession of them all, that they were so farre from hearing of any fleet of the English in these Westerne parts, that in much securitie the Kings Chist was

Black Pinnace sunke.

A thousand Ducats worth of pearles found.

The Kings rich Chist of pearls in Margarita.

yet remayning in Margarita, with no more then the ordinarie guard. For besides the old Garrison of about thirtie Souldiers, there was not any new supply. Onely they had received direction from the King, that seeing the Chist was very rich, they should not adventure to send so great treasure without assured strength; and therefore his pleasure was signified to be, that it should attend his sending of some Gallions or Frigats for the safe wafting of the same. The Chist had not beene stirred some yeeres, and therefore rich it must needes be, in a place which so plentifully yeelded pearle. Triall was made by his Lordship with three ships; but Margarita lying South-east or South-east by South from Puerto Ricco, and the windes at that time of the yeere constantly blowing East South-east or South-east by East, they were forced backe frustrate of their hopes.

[IV. vi. 1168.]

§. IIII.

Purpose of returne. Treatie with the Spaniards. His Lordships departure. Description of the Iland, the Beasts, Fruits, Plants, &c.

HIs Lordship after he saw it was not Gods pleasure, that this place should yet bee kept by the English, had made some offers afarre off to the Teniente, and other chiefe men that were in the mayne Iland, for ransomming their Iland and Citie. To this purpose he used one Antonio Robles, a Licenciate in physick, that had beene taken in the ship of Angola, whereof I noted something before. This Robles is a man, whom some learning and much experience added to his naturall wit, had made very subtile and craftie. Hee once returned, but soone after gave the slip, as also did two others. By reason of this accident, the old Governour and the rest of the Spaniards, were restrayned of much libertie they had, and were kept in closer durance: which wrought with them in such sort, that at his Lordships returne into the Harbour, the Governour Pedro Suarez made offer to his Lordship, that

if it would please him to send one Vincent Lopez (that was in restraint with him) againe to negociate with the Teniente touching the ransome of the Citie and Stansies, he would become suretie for his returne. His Lordship refused to write any more to men so unworthy of his curtesie, which they had much abused; Marry if you, said my Lord, doe see likelihood that any thing would bee effected, and would your selfe and as from your selfe write to them to perswade them for their owne good, I would upon your word and suretiship, be content that the said Lopez should passe. Thus upon Tuesday the first of August, was Lopez dispatched with one Letter to the Bishop, and another to the Teniente, both from Pedro Suarez. Upon Thursday the third day, Lopez returned. And brought his Lordship a Letter in shew from the Licenciate in physick, Antonio Robles, but indeed it was an answere from the Teniente, Pedro Garcia, and the rest, into whose hands the government fell, upon the sending away of the present Governour Antonio Muschere. In this Letter, besides many idle excuses for his owne treacherous breach of promise (the convenient doing whereof was in likelihood the cause, that he specially was deputed to write for the rest) there was offer made, that if it would please his Excellencie, to set downe and send them a definite summe, which he would accept, they would looke into their present abilitie, and accordingly would send his Lordship assurance, that within seven dayes it should be sent to him, to be received at the Point, where hee held continuall guard. Concluding, that in these sendings they sought nothing but delaies, his Lordship determined not to send them any more, but withall speed to make himselfe and the fleet readie for a happy, and by many much desired returne, since it was cleere, that it was not Gods pleasure, that yet this Iland should bee inhabited by the English. All the Hides therefore, and Ginger and Sugar, which either was alreadie readie or in time could be gotten, was forthwith shipped, and so was all the munition

Lopez sent with Letters.

in the Towne, all the Ordnance in any place of that Iland, which amounted in all and of all sorts very neere the full number of fourscore cast peeces, some of them the goodliest that ever I saw. But when they saw his Lordship resolute to send no more to them for negotiating touching the ransome of their Citie; they now begin to send againe and againe to him. His Lordship never meant to deface their Citie, or to make it unfit to be inhabited. But withall he tooke the likeliest wayes, to conceale this from the knowledge of the enemie, whom hee could not so well rule with any other bit, our owne strength being now growne so weake. His Lordship therefore entertayned their offers, and so farre granted their desires, that some in the name of them all, might with his Lordships Passe come to the Citie to goe through with his Excellencie. There came two, Immanuel Cordero and Don Pedro de Pantoia, who without the Bishops consent, they said, offered five hundred kintals of Ginger; at whose returne (which should bee within three or foure dayes) they did thinke that thrice so much would be given. The fleet was not yet altogether readie, and Sir John Barkley not yet so well recovered of his the common disease, as that it was deemed fit hee should presently commit himselfe to the Sea, being to bee so long without a bayting place; and hee by his Lordships directions left him, might dispatch the matter. These two therefore were licensed to returne to Luisa to their friends upon Saturday being the twelfth of August, with promise to be againe with us on the Tuesday following. But before their appointed day his Lordship set saile: yet it is not unlikely his returne was something hastened, by an accident that fell out. The old man Pedro Suarez had a countenance that promised an honest minde, and in regard of his age and weaknesse, he was not so narrowly looked to, as for sometime hee had beene. This old sicke man found a meanes to escape the Sunday-night after they were gone to Luisa, certainly not without practice with his Countrimen; and it is thought with the privitie of his

80 peeces of brasen Ordnance brought from Puerto Rico.

Keeper. Now this mans departure onely therefore misliked, because it was traiterous and without leave, did more and more confirme his Lordship in his opinion that the Spaniards dealing with us was traiterous, and for some other end, then was pretended. And therefore seeing his owne stay should not be needfull (for he knew Sir John very sufficient to dispatch any thing that was to bee done) he presently commanded that his owne ship should weigh, and with her, of great ships onely the Samson; of the lesser, the Royall Defence, the Frigat, the Scout, the Elizabeth, the Guiana, and two little ones that were found in the Harbour, one a Frenchman, and the other a Spanish Frigat, which were rigged during our aboad there. So that his Lordship left with Sir John the strength of the Navie, the Ascention, the Gallion, the Alcedo, the Consent, the Pegasus, the Centurion, two strong flie-boats, and the Anthonie. The true reason of his Lordships desire to be gone from Puerto Rico quickly, was indeed a longing he had to be quickly at the Ilands. For hee had so plotted the voyage, that still hee would have a string left in store for his Bow. And now hee had intelligence that the fleet of Mexico, which hee knew was to goe this yeere, was even now upon their dispatch. For upon very good advertisements he was given to understand, that the fleet meant to disimbogge the first light Moone in their September, which falleth out to bee the seven and twentieth of our August, and his desire was to be at the Ilands before them, which he might well hope for being in the height of the Bermuda by that time they should put forth of the Bay. Besides this he had reason to looke for the meeting of a Carack, if by the middest of September hee were at the Ilands. For though they, which are homewards bound having made their voyage in the East Indies, ordinarily have timelier passage, and are at home by August, yet if any of them, which this yeere were to goe from Lisbon, should be put backe againe, September is the moneth, wherein they were to bee expected

[IV. vi. 1169.]

Ships left with Sir J. Barkley.

Cause of the Earles quick departure.

at the Açores. And for their more certaine meeting againe with his Lordship, that so all the fleet might come home together, his Lordship left them this direction, which was given to every ship under his hand. You shall steere in with the Southward part of Flores: if you finde me not in that course, then seeke me betwixt ten and fourteene leagues of Fayal, West South-west. If there you finde mee not, then come through betwixt Fayal and the Pike; and seeke me in the Road at Gratiosa; if you finde me in none of these places, you may be assured I am gone from the Ilands for England. And for the Towne, Sir John had order given to leave it undefaced, saving that the Fort Mora should bee razed to the landward. Thus wee left Puerto Rico, and steered as directly to the Ilands as the windes would suffer us, which are there continually Easterly, yet served us so favourably, that blowing much at East South-east, wee tooke our selves to hold a North North-east course, allowing our ships to drive one point to the leeward; which course if we could hold, we hoped to weather the infamous Iland of Bermuda, notorious with unmercifull and incredible stormes of fearfull thunder and lightning. It was the sixt day after our departure from Puerto Rico, being Saturday the nineteenth of August, when I writ out this note, then were wee a great way from the height of the Bermuda, which lyeth in thirtie three degrees.

The Earle departed from Puerto Rico the 14. of August.

Now we are in the way from Puerto Rico to the Ilands of Açores, which must needes be found a long passage, and the way being not much beaten with resort of the Passengers, puts me in hope that this may be a leisurefull place, to pay a piece of a promise that I made before, to say something more of the nature and qualitie and largenesse of the mayne Iland of Puerto Rico. The meanes which I did most wish and hope for, to enable mee the better for the payment of this debt, I could never with conveniency come by. For I alwayes waited if his Lordship would passe over into the Mayne. For

without him I had no great desire, and indeed I should have beene quickly missed, seeing it pleased his Honor to use mee in the dispatch of all things, which were to be done by warrant or direction under his hand. So that whatsoever I shall say here, I must be content to report upon the report of others; and I will not tell you any thing, which (mee thought) my selfe did not first see reason to beleeve. The plat and figure of the Iland is a square, altera parte longius, the length exceeding the breadth neere the proportion of seven to foure; for it is told me, to be sixe and thirtie leagues long, and twentie leagues broad, bearing it selfe out from end to end neere in the same distance. It lyeth East and West: at the West end the two corners doe so jut out that they make a goodly Bay betwixt them, but yet not so profitable, because a goodly River, which would gladly disburden it selfe into the Bay, is choaked with sands, which the Sea casteth up into the mouth of the River, which being navigable a good way up into the Land, is within a stones cast of losing his old name, and being called the Sea, made shallow and unfit for the receit of Vessels of burthen. There are indeed in the same Bay other lesser Riverets, whereat Passengers use to take in fresh water, as Sir Francis Drake did, after hee was beaten from the Citie of Puerto Rico, and put forth thence to Nombre de Dios. Upon this part of the Iland, which is commonly called La Aquada, in English, The watering place, the greatest Commander, and of largest possessions, is, or of late hath beene, one Chereno; whose proper land, is thought to containe in compasse and circuit neere the quantitie of ten leagues. The other end, the Easterly end is knowne by the name of La cabeça de San Juan, in English Saint Johns head. The Citie of Puerto Rico is his right side or arme: and the South side about the Countrie of Choama (whither the Bishop at our comming had carried himselfe) will be answerable to the left side or left arme, as being lesse fit for action, and his feet is the watering place. The most famous Rivers

The Authors employment with the Earle.

Of the nature, qualitie, and largenesse of the mayne Iland of Saint John de Puerto Rico.

of this Iland are Toa and Baiamond, the rather because they runne into the Harbour of the Citie of Puerto Rico; whereof Toa is by much the greater, and falleth more with the West of the Towne: This river riseth out of a Mountaine, called Guiamo, being on the South side of the mayne Iland, some fifteene or sixteene leagues from Puerto Rico to the Eastward; from Guiamo it runneth North in one streame, till it come to another Mountaine, called Cawas, and though in this way it receive many Riverets into it, yet it cannot bee said either to lose or retaine his name, for thus farre it is not knowne certainly what name it had, as they say; but here parteth it selfe into two streames, the one whereof runneth Northerly to Luisa, a Towne not great but somewhat fortified, standing some sixe leagues to the Eastward of Puerto Rico. Whether the Towne doe give or take his name of this arme of the River, it is unknowne. But well knowne it is, that they have both one name. The other streame being once divorced from Luisa, runneth North North-west and falleth into the Harbour of Puerto Rico, where it is called Toa.

River Toa.

[IV. vi. 1170.]

River Baiamond.

Baiamond riseth betwixt the parting of Toa and Luisa, and runneth a Northerly, but more Easterly course withall, till it mingleth it selfe with salt water on the South-west side of Puerto Rico. The Iland is watered with very many other Rivers, and Riverets and Springs without number, or names, but those that give or take names of the Villages and Townes which stand upon them, for the most part runne Northerly. For besides Guiamo, which riseth in the Countrie of Coama, and runneth into the Southerly Sea, and the River whereon Saint German (which also is called Salamanca and Guadianilla) is situate towards the West end of the Iland neere to Cape Roxo; all the other of name runne to the leeward of the Iland, and fall into the Northerly Sea. As first and next to Puerto Rico to the Westward, the River and Towne of Sabuco: next to it Guiamo, then the Recibo, twixt which and the Laguada is another,

whose name I could not learne. The Laguada, whereof I spake before, and which giveth name to the Westerly end of the Iland, where Sir Francis Drake (as I said) watered, is next unto the choaked Bay before mentioned; in which Bay at the North-west Point is the Gawaraba, which the Seas violence hath made something unprofitable for navigation, so that the passage to Saint Domingo, and the other leeward parts of the West Indies, are most ordinarily from the Laguada, if they of the Westerly part of the Iland have any businesse that way. For as Saint Germans or Salamanca, though I have heard it to be a Harbour and a Sea-faring Towne, yet I am told so much to the contrarie, as makes me doubt of the former report, though I dare not absolutely assent to this later, though a Spaniard of good understanding told it me. Now, in every one of these Rivers which I have named is there gold found ordinarily before it be sought. And (I know it to bee true) when the Spaniards perceived by his Lordships manner of leaving the Citie of Puerto Rico, that hee went not away without purpose to returne, one of them told his Honor in plaine termes, that he could not thrust his spade into any of these named Rivers, and many other besides these, but hee should finde gold. This certainly is true, and I have seene the experience, that some of the gravell of one of these Rivers being brought to his Lordship because it looked rich, when triall was made, onely by washing away the sand and gravell, there was cornes of very good gold found in it, and that for the quantitie and proportion in great measure. Where, because we are againe fallen into this argument, I will report unto you a certaine truth, whereby the richnesse of the mynes in Puerto Rico may be esteemed. One Joancho de Luyando, a Mint-master in this Iland, dwelling in the Guadianilla neere to Saint Germans, or at the least having workes there, tooke a bullion or masse of gold so pure, as it needed no further triall, that being sent to the King it was found worth three thousand and five

Gold found ordinarily in the Rivers of Saint John de Puerto Rico.

hundredth Duckets, and divers times he found such plates, that onely splitting them, he made himselfe trenchers of gold to eate his meat on. This man may bee judged to have beene of no great either wit or care; for it is certainly reported, that oftentimes meeting his owne slaves comming out of the Countrie to his house in Puerto Rico with store of gold, hee did not know them to be his owne, till themselves told him so; and yet this man dyed so very rich, that he left every of his three sonnes a hundreth thousand Duckets; insomuch that the youngest of them being in Spaine upon the dispatch of some businesse, which his father had left unsettled, was there thought of state so good, that a Marquesse thought his daughter well bestowed upon him in marriage. But see how nothing will last where God with his preserving blessing doth not keepe things together. For at this day, scarce is there any remainder left of all his riches, and this now most poore though great Lady, not being able to proportion her selfe to the lownesse of her fortune, and besides vexed with her husbands ill conditions, hath by authoritie left him, and having entered religious profession, is at this present in a Nunnerie in Saint Domingo.

Vanitie of riches.

I have beene very inquisitive of the best observers, and most able to judge among ours, that have upon occasion travailed into the inparts of the Iland. They doe agreeingly tell me, first that their wayes are very myrie, or rather dirtie, as proceeding of mold rather then gravell or sand; now, the proverbe in England is, that that Countrie is best for the Byder, that is most cumbersome to the Rider. Secondly, the grasse and herbage they meet withall everywhere is very proud and high, though somewhat course, which argueth a lustinesse, and strength of fatnesse in the soile, and which wanteth onely store of mouthes to over-come that luxuriant pride, and to bring it to the finenesse which we most commend in England, which is made most probable, by that, which in the third place they report of their experience, that the

The soile.

soile is a black mold, underlaid within some two foot, with a laire of reddish clay, which is one of the most infallible marks by which our English Grasiers know their battle and feeding grounds. The whole Iland is delightfully and pleasurably diversified with Hills and Vallies. Among the Hills there is one eminent above the rest, called the Loquilla, commended with the greatest plentie and riches of mynes. And yet none of the Rivers that I can heare of, have their heads from thence, which perhaps may bee the reason, why it above the rest is lesse wasted. For they say that in the other Hills also there are veines found, of whose povertie no man needeth to complaine. This Hill which they call Loquilla, is placed Easterly above Luisa. The Vallies are much wooddy, but in very many places interlaced with goodly large Playnes and spacious Lawnes. The woods are not onely underlings (as in the lesser Iland for the most part they are) but timber trees of goodly talnesse and stature, fit for the building of ships, and of every part of them. For not to speake of a ship which wee our selves found here a building towards the burthen of a hundreth; the great Bougonia, a ship of a thousand, having lost her Masts at Sea, had them all made here of the timber of this Iland, her mayne Mast being of two trees onely, and being there and all other wayes fitted for Spaine, was even upon the point of putting forth of this Harbour, when Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkins came hither with an honorable intent to take her and the foure Millions, which shee brought hither from the Havana. For this ship was the Admirall of the fleet, which that yeere went from Terra firma; and being taken with a storme at Sea, and having lost her Masts, with much adoe recovered this Harbour, and here was againe fitted. But the Queenes Navie (upon advertisement of this accident) came so just in the nick, that they were forced to sinke her in the Harbour, and that with so great haste, that the passengers had not time to fetch their clothes, but

[IV. vi. 1171.]

M. Loquilla.

Woods and Timber.

Great ship sunke with foure millions and a halfe of treasure.

lading and victuals and all was lost. Some of the ribs of this great Beast we found here, but the marrow and sweetnesse of her was gone; for shee brought in her foure millions and a halfe of treasure, for the wafting whereof those Frigats, which Sir Francis burned in this Harbour, were purposely sent. For while Sir Francis was watering at Guadalupe, some of his fleet discovered the passage of these Frigats by Dominica; which good newes (as truly they were very good) assured Sir Francis (as he openly told the fleet) that the treasure was not yet gone from Saint John de Puerto Rico, for as much as he assured himselfe that these ships were going to fetch it home. The Playnes and Lawnes of the mayne Iland are graced with much varietie of many kindes of fruit: for besides the great Countries of ground where their Heards roame with such uncontrolled licence, as that they grow almost wilde, the champaine which they have chosen to place their Stancies and Ingenios upon, are richly laden with Ginger and Sugar-cane. Their Ingenios are commonly upon some River, or neere some moore-marrish and waterish places, for in places of that qualitie doe their Sugar-canes prosper best. And besides, there is much use of water for their Mills, and other works, though most commonly their Mills goe with the strength of men and horses, as I understand, like our Horse-mills in England, which if I had seene my selfe I should have beene better able, and consequently more willing, to have reported to you the manner and cunning of the same. They that have beene eye-witnesses, doe with great wonder and commendation speake of them. Their Stansias are more inwardly placed in the Countrie, and yet a convenient neerenesse to some River is desired, for more convenient carriage of their Ginger to Puerto Rico, whence they vent their commodities into other Countries; which I take to bee some part of the cause why more follow Ginger than Sugar workes, because their Stansias doe not need such choise of place, and therefore the poorer may more easily come by them, which yet

The playnes.

Herds almost wilde.

Ginger and Sugar.

Stansias for Ginger.

also more easily they set upon, because much needeth not to set upon the commoditie of Ginger. I have heretofore said in generall, that Sugar and Ginger are the greatest knowne commodities of this Iland.

Ginger and Sugar their richest commodities.

A third commoditie of the Iland besides Ginger and Sugar, I did before note to bee Hides. Whereof without contradiction there is very great store. I have beene told by the Spaniard, that that same Chereno, whose Countrie is neere to the Laguada of the quite contrarie side to Cape Roxo, is generally reported to feede to the number of twelve thousand head of Cattle. Whereupon we may easily conjecture, how infinite the number of Cattell in this Iland is, seeing in the Westerly end thereof, which is held farre worse for feeding then the Easterly, neere Saint Johns head, there is so incredible abundance. Once, it is generally spoken and beleeved, that by reason of this over-flowing of Beeves, it is lawfull for any man to kill what he needeth for his use, if onely hee bee so honest as to bring the skins to the proper owners. Now, these Hides must rise to a huge summe of riches, considering that their Cattell are farre larger, then any Countrie that I know in England doth yeeld. For their Kine that I have seene here, are for goodlinesse both of heads and bodies comparable with our English Oxen. And I wot not how that kinde of beast hath specially a liking to these Southerly parts of the world, above their Horses, none of which I have seene by much so tall and goodly as ordinarily they are in England. They are well made, and well metalled, and good store there are of them, but me thinks, there are many things wanting in them, which are ordinarie in our English light horses. They are all Trotters, nor doe I remember that I have seene above one Ambler, and that a very little sidling Nagge. But it may be, if there were better Breeders, they would have better and more goodly increase, yet these are good enough for Hackneys, to which use onely almost they are imployed. For Sheepe and Goates I cannot say that there are any

Hides.

One man having 12000. head of beeves which usually are greater then the English.

Beeves prosper there better then horses.

Their horses.

great flocks, and of the two, fewer Sheepe then Goates. *Goates.* For I have seene and tasted of many Goates, but to my remembrance, I did not see one Sheepe, yet (say they) [IV. vi. 1172.] that the Iland is not without reasonable flocks: and I have beene told so, by them who have received information from their owne eyes. Neither can this scant of sheepe be laid upon the nature of the soile, as being unfit or unwilling to feed that sober harmlesse creature, but it proceedeth rather of a woolvish kinde of wilde Dogs which are bred in the woods, and there goe in great companies together. This commeth to passe, by reason that these Dogs finde in the woods sufficient sustenance, and preferre that wilde libertie before domesticall, and to themselves much more profitable service. These Dogs live of Crabs; I meane not fruits of trees: but an Animal, a living and sensible creature, in feeding whereupon, even men finde a delight, not onely a contentednesse. These woods are full of these Crabs, in quantitie bigger then ever I saw any Sea-Crabs in England, and in such multitudes that they have Berries, like Conies in English Warrens. They are in shape not different from Sea-Crabs, for ought I could perceive. For I speake not this out of report, but of my owne sensible experience. I have seene multitudes of them both here, and at Dominica. The whitest whereof (for some are ugly blacke) some of our men did catch and eate with good liking, and without any harme, that ever I heard complaint of. At our first comming to Puerto Rico, the Dogs of the Citie every night kept a fearfull howling, and in the day time, you should see them goe in flocks into the woods along the Sea side. This wee tooke at first a kinde bemoaning of their Masters absence, and leaving of them: but when within awhile they were acquainted with us, who at first were strangers to them, and so began to leave the howling by night, yet still continued their daily resort to the woods, and that in companies. We understood by asking, that their resort thither was to hunt,

Why sheepe are scarce. Woolvish Dogs.

The wild dogs live of Crabs.

Description of these land-crabs, quære if they bee not Tortoises.

Their experiment.

and eate Crabs, whereof in the woods they should finde store. This then is the sustenance which the wilde Dogs of Puerto Rico finde in their woods; which either fayling them sometimes, or out of a woolvish disposition they get by living apart from men, they fall upon the sheepe, whereof they have made great waste; but which easily might be repayred, if the Spaniards would bee content, to sweat a little, or to be a little wearie in killing of these Dogs. Their Goates live more securely, because they love cliffes of Rocks, or the tops of Hils, and therefore they are out of the ordinarie haunt of these murderous Dogs, by reason that their ordinarie foode the Crabs are most usually in bottoms, and along the Sea side. Besides Sheep and Goats there is reasonable good store of Swine, which in these Westerly and Southerly Ilands yeeld most sweet Porke. I doe not remember that I have seene here either Hare or Conie, but here is store of excellent Poultrie, as Cocks and Hens and Capons, some Turkies and Ginny-hens, Pidgeons in mervailous abundance; not in Dove-houses as with us, but which breed and build in Trees, they are both of great number and goodnesse. For besides other places, there are two or three little Ilands hard by Puerto Rico, neere to the mouth of Toa, where a Boat may goe in an evening or morning, and suddenly take nine, ten, or a dozen dozen; the chiefest of these three is called (as I have heard) the Governours Iland. I have not marked any store of Fowle upon this little Iland, nor have I heard of more by any that have beene in the mayne Iland. Parrots and Parrachetoes are here, as Crowes and Dawes in England; I have ordinarily seene them flie in flocks, and except it bee some extra-ordinarie talkative, they are not here much regarded, as it should seeme.

Goates more safe then Sheepe.

Swine.

Fowles.

Pidgeons in Trees.

Parrots as Crowes.

Now, fruits of the Iland are abundant in number and measure, very excellent; Potatoes are ordinarie. Their Pines are in shape like a Pine-apple, and of this likenesse, I thinke, these had their names, but neither in

Fruits.

Pines.

feeling or taste are they any thing like; for that wherewith this Pine is inclosed is not wood, but soft, that you may squease it in your hand, and so apt to bee mellow, that it will not keepe long, whereas a wooddie Pine-apple is of an exceeding durance and lasting. The taste of this fruit is very delicious, so as it quickly breedeth a fulnesse. For I cannot liken it in the palate to any (me thinks) better then to very ripe Strawberries and Creame, the rather if a man have alreadie eaten almost his belly full: for then they much resemble a Pine; I have seene some a quarter of a yard long at least, and in proportionate thicknesse, to bee like a Pine-apple; it groweth upon an hearb like an Artichoke.

Mammeis. Their Mammeis are of the colour of a very darke russitting apple, or a leather-coat, of the bignesse of a great Costard, the rinde of it as thicke or thicker then the barke of a Sallow, which being easily pulled off discovereth a yellow, but well tasting meat, something like a Carrot roote, but much better. Within this meat, there are two or three great rugged ill-shaped stones, which (as I remember) have kirnels in them. Their

Guiavas. Guiavas are a lesser fruit, as bigge as a Peach, and without not much unlike, but within not solid as the Mammeis, or as an Apple is, but full of such little seedes as a Goose-berry hath, not so greenish, but inclining to a sanguine colour, the taste of this is (me thought) like to a very ripe great white Plum: this

That and Papaies good against flux. fruit is (which a man would not thinke) a remedie against the flux, and so are their Papaies, a fruit like

Plums. an Apple of a waterish welsh taste. They have Plums blacke and white, their stones much bigger, and their meat much lesse then in England, and these also stay

Wilde grapes. the flux. And so doe their wilde Grapes, which are a fruit growing in Clusters, and therein onely (me thinkes) like Grapes, they are round, and as great as a good Musket-bullet, and yet have they very little meat upon them, for their stone (if that which is not hard may bee called a stone) is exceeding great for the proportion

of the fruit, insomuch that the meat seemeth to bee but the rinde of this stone. A stone I call it though you may put it together with your finger, but it hath a bitterish kirnell in it, and that which is without it is meat, and that of a delightfull saporous taste. Their Plantines are a fruit which grow on a shrub betwixt an hearb and a tree, but it is commonly called, a tree of the height of a man, the stem of it as bigge as a mans thigh, the fruit it selfe, of the bignesse and shape of a Goates horne, it groweth yellowish and mellow being ripe either upon the tree, or with keeping, and then eaten raw or roasted, it is a good meat, comming neere to the rellish of an Apple-John, or a Duson that hath beene kept till it is over-ripe, saving that me thought I still found some taste of a roote in it, the meat of it is lapped up in a thin skin, which being scored the long way with a knife, easily delivereth what is within it. Their Coker-trees please the eye, as well as their Nuts doe the taste. The body of them is but slender, no where so bigge as a mans middle, and upwards growing proportionably lesse, till they are risen some thirtie or fortie foot high without sprig or bough, then breake out their boughs all at once, every one whereof is just like a goodly Ostridge feather; their leaves are so cunningly set together, every one whereof alone is something like a Sedge or the leafe of a wilde Lilly. Under this bush which is the head of the tree, do the Coker-nuts grow, some fortie on a tree round about the Bole, some yard downward from where the branches breake out. These trees are a very great grace to the Citie of Puerto Rico, and very many there were found in it: and he that hath seene this may somewhat conceive of the forme of a Palmeto tree, for in shape they are not unlike. This Palmeto tree, while it is young (and yet of good yeeres) is much of it selfe meat, and tasted (me thought) like a Wall-nut, but somewhat bitterish; when it is old they say it beareth fruit, the Date, one of the best fruits in my judgement; I saw not any fruit upon any of the

[IV. vi. 1173.]

Plantines.

Cocos.

Palmetos.

Palmetoes that I saw, and therefore this shall be said onely upon the report of others. Besides these fruits *Other fruits.* the Iland yeelded Figs, Pomegranates, Muske-millions, Pome-citrons very faire (as my selfe saw) but it is incredible almost that is reported of them by men of *Huge Citrons.* good credit; that their Pome-citrons grow to so huge greatnesse, as that a very little number three or foure of them will lade a horse. Limons I did not see any, yet they say there are some, but of Limes the number *Oranges.* is numberlesse; and as for Oranges, truly I thinke they are the best tasted, and most goodly in the world. For both their sweet and sowre Oranges are full of most delicate and taste-pleasing juyce, and besides they are the goodliest both in colour and greatnesse, that ever I saw. They have Pepper also growing upon trees, the *Pepper.* Pepper it selfe is a little seede of colour twixt white and yellow, and inclosed in a bagge which sometime is round like a Ball, sometime it runneth out in a picked length like a fruit, which we gather in our Gardens in England, and eate as a sallet with Mutton. This pepper is much hotter and stronger than the blacke pepper used with us in our Countrie. These fruits and many more grow upon trees, and common to them all it is, and I thinke *Trees diversified in fruits, greene & ripe, and buds at once.* to all the fruits of the Iland, that the same tree at once beareth buds, greene fruit, and ripe fruits, and often withall seedeth.

Now if any man thinke that wee have found meates in good store, but yet want bread and drinke, it may at one word bee answered, that the industrious and painefull *Cassavy bread.* can want no store of either. For first of all their Cassavie specially new, and carefully dressed is good bread, and will keepe so well that ships that goe hence to Spaine are victualled with it to the good liking of passengers. *Cassavie described.* This Cassavie is the roote of a small tree, like, me thought, to an over-growne Hyssope stalke, or a young Sallow, but that the leaves are not so broad, but by much thicker upon the branches of Cassavie: this root is very full of liquor, which must be carefully pressed forth,

before the dryer part bee fit to make bread. For the roote eaten with the juyce, or the juyce by it selfe, bringeth a painfull swelling in the belly, whereof death doth often follow. Wherefore the Spaniards generally hold it for a kinde of poyson. Yet our men (I am told) meeting with the rootes unpressed, and mistaking them for Potatoes (whereby you may conjecture their shape) have eaten them without after feeling any mortall distemper. And to a body whose naturall heat is able to overcome their cruditie and rawnesse, there is happily no present danger, for they tell me that of this juyce sodden, there is made a prettie kinde of drinke somewhat like small Ale. The bread which they make of this roote is very passing white, not kneaded into loaves, but rolled out in Cakes of a reasonable thicknesse, yet may they be better called thin, and of such breadth that they lap them in foldes one upon another. Besides their Cassavie, they have Mais, which maketh a much finer bread, and used of the better sort. There are two sorts of Maiz, the lesser they say not unlike to Rice, in proportion and bignesse and taste; this I never saw either growing or raw, but I have seene it in the dish, and at first did take it for Rice, saving that mee thought it was something over-swollen; they that eate it said, it tasted like Rice. The bigger sort of Maiz I have seene growing, and it is either the same or exceeding like to the graine which we call Ginny wheat; it groweth up with a knotted stalke like a Reed, with large scattered leaves; it riseth to a fadome and a halfe at least in height, and at the very top shooteth out the graine. Besides Maiz and Cassavie, there is good store of Rice growing in the Iland, and where Rice will grow, who will make a question of Corne. But to put it without contradiction, that Corne will come up with good increase, experience hath determined the question. For that same Mulato Chereno (whom I mentioned before) did make experience and did sow Corne, which he reaped with good increase. But because it was painefull to follow

The juyce not poyson.

Mays.

Rice.

husbandrie and tillage, and (forsooth) Cassavie and Maiz would serve, the Spaniards would none, nay this Molato halfe borne a slave, would not bee at the paines to continue tillage. For drinks, the Spaniard doth here, as in Spaine hee doth, use water for most of his drinke, which in so hot a climate, would well agree with the English after some acquaintance; yet the Spaniard hath two other sorts of drinke, the one called Guacapo, made of Molasses (that is, the coursest of their Sugar) and some Spices; the other kinde, and used by the better sort of them, is called Alo: which is a kinde of Bragget made with many hot spices. And if both these fayled, yet have they good store of wines, indeed brought in from other Countries; not that this Iland will not nourish Vines: for I have seene some grow here in Puerto Rico very flourishingly. But I have heard the King will not suffer them to plant and dresse Vineyards, as a matter of policie.

Drinkes.

I might here, and so would I make an end of speaking of the fruits of this Iland (for me thinks what hath beene said, sheweth it to be selfe sufficient to live well and happily) but their Yerva viva will not have me forget it. This hearbe is a little contemptible weed to looke upon, with a long woodden stalke creeping upon the ground, and seldome lifting it selfe above a handfull high from the ground. But it hath a propertie, which confoundeth my understanding, and perhaps will seeme strange in the way of Philosophers, who have denyed every part of sense to any plant; yet this certainly seemeth to have feeling. For if you lay your finger or a sticke upon the leaves of it, not onely that very piece which you touched, but that that is neere to it, will contract it selfe, and run together, as if it were presently dead and withered, nor onely the leaves but the very sprigs, being touched, will so disdainfully withdraw themselves, as if they would slip themselves rather then be touched, in which state both leafe and sprig will continue a good while, before it returne to the former greene and flourishing forme.

Sensitive plant.

And they say, that so long as the partie which touched it standeth by it, it will not open, but after his departure it will, this last I did not my selfe observe: and if it be so, it must be more then sense, whence such a sullennesse can proceed; but for the former, I have my selfe beene often an eye-witnesse to my great wonder, for it groweth in very many places in the little Iland. His Lordship made some of it bee put in pots with earth, and yet it liveth, and how farre it will so continue is uncertaine. There hath beene Cinamon and something else given me as fruits of the Ilands, but I doe thinke they are but rarities at the most, and therefore they shall not come in my bill. But now to returne to the slow steps we made towards the Ilands of the Açores. *Cinamon.*

§. V.

Accidents by Sea in their way to the Azores and there.

ON Saint Bartholomewes eve wee had store of lightning and thunder, which besides the observation, put us more out of doubt of our neerer approach to the Bermuda. The next day about noone wee began to steere East North-east and better. Upon Friday the five and twentieth, wee were melted with a greater and more smothering calme then any time before; and yet (which made it strangest) wee had out of the North-west higher Seas, then before that time I had ever seene, in the greatest windes that we had had. The hugenesse of this Sea was perceived not onely by the view of our sight, but rather by the extraordinarie heeling of our ship, certainly as much or more impatient of a high Sea in a calme, as of any other weather. This calme was so extremely hot, that wee were in hope it would bee like other extreames, of no long continuance; but behold it lasted obstinately thirteene dayes, saving that sometimes there would be some shew of a gale, but it would so instantly and frowardly leave us, as if it *High Seas.* *Hot calme continuing thirteene dayes.*

had beene come onely to let us see wee needed not to despaire. There had beene often speech of a Current, that wee were to have, and some thought that they had found it, the most durst not be apprehensive. But upon Wednesday the thirtieth, it began to be cleere: for though the winde was not worthy to be called so, nor scarce by the name of a breath, and besides so narrow, that we stood upon a bowling, yet we were found in that last passed artificiall day, to have run above fiftie leagues at the least. For whereas upon Tuesday wee were by observation found to bee almost precisely in thirtie two: upon Wednesday at noone, wee had the Sunne in thirtie three, and two terces, and eight minutes. So that in foure and twentie houres we had raysed one degree and fortie eight minutes, which if we had run due North or South, had risen to about foure or five and thirtie leagues. But seeing our course was three parts of the time at East North-east, and East and by North, the ship could not bee allowed lesse way, then fiftie leagues at the least; and this being without winde, argueth a violent current, and the rather because for the time we had a hard Sea. This was made yet more certaine by observation of the Pole-star upon Thursday at night. This opinion for a Current, was upon Saturday Sept. 2. made undoubted, for the substance of the thing, I meane that there was a Current, but the circumstance seemed to varie somthing. For the Current was then judged to set rather to the East & by South, though this would fill the former observations with greater difficulties. This was perceived by many drags, which howsoever the ship scaped, yet they still runne or were carried to the East Southerly. And then many other things purposely cast into the Sea to make further triall, all went the same way and that a good pace though directly ahead the ship. And yet farther if there were any breath at all, it was at South-east, so that they went against the winde that was.

An apparent Current in 32. degrees.

[IV. vi. 1175.]

And now I come to that the remembrance whereof

rather then present apprehension yet maketh me quake, like the man that dyed upon the fearfull knowledge of how great danger he had passed at Rochester bridge. It was a fearfull storme, which I truly not knowing how dangerfull it was, feared not much while we were in it, but since hearing old Sea-men and of long experience speake of it, I perceive it is good to be ignorant sometime. Upon Thursday the seventh of September, the gale began to be very fresh and to keepe the sailes stiffe from the Masts, and so continued all that day. Upon Friday it began to speake yet lowder, and to whistle a good in the shrowdes, insomuch that our Master made the Drablers bee taken off, and before night it had blowne the fore-top-saile in pieces by the board; this was taken for the beginning of a storme, and the storme it selfe was looked for: which came indeed about the shutting in of the day, with such furie and rage, as none could say it stole upon us unawares. For I am out of doubt that I had never heard any winde so high. One of our Bonnets had beene taken in in the evening, and the other was rent off with the furie of the storme. And thus (for our mayne-top-saile was taken in and the top-mast taken downe) bearing onely a bare corse of each, if the ship had not beene exceeding strongly sided, shee could not have indured so rough weather. For oftentimes the Sea would ship in waves into her of three or foure Tunne of water, which (the ship being leakie within board) falling often, was as much as both the pumps were able to cast out againe, though they went continually all night, and till noone the next day were never throughly suckt, so that if any leake had sprung upon us under water, it could not have beene chosen, but shee must have foundered, seeing the pumpes were hardly able to rid the water that was cast in above hatches. The Missen-saile had beene in the evening well furled (for the winde came upon the starboard quarter) and yet the storme had caught it, and with such violence and furie rent it, that with much adoe the Missen-yard was halled downe, and so

Ignorance beneficiall.

A terrible storme.

the quarter decke and poope saved from danger of renting up. All this was in the night, which made it much more hidious, specially in the fore-end of the night before the Moone got up. The winde continued in this excesse of violence till midnight, and then abated hee something, but then began the effect of his blowing to shew it selfe, for then the Sea began to worke, and swell farre higher then before. His Lordships ship is a very goodly one, and yet would shee bee as it were in a pit, and round about vast mountaines of water, so that a man might leave out the rest of the verse, and say onely undique pontus. For I protest, besides that which was over our heads, our prospect any other way was quickly determined, with waves, in my conscience, higher then our mayne-top. And that (which is strangest) round about us: for the Sea came upon every point of the Compasse, so that the poore ship, nor they that directed and cunned her, could not tell how to cunne her to bee safe from the breaking of these vast waves upon her. This continued all night: and though the winde fell by little and little, yet the Sea was so light, that all Saturday it was not quieted, so that though out of a storme, yet were wee still in a stormy Sea, insomuch that our mayne-top-mast was broken. By Sunday we were come to have reasonable weather, and rather too little then too much wind. And upon Monday being the eleventh of September, wee were not much from a new calme, which wee could not with much more patience have endured then a good storme; for then wee began to looke out for land, and now to come so neere, what so long wee had longed for. After the storme, the Admirall found himselfe all alone, and so were we the most part of the next day, but towards evening, came the new Frigat to us. And a sterne her there was a ship seene, which within a day or two afterward, the Samson came and told us, was her selfe. With day the fifteenth of September, we had the South-west side of it in sight, and bore in therewith till noone. His Lordship had no meaning to make any forcible attempt against it, nor

High-swolne Sea.

Undique pontus.

Flores descried.

to stay longer, then to take in some fresh victuals; for which purpose, hee sent the Boat off with an old Portugall, and an African of Mozambique, who bearing a flagge of truce, should give the Ilanders to understand what his Lordships pleasure was, that if they would let him have things for his money, he would not use them worse then in former times they had had experienee of him. Withall he gave the Boat commandement, that shee should bring him answere to the East North-east side of the Iland, where he meant to come to anchor, and tarry for the newes they could learne either English or Spanish. This stay in hoysing the Boat out, gave the Samson time to get a head us, and within awhile shee was at anchor. When, behold, at the opening of the Point, first there came one saile, then two, and then three sailes, and within a little the fourth was seene; it was not at first knowne what these might be, yet because the Samson being much neerer, made no haste to weigh, we thought shee made them to be friends. And within awhile we perceived them to have pendents in their fore-top-mast heads: this put us out of doubt, that they were of our owne fleet. For his Lordship at his departure from Puerto Rico, had given them direction that every ship should so beare a pendent, for a marke to be knowne of their friends, and which would make strangers never a whit the wiser. These foure were the Merchant, the Ascension, the Consent, and the Pegasus, which by and by came to an anchor with us. Now were wee growne a prettie strong fleet againe, either part receiving new strength of other, each having formerly lost their owne. For the storme had scattered Sir Johns companie as well as ours, though it should seeme not to have beene altogether so great with them, as us. Of Sir Johns we had not yet, the Gallion, the Alcedo, the Centurion, the Anthonie, the Kesar, and the Dove, which were the Flemmings. The first newes that the Boat brought us, made these though friends yet more welcome if that might be. For the Boat having told his Lordship that they could not be suffered [IV. vi. 1176.]

to land, yet had promise that his Lordship should have any thing that the Iland would affoord. Mary (said they) we are ill provided, by reason of the Kings men of warre, nine and twentie of them have within these few dayes beene here, and taken almost all our provisions, for they were great ships, and full of gallants, five of them being the five Caracks, that should this yeere have gone for the East Indies, but being by the Condes lying on the Coast kept in till it was too late for them to have any hopefull passage, they were of Merchants made men of Warre, and with the rest or rather the rest with them, were sent to these Ilands to waft the Caracks which were looked for at home this yeere. But the Caracks (said they of Flores) were gone by, before their comming hither, for the safetie whereof, they had commandement to stay if need were, till the end of this moneth. Whither this Armada was gone they said they knew not, nor whither it would returne, but the very last day a great Gallion was within kenning. These newes, as they gave great cause of circumspection and care, not to meet with them, whom we could not doubt to be too strong for us, and therefore made us wish they were finally gone from the Ilands; so on the other side, if knowing that the Caracks were passed, if yet they staid, it made the intelligence of the Mexico fleet more probable. And therefore if this were the cause of their stay, our hope to make some purchace of it, made us more willing, to have their neighbourhood. Mary, it might bee, they were sent to looke for our comming home, which they might thinke would bee straggling and weake, and yet on the other side the uncertaintie of our comming either at this time or certainly this way, made this something unlikely. His Lordship therefore commanded Captaine Slingsby (a fine Gentleman) to goe ashoare and to learne more certaintie what was become of the Kings fleet, and why they came. This relation was from the men of Santa Cruz: but the intelligence which Captaine Slingsby brought the same night late, was from

Villa de la punta Delgada, another Towne of the Ilands. The summe of his report (for I was by when he made it) was, that his Excellencie should have any thing wherewithall they could doe him service, and if it would please him to come ashoare, they would take it as a great favour. For the Kings men of Warre, they said, that they judged them certainly to bee gone home, for they were gone hence upon a fortnight before. The cause of their comming was to waft the Caracks, which all foure were gone by, before the Kings fleet came hither, with purpose indeed to stay till the end of this moneth for them. But since the Caracks were come home, there had beene sent a Carvell of Adviso to recall them. As for the Mexico fleet, there was not at the Ilands any newes of their comming this yeere. This report made by Captaine Slingsby over-night, was confirmed early the next morning by the Governour himselfe of the place (a poore Governour scarce so good as an English Constable.) But this Captaine Juan de Fraga de Mendoça, came himselfe and made the same offer to his Lordship, and withall brought both Hennes and Muttons with him, which hee knew hee should not give for nothing, though hee would seeme unwilling to receive any thing. He having beene sometime with my Lord, and told all the newes hee remembred, was licensed, having first asked and obtayned a Passe for himselfe, and a Protection for the Ilanders, to keepe them from spoile by ours. His Lordship granted his suit, and (which hee farther desired) that they might bee conceived in the same forme as those were which the Earle of Essex had given him, within two dayes of the same day twelve moneth; and which himselfe had carefully kept ever since.

Earle of Essex his Iland voyage. 1597.

When this fellow was gone, the flagge of Counsell was hanged out, &c. The returne of this fleet upon consultation after the newes aforesaid, I forbear to mention in regard of the length of this discourse. They set forth from Flores Septemb. 16. 1598. On Michaelmas day they sounded, and the ground on the tallow did still more

The rest (as needlesse) is omitted.

assure us of being in the sleeve: and the Scollop shells confirmed their opinion which held us rather on the Coast of France, by the Master and others judged otherwise: whose judgement if his Lordship out of his judgement and authoritie had not contradicted and caused them to take a more Northerly course; all had perished in all likelihood on the Ushent and rocks. For the next morning we saw the land of Normandie.

[IV. vi. 1177.]

Chap. IIII.

The first Voyages made to divers parts of America by Englishmen, Sir Sebastian Cabot, Sir Tho. Pert: also of Sir John Hawkins, and Sir Francis Drake, and many others: collected briefly out of Master Camden, Master Hakluyt, and other Writers.

SIr Sebastian Cabota wee have alreadie mentioned in the former Booke, as a great Discoverer of that, which most justly should have beene called Columbina, and a great deale better might have beene stiled Cabotiana then America, neither Vesputius nor Columbus having discovered halfe so much of the Continent of the new World North and South as he (yea, the Continent was discovered by him, when Columbus had yet but viewed the Ilands) this Herrera for the South part hath mentioned in his Relation of the River of Plate before, naming him an Englishman: and for the North is by us in the fourth Booke delivered. A second time Sir Thomas Pert and the said Cabota, were set forth with a fleet to America, by King Henrie the eighth in the eight yeere of his reigne, the same perhaps which Herrera hath also mentioned, of an English ship at Hispaniola, and other American Ilands, in the yeere 1517. Master Hakluyt hath published the Voyages of many English

Sir T. Pert set forth by King Henrie the eighth.

into those parts: as namely of Master Robert Tomson Merchant, and John Field, which together with Ralph Sarre and Leonard Chilton in a ship of John Sweeting dwelling at Cadiz, all Englishmen An. 1555. sayled to Hispaniola, and thence to Mexico in New Spaine, where they found Thomas Blake a Scottishman, who had dwelt there twentie yeeres. At Mexico, Robert Tomson and Augustine Boatio an Italian, were imprisoned many moneths by the Inquisition, and then brought out in a Saint Benito (or fooles coat) to doe penance, a thing never seene there before; which caused much concourse of people, given to understand of I know not what enemies of God, and expecting to see some Monsters of uncouth shape. They were much pitied by the people seeing such personable men, but sentenced by the Archbishop to be sent back to Spaine, where Tomson did his three yeeres enjoyned penance at Sivil. Boatio found the meanes to escape and dyed after in London. Tomson after his libertie married with a rich Spanish heire. The historie at large and his description of Mexico, with the cause of his imprisonment about speaking freely of Images (his Master had made an Image of our Ladie of above 7000. pezos price, each pezo being foure shillings and eight pence of our money) the Reader may see in Master Hakluyt.

Master Tomson, &c. See Hak. tom. 3. pag. 448.

Spanish Inquisition.

Monstrous lies.

A pezo 4s. 8d.

Where also is delivered the voyage of Roger Bodenham Englishman 1564. to Mexico: also of John Chilton 1568. thither and from thence to Nueva Biscaia, and to the Port of Navidad on the South Sea: to Sansonate in Guatimala, to Tecoantepec, to Soconusco, to Nicaragua, to Nombre de Dios; to Potossi, Cusco, Paita; to Vera Paz, Chiapa, three hundred leagues from Mexico. From Chiapa he travelled thorow Hills till he came to Ecatepec, that is, The Hill of winde, in the end of that Province, supposed the highest Hill that ever was discovered, from the top whereof are seene both the North and South Seas; deemed nine leagues high. They which travell up it, lye at the foot over-night, and about midnight begin

Master Bodenham. Master Chilton. Chiltons seventeene yeeres travels in New Spaine, and Peru. Ecantepec a hill supposed nine leagues high. I suppose it should be nine miles.

their journey, that they may travell to the top before the Sunne rise the next day, because the winde bloweth with such force afterwards, that it is impossible for any man to goe up. From the foot of this Hill to Tecoantepec the first Towne of New Spaine are fifteene leagues. From Mexico he travelled againe to Panuco, and there fell sick, which sicknesse in his returne benefited him: for he fell amongst Caniball Indian which afraid to eate him for feare he had the pox, let him goe. Hee went to R. de las Palmas, and to the Mynes of Sacatecas, the richest in all the Indies. After his returne to Mexico he travelled to other parts, spending seventeene yeeres in his American peregrinations. Henrie Hawkes lived five yeeres in those parts, and his observations are recorded by Master Hakluyt.

Good out of Evill.

Henrie Hawkes.

Sir John Hawkins his third voyage to Guinea, and thence to the West Indies. Sir Francis Drake.

AN. 1567. Master John Hawkins Generall in the Jesus, departed from Plimouth with five other ships, the Minion, of which Master John Hampton was Captaine; the William and John, Thomas Bolton Captaine; the Judith, of which Master Francis Drake was Captaine; the Angel also and the Swallow. Having on the Coast of Guinea taken some five hundred Negroes, they sayled with them to the Ilands of the West Indies, to sell them to the Spaniards. By tempest they were driven to the Port of Saint John de Ullua, where the Spanish ships with 200000. pounds in treasure were at his mercy, but hee dismissed them; which they repayed him with treacherous dealing, the Spaniards perfidiously setting on the English contrarie to the Covenants betwixt them concluded. For after that, when as the whole fleet with their new Vice-roy comming thither had perished, if Master Hawkins had not permitted them to enter the Haven, out of which he could easily have kept them: they practised secretly and against agreement to certaine Articles, assaulted the English perfidiously and treacherously, using both fraud and scorne, in which fight two ships of the Spaniards were sunke, and one burnt; Some

Saint John de Ullua.

The opinion of lawfulnesse to doe any inhumanitie to Savages punished: God used Christians unchristian dealing to punish their savagenesse to Savages.

of ours were slaine, others taken and dispiteously tortured, all distressed; all their ships also sunke and burnt, saving the Minion and Judith, which were by a storme ensuing betrayed to famine at Sea, which forced the Generall to set 114. men on shoare to the cruell mercies of the Savages and Spaniards. Yea, one Boat not being able to get to shoare, two were drowned, the rest getting a mile thorow the Sea thither as they could, as Miles Philips one of that forlorne companie hath recorded. Some were dead in seeming two houres space with abundant drinking of fresh water, others swolne exceedingly with salt water and fruits they found; a shower also leaving them not one drie thread, as if Heaven had pursued the Seas challenge, without; and partly hunger, and partly the water and fruits of the Earth, within their bowels, had conspired against this poore crue. [IV. vi. 1178.]

Miles Philips.

The Chichemici Indian Savages added their inhumanitie, killing eight of their companie in the first onset, but they yeelding (having neither weapons nor hearts to resist) the Savages perceiving them not to be their Spanish enemies pointed them to Tampice, saying, Tampice Christiano, which they understood not: but divided themselves into two companies, one going Westward, of which Philips was one, the other Northward, and with them David Ingram, which recovered his Countrie. After the stingings of flies, deaths by Indians, and manifold miseries, this Westerne companie got to Panuco where the Governour stripped them of the little which they had, and of their libertie, calling them English Dogs and Lutheran heretikes, and when they demanded helpe of their Surgeons for such as the Indians by the way had wounded, hee said, they should have none other Surgeon but the Hangman: and after foure dayes sent for them out of the Prison, and with many new Halters (wherewith they expected hanging) bound and sent them to Mexico ninetie leagues distant West and by South, with a great guard of Indians. At Mestilan they received

Tampice the Port of Panuco.

David Ingram.

Spanish governours crueltie.

kind usage. One of their keepers used them kindly, the other would strike them to the ground, and bid them, March, march English Dogges, Lutherans, enemies of God. Thus marching they came within two leagues of Mexico, where was our Ladies Church, and therein her Image of Silver guilt as large as a tall woman, and before it as many Silver Lampes as are dayes in the yeere, which on high dayes are all lighted. Neither Horseman nor Footman will passe by this Church without entring and praying. After their comming to Mexico many dyed, the rest had kind usage in the Hospitall, Thence they were carried to Tescuco, to be used as slaves, but by one Robert Sweeting (sonne of an Englishman by a Spanish woman) were holpen much from the Indians, or else had all perished.

Nuestra Sennora de Guadalupe.

After this they were put to Spaniards as servants, and had meanes to get somewhat for themselves, till they became a prey to the Inquisition, which seized their goods and persons, shutting them asunder in dungeons a yeere and a halfe. By frequent examinations they would have pumped somewhat out of them in matters of faith, and not being able, they yeelding to their Assertions in that kind, craving mercie as men which came into that Countrey by distresse of foule weather: they neverthelesse racked them to extort confession that way, which made some to say that which cost their lives. After solemne Proclamation that all might come to this sight, they were brought in fooles Coats, with ropes about their neckes and candles in their hands to the Scaffold. George Rively, Peter Momfrie, and Cornelius an Irishman were burnt, others condemned to 200. or 300. blowes on Horseback with long whips, and to serve in the Gallies, sixe, eight, or ten yeeres: others to serve in Monasteries, in the S. Benito, fooles-coates, divers yeeres, of which Philips was one. The whipping was cruelly executed on Good Friday, two Cryers going before proclaiming, behold these English Lutherans, Dogs, enemies of God: the Inquisitors themselves and

Devillish inquisition.

68. *Englishmen sentenced at once. Anno* 1575. *besides. Three Martyrs.*

their Familiars, crying, Strike, lay on those English Hereticks, Lutherans, Gods enemies. All bloudie and swolne they returned to prison to bee sent into Spaine to performe the rest of their Martyrdome. Philips and the rest having served their times (in which hee learned the Mexican tongue) they had their fooles-coats hung up in the chiefe Church. The rest married there, Philips escaped a second imprisonment and after many travels in the Countrey and dangers in Spaine, returned to England 1582.

Job Hortop his 23. yeeres misery.

Job Hortop another of this company hath related like adventures. He saith, that he and some others were sent Prisoners into Spaine, by the Vice-roy with Don Juan de Velasco de Varre, Admirall and Generall of the Spanish fleet, who carried with him in his ship to bee presented to the King of Spaine, the Anatomie of a Giant, sent from China * to Mexico, to the Vice-roy Don Martin Henriques. The skull of his head was neere as big as halfe a bushell; his neck-bones, shoulder-plates, arme-bones, and all other lineaments huge and monstrous; the shanke of his skull from the ankle to the knee, was as long as from any mans ankle up to his waste, and of bignesse accordingly. At this time were also sent to the King two chists ful of earth with Ginger growing in them: The Ginger runneth in the ground like to Liccoras; the blades grow out of it in length & proportion like to the blades of wild Garlick, which they cut every fifteen daies, and water them twice a day. They put the blades in their pottage, and use them in other meates, of pleasing taste and good for appetite.

*Sceleton of a huge Giant. *Understand it of the Philippinæ ships.*

Ginger how it groweth.

When they came in the height of Bermuda, they discovered a Monster in the Sea, who shewed himselfe three times unto them from the middle upwards: in which parts he was proportioned like a man, of the complexion of a Mullato, or tawny Indian. The Generall commanded one of his Clerkes to put it in writing, to certifie the King thereof. Presently after for the space of sixteene dayes, the weather proved very foule. Offer-

Sea Monster like a man.

[IV. vi. 1179.]

ing to make an escape they were descried and severely stocked, and imprisoned a yeere in the Contractation house in Sivill, and breaking prison were taken, and by the Inquisition were sentenced. Robert Barret and John Gilbert to bee burnt, Job Hortop, and John Bone to the Gallies for tenne yeeres, and after that to perpetuall prison. Others were adjudged to the Gallies some eight, some five yeeres: Hortop served twelve yeeres in hunger, thirst, cold and stripes, and after foure yeeres imprisonment in his Fooles coat, was redeemed to the service of Hernando de Soria, from whom after three yeeres service more, he stole away and landed at Portsmouth in December 1590. after three and twentie yeeres miserable bondage.

Second sentence of Inquisition.

David Ingram.

As for David Ingrams perambulation to the North parts, Master Hakluyt in his first Edition published the same, but it seemeth some incredibilities of his reports caused him to leave him out in the next Impression, the reward of lying being not to be beleeved in truths. And for Sir John Hawkins himselfe, he had made one Voyage with three ships and three hundred Negros gotten on the Coast of Guinea to Hispaniola, 1562. and other Ports; and returned with a rich gaine. This encouraged him to a second Voyage with the Jesus, Salomon, Tigre, and Swallow, 1564. And having visited divers Ports he returned by Florida. Anno 1567. their unfortunate Voyage before mentioned was set forth, in which his unjustice to Savages was chastised by unjustice of Christians, in manner as you have heard. Himselfe with his remayning company were first endangered with an extreame storme, after that with famine his men dying continually, so that the rest being not able to manage the ship, and the winds crossing, seeking to releeve themselves at Ponte Vedra, with fresh meate, they grew diseased and many of them died, and thereby were also in danger of a second Spanish betraying, which they hardly escaping arrived in England, January the twentieth 1568.

Sir J. Hawkins his 3. voyages.

The Spanish indignities and treacheries were deeply lodged in the wronged minds both of Sir John Hawkins, and of Captayne Drake: men borne for the honour of the English name and Nation in Marine affaires. Sir John Hawkins was sonne to Master William Hawkins of Plimmouth, a man much esteemed by King Henry the Eighth, as a principall Sea-captaine. Hee had long before armed a ship of his owne of two hundred and fifty tunnes, called the Paul of Plimmouth, wherewith he made two Voyages to Brasill, one in the yeere 1530. and the other 1532. in the first of which he brought a Brasilian King (as they tearmed him) to present him in his wilde accoutrements to King Henry. It seemed, that Sea affaires and arts remayned an Inheritance, from the Father to the Sonne; and from him also to the Nephew, as shall after be seene: neither did the West of England yeeld such an Indian Neptunian paire as were these two Ocean Peeres, Hawkins and Drake.

M. Wil. Hawkins.

Sir Richard Hawkins.

A briefe Historie of Sir Francis Drakes Voyages.

OF Sir Francis Drake Master Camden reports that he hath heard him say of himselfe, that he was borne in the County of Devon, of meane condition: his Godfather was Francis Russell afterwards Earle of Bedford, who gave him his name Francis. Whiles he was young, his father (being called in question for Religion, by reason of the sixe Articles set forth by King Henry against the Protestants) was driven to shift, and withdrew himselfe into Kent. After King Henries death, he obtayned a place in the Navie Royall to reade Service, and soone after was ordayned Deacon, and made Vicar of the Church of Upnor on the River of Medway: where by reason of his povertie he put this his sonne to serve a Neighbour Mariner which traded with a small Barke into France and Zeland, who brought him up in the Mariners art, and tooke such liking of him, that at his death he bequeathed (being a Bachelour)

Sir Francis Drakes Birth.

Camdeni Elizabeth, pag. 301. & f.

His education.

His first founders.

unto him his Barke. This Barke, upon the report of Sir John Hawkins his preparations for that disastrous Voyage 1567. hee sold and joyned to him in societie aforesaid, and at Saint John de Ullua lost all, and hardly brought himselfe backe. Hereupon seeking by his Mariners practice to repaire his losses, and thereby, and as a man of warre, having gotten store of money together, he made a second Voyage to recover in the Spanish Indies what there he had lost (quod licere Theologus classiarius facilè persuaserat) and with a ship of warre called the Dragon, and another ship and a Pinnasse, none knowing it but his owne consorts, Anno 1572. sayled to Nombre de Dios, which Towne he suddenly surprised and lost. For having landed one hundred and fiftie men, and leaving seventie of them in a Fort, with the rest he went to the Market place, and there discharged his Calievers and sounded a Trumpet, answered in like manner from the Fort. The Townesmen hereby terrified, fled into the Mountaynes. But fourteene or fifteene would backe with their Harquebuses to see what the matter was, and discovering the Englishmen, shot and by hap killed the Trumpeter. Hereupon they in the Fort not seeing their Trumpet answered, after they had heard the Calievers, supposed all those which had entred were slaine, and fled to their Pinnasses. The Captayne comming and seeing his men all gone, was surprized with a new feare, and leaving their furniture they swamme and waded to their Pinnasses and departed the Port. In the Sound of Dariene hee had intelligence by certayne fugitive Negros of Mules comming loden with treasure from Panama to Nombre de Dios; and guided by them, intercepted two companies of Mules and carried away the Gold only; for they were not able to carrie the Silver thorow the Mountaynes. Two dayes after he came to the house of Crosses, and burnt above 200000. Duckets in Merchandize, and so departed. When he travelled over those Mountaynes hee beheld thence the South Sea; and thereby inflamed

Ex opera nautica & piratica. Drakes second Indian voyage. This discourse was written by Lopez Vaz who was taken by the Earle of Cumberlands ships 1586. with his discourse about him.

[IV. vi. 1180.] *Negro fugitives.*

with desire of glory and wealth, was so rapt with desire of sayling therein, that he fell there on his knees, and begged of God, and besought the favour of God to assist him in that exploit, and made a solemne vow to that purpose, one day to sayle on that Sea, which every day and night lay next his heart, pricking him forwards to the performance. *Camden, ubi sup.* *Drakes vow for the South Sea.*

Whiles hee was musing and hatching these haughtie Designes, John Oxenham, who in the former Navigations, had served under Captayne Drake, both Souldier, Mariner, and Cooke, became a Captayne also, and with a ship of one hundred and fortie tunnes, and seventie men came to the said Sound of Dariene, Anno 1575. and had conference with those Negroes. But hearing that the Mules were now conducted with Souldiers, hee resolved on a new Enterprize, which never any had attempted, and landed in that place where Captayne Drake had had conference with the Negros: and having brought his ship aground, and covered her with boughes, and hid his Ordnance in the ground, he tooke two small Peeces of Ordnance and Calievers, with store of victuals, and went twelve leagues with sixe Negros into the mayne Land, to a River which runneth into the South Sea. There he cut wood and made a Pinnasse fortie five foot by the keele, and therewith went into the South Sea, to the Iland of Pearles, five and twentie leagues distant from Panama, to watch for shippes comming from Peru thither: he tooke a Barke with 60000. Pezos of Gold, comming from Quito: and staying sixe dayes longer, tooke another which came from Lima with 100000. Pezos of Silver in barres, and delaying somewhat long sent away his Prizes, and went with his Pinnasse up the River. This delay gave opportunitie of intelligence, and John de Ortega was sent to pursue him: at a partition of the River into three, when he was taking up the greatest, feathers of Hennes which the English had plucked, diverted him up the lesser streame, whereby hee lighted on the treasure first, Oxenham beeing gone *John Oxenham.* *His audacious enterprize.* *His prizes.*

Discord causeth destruction. Delay breeds danger.

to get Negros to helpe him carrie his treasure, his owne men quarrelling for larger pay. Some of the English were taken, which bewrayed the ship, and the rest were betrayed by the Negros, whiles they were making Canoas for the North Sea, there to take some Barke. They confessed that they had no license from the Queene, and were all executed, but two Boyes. Thus perished Oxenham a man, if his Case had beene just, worthy of lasting memory for an attempt so difficult, Quem sinon tenuit, magnis tamen excidit ausis. The King of Spaine sent Souldiers to take those fugitive Negros, which had assisted the English, and two Gallies to guard the Coast. This and Captayne Barkers frustrated attempts give greater lustre to Drakes glory.

Captaine Barker of Bristoll.

Andrew Barker of Bristoll, much wronged by the Inquisition, Anno 1576. sought to right himselfe in those parts, and came with two ships to Nombre de Dios, and the River of Chagre, eighteene leagues distant to the North-west, landed ten men to seeke intelligence of Negros, which they could not find, and most of the men also died of the Calentura. Betwixt that and Veragua he tooke a Prize, and another in the Gulfe of Honduras. Mutuall quarrels betwixt Coxe and the Captayne betrayed them to the Spaniards, which assayling them, slue the Captayne and eight men at the Ile Francisco. After this Coxe went with his Pinnasse, and tooke the Towne of Truxillo, but eight men were (by reason of men of warre chasing the ship, thus forced to shift for themselves) left there to their fortunes. Fourteene others and the Frigat with the treasure were cast away. Divers of the rest after their returne were long imprisoned.

Coxes quarrels.

Drakes happie Circumnavigation, see sup. Tom. 1. l. 2. c. 3.

These indeed are pettie things to Captayne Drakes expedition in December 1577. wherein he encompassed first of any Generall, and except Candish more fortunately then all of them together, this whole Terrestriall Globe. He set forth with five ships, and one hundred sixtie three Mariners. The whole Voyage you have

before at large. The Carkasse of the shippe; or some bones at least of that glorious Carkasse, yet remayne at Deptford, consecrated to Fame and Posteritie; in which Queene Elizabeth being feasted, Knighted this noble Mariner: at which time a bridge of boords made for her Majestie to passe, fell with one hundred men thereon, of which none were hurt, as if Good Fortune had both sayled abroad, and feasted at home in that ship. The goods taken were sequestred by her Majestie, for answere to the Spaniard if need should bee. Some principall Courtiers are said to have refused the offer of some of this, as Piratically gotten. Bernardine Mendoza made demand for the King of Spaine, (whose Embassadour hee was) and received answere from the Queene, that the Spaniards had unjustly prohibited commerce to the English, that Drake should legally answere if any thing were prooved against him, the goods being to that purpose sequestred, howsoever the Spaniard had put her Majestie to greater charges against the Rebels, which the Spaniard had raised in England and Ireland: Neither did she know why her subjects and others were prohibited the Indies, which she knew no reason to thinke proper to the Spaniards, by vertue of the Popes Bull (which could nothing oblige Princes which owed him no obedience) nor by reason that the Spaniards had arrived here and there, had directed Cottages, and given names to Capes and Rivers. Neither might these things hinder other Princes from commerce, or to transport Colonies to places not inhabited by the Spaniards (the Law of Nations not infringed hereby, seeing prescription without possession is nothing worth) the use of the Sea and Aire being exposed to all. Nor might any people or person challenge right over the Ocean, whereof neither nature, nor course of publike use permitted possession. Yet a great part of the money was repaied after to Peter Sebura the Spanish Agent, which he repaid not to the owners, but made use thereof against the Queene in the affaires of the Spanish Netherlands, as was after-

See Camdeni Eliz. pag. 309.

[IV. vi. 1181.]

wards found. Thus farre briefly collected out of Master Camden and Lopez Vaz a Portugall. Men noated to have compassed the world with Drake, which have come to my hands are Thomas Drake, brother to Sir Francis; Thomas Hood, Thomas Blaccoler, John Gripe, George a Musician, Crane, Fletcher, Cary, T. Moone, John Drake, John Thomas, Robert Winterly, Oliver the Gunner, &c.

A little before this the Prince of Orange had beene murdered, and Parry had undertaken the same on her Majestie, having the Cardinall Comensis instigation, and the Popes absolution to that purpose. The Spaniards had given great distaste in English and Irish rebellions, and had lately arrested the English Ships and goods in Spaine, with other unkindnesses in Belgian businesses. The Belgians had offered the confederate Provinces to her Majesties Protection and dominion. This she refused, but their Protection she accepted, having discovered the Spaniards hatred to her Religion and Nation, which how easie were it to put in extreamest execution, if the Low-Countries were subdued to his full power (their ancient priviledges being all swallowed up) and so England should be exposed to Spanish machinations with such opportunities of neighbouring Forts, Forces, Harbours, and Shippings. She therefore to remove present warre and future perils from her owne Countrie, with masculine magnanimitie adventured, not for vainglory but necessitie, to undertake a businesse which made the world to wonder; being little lesse then denouncing warre to so mighty a Monarke. She agreed with the States to minister to their aide 5000. foote, and 1000. horse at her owne charge, to be by them after repayed, the first yeares charges in the first yeare of peace, the rest in the foure following, Flushing and the Ramekins and Brill to remaine hers in caution, &c. Her Majestie set forth a Booke also for her justification by the ancient leagues with the Belgian Provinces for mutuall defence, the Spanish crueltie on the poore

Belgians, and their nefarious devises against her: neither had she any intent in administring these aides, but that the Low-Countries might enjoy their ancient liberty, she and her subjects their securitie, and both Nations peaceable commerce. And to the end that warre might not first be brought home to her owne doores, she set forth a Fleete to finde the Spaniard worke abroad.

Sir Fr. Drakes to Domingo, &c.

Hereupon Anno 1585. Sir Francis Drake with a Fleete of five and twenty saile, and 2300. Souldiers and Sailers was set forth from Plimmouth Sep. 12. Christopher Carlile his Lieutenent Generall, Anthonie Powell Sergeant Major, Captaine Matthew Morgan and John Samson Corporall of the field: Land Captaines Anthonie Plat, Edward Winter, John Goring, Robert Pen, George Barton, John Merchant, William Cevill, Walter Bigs, John Haman, Richard Stanton, Captaine Martin Frobisher Viceadmirall in the Primrose, Captaine Francis Knolles Rereadmirall in the Gallion Leicester, Captaine Thomas Vennor in the Eliz. Bonadventure under the Generall Captaine Edward Winter in the Aide; Christopher Carlile in the Tigre, Henry White Captain of the Sea Dragon, Thomas Drake Captaine of the Thomas, Thomas Seely Captaine of the Minion. Captaine Bayly of the Barke Talbot, Robert Crosse of the Barke Bond, George Fortescue of the Barke Boner, Edward Carelesse of the Hope, James Erizo of the White Lyon, Thomas Moone of the Francis, John Rivers of the Vantage, John Vaughan of the Drake, John Varney of the George, John Martin of the Benjamin, Richard Gilman of the Scout, Richard Hawkins of the Ducke, Captaine Bitfield of the Swallow. They tooke a Shippe of Saint Sebastians laden with fish, entred the Iles of Bayon, and sent to the Citie to know whether there were warres betwixt England and Spaine, and why the English Merchants and their goods in Spaine were embarged or arrested. The Governour professed his ignorance in both, and that this later was the Kings pleasure. After some spoiles done about Vigo, they fell with Hierro, but the Iland

Names of the Captaines and Commanders by Sea & Land.

English Ships arrested, the cause of the breaking out of Hostility.

being poore, departed without harme. Thence they went to the Iles of Cape Verde, and at Saint Iago entred
S. Iago taken. betwixt the Towne called Playa or Praya and Saint Iago, landed 1000. men, and (the men being fled) entred the Towne and shot off all their Ordnance, being 50. peeces, answered from the Ships to honour the Queenes day, the 17. of November. No Treasure was found but Wine, Oyle, Meale, &c. They possessed it foureteene dayes. November the foure and twentieth, they marched to Saint Domingo, twelve miles within land, and found the people fled.

After foureteene dayes they departed having burned the Towne of Playa, none of the inhabitants having offered to intercede, which seemed to happen from their
Voyage of old Master William Hawkins. guiltinesse towards old Master William Hawkins, whose men perfidiously they had murthered foure or five yeares before, against their promise, putting off to the West Indies, they could not put off the effects of the aire of that Iland, which by a Calentura killed two or three hundred of their men. The first Iland which they
Dominica. S. Christophers. fell with was Dominica, the next Saint Christophers, and having there spent their Christmas, they resolved for Hispaniola: and having received intelligence by a Frigot which they tooke in the way, they landed nine or ten miles to the Westward of Saint Domingo on New yeares day. About noone they approached the Towne under
[IV. vi. 1182.] the conduct of Master Carlile, and 150. horsemen presenting themselves from the Citie being retired, they
Saint Domingo assaulted and taken. divided their forces to assault both the Westerne gates at once. The Ordnance being discharged on them, they ran in to prevent a second charge and entred with them pell mell into the Gates, the enemy altering their fight into flight, which they made by the North gate. Both troopes met in the Market-place and there barricadoed themselves. The Castle was abandoned the next night. They held the Towne a whole moneth. They burned many houses before they could bring the Spaniards to a price for the ransome of the rest, for which at last

they paid after much spoile 25000. Duckets. The pray was not much. In the Towne-house were the Kings armes, and in the lower part of the scutchion was painted a globe of the Sea and Land, a horse standing thereon with his hinder legges, the forepart without the globe, with this motto ascribed to his mouth, Non sufficit Orbis.

Ambitious Armes.

From Saint Domingo they set saile for Carthagena on the Continent, landing some Companies with Captaine Carlile five miles of, which were led on by night, the Generall with this Fleete presenting themselves before the chained Port: and having gotten the Citie, held the same six weekes. They tooke Alonso Bravo the Governour. After many houses burned 11000. Duckets were paid for ransome of the rest from burning. The Calentura continued, killing some (being a pestilent spotted Fever) and spoyling others of their strength and memory for a long time. The Serena or Evening ayre is said to cause it to them which are then abroad, if not of that Countrey: so that by holding their watch, the English were thus infected. This forced them to give over their intended voyage to Nombre de Dios, and Panama, sailing therefore alongst the coast of Florida, they tooke and fired two garrison Townes of the Spaniards, Saint Anthonie* and Saint Helena, and the Fort of Saint John. Then passing alongst the Virginian shore they tooke home the English Colonie there remaining with Master Lane their Governour, sent by Sir Walter Raleigh. These are said by Master Camden to have beene the first bringers in of the use of Tobacco, since so frequently abused by our Nation. They arrived at Portsmouth the 28. of July 1586. They got Ordnance of Brass above 200. peeces, and about 40. of Iron. The prey was valued at 60000 li. English. There dyed (most of the Calentura) 700. persons. The industry of the Generall in all places is remarkeable, whose vigilance and bodily presence, and labour in all businesse was much, that had he beene in the meanest he had

Cartagena assaulted and taken.

Mortality by a Calentura.

The Cause.

Other Townes taken.

**So Camden: others, Saint Augustin.*

First use of Tobacco: and (as may be thought) of the foolish locke at the left eare which the Virginians say the Devill (so appearing to them) taught them.

merited the highest place. To this is fittest in next place to adde his Cadiz exploit Anno 1587. and the taking of the rich Caracke, called Saint Philip.

**This voyage is printed in Master Hak. Tom. 2. part 2. but finding this written Relation, I thought good to insert it. It was written by one Thos. Pinner.*

HEr Majestie being informed of that invincible Armadas preparing in Spaine (which did come and was overcome the yeare after) sent a fleete of 30. saile under the command of Sir Francis Drake: the Bonadventure, the Lyon, the Dread-naught, and the Rainbow were out of her Navy Royall chosen to this service. The 16. of Aprill two Shippes of Midleborough which came from Cadiz (with whom we met in 40. degrees) gave him to understand that there was great provision in Cadiz and thereabout provided to come to Lisbone, whereupon the Generall with all possible speede bending himselfe thither to cut of the forces and provisions, the 19. of Aprill, one houre before the Sunne setting, entred the harbour of Cadiz, and the Spanish Fleete there checked us, at the entring thereat with the Towne Galleyes, but in short time retired under the Fortresse.

There were in the Roades 60. Ships, and divers other small shipping under the fortresse. There fled 20. French Shippes to port Riall, and some Spaniards, which could not be hindred of the Fleete by reason of the sholdnesse. There were sunke by us at our comming in with shot, one Orgasey of 1000. tun, furnished with thirty peeces of Brasse, and richly laden. There were two Gallies more came presently from Port Riall, and two other from Saint Mary port, but all in vaine the expenses of powder and shot, the greatest gaine to themselves.

There were to the number of 38. Shippes taken before night, and the English victours of the Roade: the Galleyes retyring under the Fortresses. Twenty Hulcks Hollanders confiscated to the King, and their goods sold to the Kings use: foureteene of them were fired, the other six were at port Riall laden with Wines and Bread, and to be presently full laden for Lishburne

one Carricke of foureteene hundreth tun appertaining to the Marquis of Saint Cruce; five great Biskainers fired, foure of them lading and taking in of victuals for the Kings provision for Lishburne, the Saint was a Ship of 1000. tuns, bound for Lishburne having in her great store of Pikes, much Iron, Nailes, Spikes, Iron hoopes, and such like, fired. One Shataya laden with Wines of 250. tuns for the Kings provision, which we brought to Sea with us, and discharged at Sea a part of their Wines, for the provision of the Fleete, and there fired her. Three Flye-Boates of foure hundreth tunnes laden with Bisket whereof the one being of two hundred tuns and upwards, we halfe unladed and then fired her, the other two are yet with us in company. Some tenne Barkes more laden with Wines, Raisons, Figges, Oyle, Wheate, with such like, fired. By supposition the eight and thirtie Shippes and Barkes fired, sunke, and brought away with us, amounted in judgement to thirteene thousand tuns of shipping. There rid in sight of us at port Riall, by estimation, above fortie saile, besides those that fled from Cadiz roade.

Caricke of 1400. tuns.

They gave us little ease during our aboade there, which they shot from the Galleyes, as also from the Fortresses and from the shore, where continually they planted new Ordnance at places convenient to offend; notwithstanding their Ships we continually fired as the floud came, thereby to bee cleared of them, which terrible fire was pleasant unto us to behold, and mittigated the continuall burthen of travaile, which lay upon us day and night in discharging, firing, and unlading, such provisions, with observations for good and gardable defence of the enemie. It pleased the Generall, after his great care and paines day and night, to finish this happy Action in her Majesties service, in one day and two nights, and hee came forth againe the Friday in the morning, with very little losse, thankes be to God.

[IV. vi. 1183.]

Of twelve Galleyes, and those that came from port Riall, and Saint Mary port, tenne of them came forth

after us, as it were to make some pastime with their great Ordnance. At length, the winde standing, wee cast about againe and strooke in for the shoare, and came to an anker within a league of Cales, where their Galleyes suffered us to ride quietly. There were also three Flye Boates more at Mallegai laden with Bysket, bound for Calez, and so for Lishborne. We understood of their great provisions and forces provided within the straights. We doubt not, but as God hath begunne this worke in great happinesse, to the daunting of the enemie: so God will blesse this Armie in cutting daily their forces shorter, to the great annoyance of the enemy, and to the honour of our Prince and Countrie.

Gally-fight. Wee have had the experience of Galley fights (wherein I can assure you) that these onely foure of her Majesties Ships wil make none accompt of twenty Galleyes; so as they were alone, and not driven to guard others.

There were Galleys had place fitter for their advantage in fight upon shot they received, they had present succour to ground under the towne, which they sundry times did waye, riding in a narrow gutter, the place yeelding no better, in that wee were driven to maintaine the same untill wee had discharged, and fired the Shippes, which could not conveniently be done but upon the floud; that thereby they may drive cleare of us.

We rest now victualed with Bread and Drinke, for six moneths in our Ships, and Bread besides in two flye Boates to maintaine a good Armie three moneths. We rest all in good love with our Generall and unitie in all the whole Fleete.

After this, they came before the haven of Lysbon, where the Marquesse of Sancta Cruz was with his Gallies, whom the Generall invited to some exchange of Bullets, but he refused. Thence they sailed to the Azores, and met with a Portugall Carracke, called Saint Philip, which had in her voyage outward carried the three Japonian Princes into the Indies. This Carracke he tooke, the first of that kinde taken by the English, ominous in the

name: and so it proved not onely by the losse of so great wealth to King Philip, both in leading the daunce to others after taken, and in opening the eyes of the English to visite the Indian fountaines, whence such wealth issued; wherein also the Hollanders quickly imitated them.

To omit other brave exploits neerer home, as that most glorious of 88. and the rest: our purpose is to give you the remote Voyages of this worthy Sea-man; and now lastly that last and fatall expedition Anno 1595. with sixe of the Queenes Ships and one and twenty other Ships and Barkes, containing 2500. men and boyes, intended for some speciall service in the West Indies. Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkins were joyned in Commission. They set saile from Plimmouth the eight and twentieth of August. November the twelfth, neere the Eastermost end of Saint Juan de Puerto Rico, Sir John Hawkins died. The haven of Saint John they found strongly fortified against them, but yet they fired their five Shippes each of 200. tunnes, having in every of them twenty Peeces of Brasse, and richly laden. Much harme was done on both sides. The five and twentieth they passed by Mona. In the beginning of December, they tooke Rio de la Hacha. They tooke also the Rancheria or fisher towne for Pearles. The Spaniards offered to ransome their Towne at 24000. Ducates which they brought in Pearle so dearely rated, that the General sent them backe, and both were burnt. The seventeenth they tooke Tapia, and after that Saint Martha, and the Spanish Lieutenant Generall. The seven and twentieth Nombre de Dios was taken, a Towne subject to raine, and very unhealthfull: the roade faire, having on each side as you come a ledge of rocks. The nine and twentieth, Sir Thomas Baskervile with 750. Land-soldiors went for Panama, a sore march thorow the woods, the way cut out of the woods and rocks, very mirie, the Spaniards playing on them out of the woods. After ten leagues march, they came to a fort on the top of a hill:

Sir Francis Drakes last voyage.

Death of Sir John Hawkins. S. Jo. Port Rico.

R. de la Hacha taken: and burnt.

Tapia. S. Martha.

Nombre de Dios.

S. Th. Baskervile.

March for Panama.

two such more were betwixt that and Panama, that also strongly fortified, the enemy having knowledge before of this designe. Hereby was he forced to returne.

S. Fr. Drakes death. January the eight and twentieth, Sir Francis Drake died of a fluxe. He made his brother Thomas Drakes sonne his heire. Sir Thomas Baskervill succeeded. The six and twentieth of February the Spaniards fleete of twenty

Sea-fight. sailes, and the English met; a fight followed, & continued two houres, and then they parted. A great Ship of the Spaniards that night was burned. In Aprill following they arrived at Plimmouth.

[IV. vi. 1184.] In this Voyage I have followed the printed Relation: but because another hath comne to my hands, written (as it seemes) by one offended therein, I have to thy other eare permitted him to speake, that freedome of judgement may remayne to every Reader.

THe seven and twentieth of August, having our dispatch from her Majestie, wee brought all our fleet into the Sound of Plimmouth, and the eight and twentieth day wee set sayle for our pretended Voyage. In our course alongst the Coasts of Spaine, was divers

Quarrell betwixt the Generals. meetings with our Generals, where passed many unkind speeches, and such as Sir John Hawkins never put off till death. In this tract was put on a resolution with Sir Francis Drake, and Sir Thomas Baskervile to take

Reason for and against the Canary exploit. the Grand Canaria, whereupon a counsell was held, and therein propounded by Sir Francis, how great a benefit, much honour, and good refreshing was offered us, and therefore would stand on most voyces. Sir John Hawkins to whom hee spake this utterly refused with these reasons following. First, there could bee no need considering our small time out. Secondly, not possible to carrie it without hazarding all, and Thirdly, not good to lose time, which would never be recovered. To this last reason Sir Thomas Baskervile answered. First, for time, hee would require but foure dayes in this manner, In foure houres he would take it, and in the rest would

hee burne it downe, except they would compound, thus the fourth day would he be shipped readie for our Voyage.

In this controversie Sir Francis would goe for the Canaria with such as would follow him, and Sir John Hawkins with the rest for the Indies, yet after this hard debating, at the earnest request of some friends, Sir John Hawkins upon the confessing of need, was content to assist them, yet in his judgement labour lost with much hazard of all. Thus altogether standing alongst, the sixe and twentieth of September we came to anchor afore the Fort that guards the landing place at Grand Canaria, where were put into our Boates and Pinnasses, all our land men under the conduct of Sir Thomas Baskervile Colonell Generall, who drew head neere the middest of the Beatche, betwixt the Fort and the Towne, as most safely for our landing. To this place even then did the Spaniards draw two or three very small Peeces of Ordnance, with which, and with some companies of Souldiers made some shew of resistance, whereupon notwithstanding most of our smaller shipping, who accompanied our Boats with their Artillery, Sir Thomas made his retraite without putting foot on land, and then to know, as it was reported, if our Generals would put their Voyage thereon or no. With this better consideration were all our men shipped againe, and stood alongst to the Westermost end thereof. Here went many ashoare some for water, some for pleasure, amongst whom, the eight and twentieth day was Captayne Grimstone with two more in his company slaine, and by Peasants as was thought: with this evill beginning, this night wee weighed and stood alongst for the Indies. *The Grand Canaria.*

The eight and twentieth of October, wee came faire by the Southermost end of Dominica: and the thirtieth day we came all to safe anchoring at Guardalupa, onely the Delight and the Francis, two of our smallest Pinnasses, who being to leewards out of sight, was there chased by five Spanish ships, in which chase the Francis *Dominica.*

was taken, the other escaped with this newes. The last of this moneth Sir John Hawkins not able to beare his griefes out longer, sickned. Here we built seven Pinnasses. The fourth of November were they lanched, and we stood of for Porto rico, the eight day in the way we anchored among the Ilands Virgins, where all our Souldiers were appointed to their land Captaines. The twelfth day we came to anchor afore the Harbour at Porto rico, where dyed Sir Nicholas Clifford, by a shot from a platforme, sitting at supper in the Defiance, with this shot was likewise Master Brewt Browne hurt, who lived but few dayes after, and this day also died Sir John Hawkins, whose death of many was much lamented.

Sir J. Hawkins sickneth.

At Porto rico.

He dyeth.

In this Harbour rid those five Frigats of the Kings, which came for the treasure. This place beeing well viewed by our Generall, and Colonell Generall, a counsell was held and therein agreed, That first and most necessariest these Frigats should bee burned, and for that service was named out the next night thirtie of our Boates and Pinnasses with fire-workes, and with warlike weapons, these Frigats were so well defended aboord, and with the Ordnance ashore, that our men returned with consuming onely one of them, out of which were saved some of the Spaniards, who reported certainly, that there the Treasure of two Millions was, and so were our men taken in the Francis.

Treasure lost.

Notwithstanding all these quickning newes after some few dayes, we weighed and stood alongst to the Westermost end of this Iland, where we contented us with some refreshing of water, Oranges and Plantanes, here were built foure Pinnasses more. At this place sent hee aboord me with his Warrant fortie Souldiers out of the Defiance. The foure and twentieth day we weighed and stood alongst for one Iland, called Knaw-saw, with which wee fell the nine and twentieth day, but stayed not; thus standing alongst. The first of December we arrived at Cape de la Vela, the second in the morning was put

Knaw-saw.

into our Boats and Pinnasses, all our Souldiers for Rio dela Hatcha. This was taken, the people being all fled, yet here with search in the Woods, and intelligence of some Negros, was found great store of Pearle, Plate, Jewels, Rials of Plate, Bolts of Silke, rich apparell, with much other luggage. The sixt of this moneth, brought in Sir Francis from one other Towne called Rancharia, great quantitie of Pearle and luggage. The ninth day came in some Spaniards, with intent to ransome their houses, Negros, and some Spaniards Prisoners, and concluded for 24000. Pezos, every Pezo worth five shillings sixe pence. The thirteenth day, came in the same all in Pearle, and the fourteenth day came in their Lieutenant for the delivery. But in the valuing, their quantity and quality would not be taken, wherefore departed they with foure houres respite for further answere from their Governour Don Francisco Manso, his answere was himselfe would come to conference, which hee did the sixteenth day. After dinner our Generall and Colonell Generall, with the Spaniards had secret conference about this Ransome, whereupon concluding, they absolutely broke of, and therefore in all haste was fire put in some of the houses, and the Governour had two houres time to cleere him of our Army. *Rio dela Hatcha.* [IV. vi. 1185.]

Thus having burnt Rio de la Hatcha, Rancharia, and Tapia. The eighteenth day wee weighed and stood alongst for Sancta Marca, to which we came the twentieth day, here we onely tooke some five Prisoners, whereof one was the Lieutenant there. The one and twentieth, it was put to fire, and we set sayle for Nombre de Dios, to which we came the seven and twentieth day, where in like manner the people had acquited the Towne, yet here was found by intelligence of some Negros, as I heard, two and twentie Sowes of Silver, Gold in Bullion, some Jewels, great store of Plate, and Riall of Plate, with much other luggage. The nine and twentieth day, Sir Thomas Baskervile, Colonell Generall with all his ablest Captaines and Souldiers tooke their journey for *Santa Marta.* *Sir T. Baskervils journey for Panama.*

Panama, now the marke of our Voyage: who neere the mid-way being empeached by some Spaniards and Negros, made their retreite to the Ships at Nombre de Dios, at this encounter were few of our men slaine, some hurt, some of the which were there left to the mercie of the Spaniards.

The fifth day of January, all our men being shipped, the towne and Galliots put to fire, we set sayle then by the advice of a Spaniard, for the River Nicorago, in *Escudo.* which way we fell with one Iland called Escudo, a place which affordeth nothing good, yet here wee stayed from the tenth day untill the three and twentieth, when we set sayle and plied to the Eastward, which by Gods speciall favour, the eight and twentieth day we came in with *Sir F. Drakes death.* Porta Jaibella. This morning died our Generall Sir Francis Drake. This is the place where the people of Nombre de Dios meaneth to dwell at. Here found we a beginning of a strong platforme with three Brasse Peeces unmounted. In my opinion, this was our best remove, for if God had not prevented our Generals purpose for the River Nicorago, it would have hazarded all her Majesties Ships, farre with the rest. Here tooke we in ballast, water, mended our sayles, and calked our ships, such as had need.

The eight of February, Sir Thomas Baskervile taking upon him Generall, we all set saile for Santa Marta homewards, but not able to recover higher then Carthagena, as wee ghesse in the Bonaventure, with the splitting of all our sayles, put over for Jamaica. In this course lost we the Fore-sight, the Susan Parnell, the Helpe, and the Gregory. The five and twentieth day came we faire by Canaria granda, which bore over us in the morning East North-east, and this day was all our flesh and fish spent. The second of March, making this our miserie like to be known to Sir Thomas Baskervile, who hath given mee his promise to relieve mee at my need, his answere was carelesly for us, and with all said hee would goe in with the Iland Pinos to water, which I

utterly misliked, the winde then being good to stand alongst, very ill to lose, and more for that no Englishman in our fleete either knew or ever heard of any watering or other good there.

In this reasoning betwixt us, we descried twentie sayle of ships a-head us, who were the Kings men of Warre, wayting our home comming, it was my fortune in the Bonaventure to take to taske the Vice-admirall, one of the twelve Apostles of the Kings, for so I thought by a great golden Saint, which manned her Poope. The manner of our fight and my deserving, I leave even to the report of mine enemies, yet thus much understand, their Admirall with the rest, all the next day being in the winde, was content we should passe in peace. Thus being quietly, and we all disimbogued some two hundred leagues, I made a second demand of Sir Thomas, his promise for victuals, which he utterly refused, wherefore as well in regard of our Generals lacke as mine owne danger, with a shot in our fight, wherein it was indifferent with mee to live or die, I told him I must make more haste home then I presumed hee would, yet wee stayed with him two dayes longer, when in a storme I left him, and this was the fourteenth day of March.

Now for these two English Sea-worthies, as wee have begunne their American Adventures, and ended them together, so I have thought good to insert this following censure of a Gentleman in a Letter of his, touching them both, as an Epitaph dedicated to their memory.

SIr, I have according to your request, and my owne plainnesse sent you here the comparison betweene those two Commanders Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkins. They were both much given to travell in their youth and age, attempting many honourable Voyages alike; as that of Sir John Hawkins to Guiny, to the Iles of America, to Saint John de Ulua. So likewise Sir Francis Drake after many Discoveries of the West Indies,

and other parts, was the first Englishman that did ever compasse the World; wherein, as also in his deepe judgement in Sea causes, he did farre exceed not Sir John Hawkins alone, but all others whomsoever. In their owne natures and disposition they did as much differ; as in the managing matters of the Warres, Sir Frances beeing of a lively spirit, resolute, quicke, and sufficiently valiant: The other slow, jealous, and hardly brought to resolution. In Councell Sir John Hawkins did often differ from the judgement of others, seeming thereby to know more in doubtfull things, then he would utter. Sir Francis was a willing hearer of every mans opinion, but commonly a follower of his owne: he never attempted any action, wherein he was an absolute Commander, but hee performed the same with great reputation, and did easily dispatch great matters; Contrariwise Sir John Hawkins did only give the bare attempt of things, for the most part without any Fortune or good successe therein. Sir John Hawkins did naturally hate the Land-souldier, and though hee were very popular, yet he affected more the common sort, then his equals; Sir Francis contrarily did much love the Land-souldier, and greatly advanced good parts, wheresoever he found them. Hee was also affable to all men and of easie accesse. They were both of many vertues, and agreeing in some. As patience in enduring labours and hardnesse, Observation and Memory of things past, and great discretion in sudden dangers, in which, neither of them was much distempered, and in some other vertues they differed. Sir John Hawkins had in him mercie and aptnesse to forgive, and true of word; Sir Francis hard in reconciliation, and constancie in friendship; he was withall severe and courteous, magnanimous, and liberall. They were both faultie in ambition, but more the one then the other; For in Sir Francis was an insatiable desire of honour indeed beyond reason. He was infinite in promises, and more temperate in adversity, then in better Fortune.

[IV. vi. 1186.]

He had also other imperfections, as aptnesse to anger, and bitternesse in disgracing, and too much pleased with open flattery: Sir John Hawkins had in him malice with dissimulation, rudenesse in behaviour, and passing sparing, indeed miserable. They were both happy alike in being Great Commanders, but not of equall successe, and grew great and famous by one meanes, rising through their owne Vertues, and the Fortune of the Sea. Their was no comparison to bee made betweene their wel-deserving and good parts, for therein Sir Francis Drake did farre exceede. This is all I have observed in the Voyages, wherein I have served with them.

R. M.

A briefe recitall or nomination of Souldiers, other Englishmens Voyages related at large in the printed Works of Master Hakluyt.

OTher Voyages might here be inserted, made by Englishmen into the Bay of Mexico, as that by Captayne W. Michelson, and William Mace of Ratcliffe, in the Dogge 1589. which there tooke three shippes. *Captaine Michelson.* They held fight with a Spanish man of Warre, who by fraud sought perfidiously to obtayne that which they could not by unspotted Fortitude. They put out a flagge of Truce, and after kinde entertaynement aboord the English, invited them to their shippe, where they assaulted them, stabbing Roger Kingsnold the Pilot to the Heart, staying others, and forcing the rest to trust God and the Sea rather then the Devill and the Spaniards; thus swimming to their ship. *Treachery of Spaniards.*

The valiant fight of the Content, a small ship of Sir George Careys, (Lord Hundsdon, Lord Chamberlaine) 1591. June 13. with three great Spanish ships, each of six or seven hundred, and one small shippe and two Gallies, farre more beeing slaine of the enemies then the English had to fight: I leave to Master Hakluyts report: as also Captayne Christopher Newport his Voyage with three ships and a Pinnasse the same *Sir G. Careys.* *Captaine Newport.*

yeere, which tooke and spoyled Yaguana and Ocoa in Hispaniola, and Truxillo, besides other Prizes, and in the way homeward, were at the taking of the Madre de Dios.

Earle of Suffolke. Thirteene sayles English before Havana.

The next yeere Captayne Lane Gen. of Master Wats his fleete, Captayne Roberts in the Exchange of Bristoll, and Captayne Benjamin Wood with foure shippes set forth by the Lord Thomas Howard, Captayne Kenell of Lime-house, and Captayne King of Ratcliffe Road, with thirteene sayles before Havana, wayting for purchase.

Sir R. Dudley.

Anno 1594. the Honourable Sir Robert Dudley set forth with two ships and two Pinnasses, and made his Voyage to Trinidada, and the Coast of Paria, returning by the Iles of Granata, Santa Cruez, Santa Juan de Puerto Rico, Mona, Zachco, and Bermuda. In which Voyage he and his company tooke or sunke nine Spanish ships; of which one was a man of Warre of sixe hundred tuns. The particulars are related by himselfe in Master Hakluyt.

Captaine Amias Preston. Captaine Summers.

In him also the Reader may find the victorious Voyage of Captayne Amias Preston, and Captayne George Summers (both since Knights) Anno 1595. in which the Iles of Puerto Santo, and of Coche neere Margarita, the Fort and Towne of Coro, the Citie of Saint Iago de Leon, were sacked and burnt; the Towne of Cumana ransomed, and Jamaica entred.

Sir Antonie Sherley. Captaine Parker. Sir W. Raleigh. M. W. Hawkins. M. Reniger. M. Pudsey. M. Hare. Sir J. Lancaster. Fenton and Ward.

Sir Antonie Sherley. Anno 1596. set forth from Hampton, with nine ships and a Galley, to Saint Iago Dominica, Margarita, Jamaica, Bay of Honduras, and homewards by Newfoundland. This and Captayne Parkers Voyage 1596. to the same parts and Ports, with his taking of Campeche the chiefe Towne of Iacatan, and bringing thence a Frigat, laden with the Kings Tribute: Also the Voyages of Sir Walter Raleigh to Guiana, and other intelligences of that Nation: likewise Master William Hawkins his Voyages to Brasill, and those of Reniger and Borey, Pudsey, Stephen Hare, Sir James Lancasters taking of Fernambuc: Fenton and

Ward, and John Drakes Voyage after his departure from Fenton up the River of Plate, and living fifteene moneths with the Savages, Annò 1582. *John Drake.*

All these I referre to the painfull labours of Master Hakluyt, who hath well deserved of the English Nation, and of these Neptunian Heroes, that I mention not the many Voyages of others in those times of difference betwixt England and Spaine, which here and there you shall finde mention of in these Relations. Also, Anno 1589. three ships were set forth by Master Chidlie and others for the Magellan Straites, one of which arrived there and tooke there a Spaniard, one of the foure hundred which had beene sent thither to inhabit, which had long lived there alone, the rest being famished. They spent sixe weekes there with contrary winds, and sixe only of their company returned, they also being racked on the Coast of Normandie, as W. Magoths one of the sixe hath related. [IV. vi. 1187.]

These I doe but summarily mention, as an Index rather to Master Hakluyts labours, then with any intent to give the discourse thereof. But the strange fortunes of Peter Carder (not hitherto published) compell me to take speciall notice thereof, which himselfe hath thus related.

Chap. V.

The Relation of Peter Carder of Saint Verian in Cornwall, within seven miles of Falmouth, which went with Sir Francis in his Voyage about the World, begun 1577. who with seven others in an open Pinnasse or Shallop of five tuns, with eight Oares, was separated from his Generall by foule weather in the South Sea, in October, An. 1578. who returning by the Straites of Magellan toward Brazill, were all cast away, save this one only afore named, who came into England nine yeeres after miraculously, having escaped many strange dangers, aswell among divers Savages as Christians.

Captaine Winters returne. With this Cap. Winter I have had conference in Sept. 1618. at Bath: which told me that solemne possession was actually taken of those parts, to the use of her Majesty and her successors: which he desired also should be published to the World. The names of his companions.

AFter Sir Francis Drake had passed the Straites of Magellan, the sixt of September 1578. and was driven downe to the Southwards in the South Sea, unto the latitude of fiftie five degrees, and a terse, with such accidents as are mentioned in his Voyage, and returning backe toward the Straite againe. The eight of October we lost sight of the Elizabeth, one of our Consorts, wherein Master John Winter was, who returned by the Straites againe, as wee understood afterward at our comming home into England; according to his Voyage extant in print. Shortly after his separation from our company, our Generall commanded eight men to furnish our small Pinnasse or Shallop with eight men, whose names were these, my selfe, Peter Carder aforesaid, Richard Burnish of London, John Cottle and another, both servants to Master John Hawkins, Artyur a Dutch Trumpetor, Richard Joyner, servant to Vincent Scoble of Plimmouth,

Pasche Gidie of Salt Ashe, and William Pitcher of London.

This company was commanded to waite upon the ship for all necessary uses, but having not passed one dayes victuals in us, nor any Card nor Compasse, saving only the benefit of eight oares, in the night time by foule weather suddenly arising we lost the sight of our ship, and though our ship sought us and we them, for a fortnight together, yet could we never meet together againe. Howbeit within two dayes after we lost them, we recovered the shoare, and releeved our selves with Muscels, Oysters, Crabs, and some sorts of Roots in the Woods, and within a fortnight after the losse of our consorts, wee returned backe into the Straites of Magellan, and in two places came on land on the mayne of America, to relieve our selves in certaine Bayes, where wee found Oysters, Muscels and Crabs as before, and filled our Barricos with fresh water, and in one of these places we found Savages, but they fled from us.

They lose their ship.

Their returne to the Straits: and thorow them to the North Sea.

Afterward we came to Penguin Iland in the Straites, and there wee salted and dryed many of the Penguins for our sustenance. Thence we shaped our course for Port Saint Julian, where Sir Francis Drake not many moneths before had beheaded Captayne Doutie: In this Port we stayed a day or two, and tooke fish like Breames and Mackerils, with hookes and lines. Then costing the land for some fortnight, some hundred leagues beyond the River of Plate, wee found a small Iland three leagues from the mayne full of Seales, whereof wee killed good store to our sustenance, the young ones we found best and eate them roast. Then passing over the River of Plate to the North side, we put into a small River, and went up into the Woods sixe of us: other two remayning on the shore to looke to the Boat.

Penguin Iland.

Port Saint Julian.

River of Plate.

Seales.

While we were thus seeking food in the Woods the people of the Countrey, called Tapines, some sixtie or seventie armed with Bowes and Arrowes shot fiercely at

Foure English taken by Savages, the rest wounded.

us, and wounded us all very grievously, and foure of us were taken by them, and never recovered: the rest of us they pursued to our Pinnasse, and wounded us all: but in the end we put them to flight. Thence we went to an Iland some three leagues of in the Sea, not above a league in compasse. Where wee cured our selves as well as we might, yet so, that two of us died of our late wounds, and that, which was worse for want of helpe. Through foule weather our Pinnasse was dasht against the Rockie shoare and broken, and now there remayned alive of us eight, no more but my selfe, Peter Carder and William Pitcher.

[IV. vi. 1188.]

Two dye.

Their Pinnasse lost.

Pitcher & Carder remayne.

Here we remayned the space of two moneths, in all which time for our victuals, wee had a fruit somewhat like unto Oranges, growing upon a high Tree, the leafe whereof was somewhat like the Aspen leafe, and small; white Crabs creeping upon the sand, and little Eeles which we found under the sands, but in all this Iland we could not find any fresh water in the World, insomuch, that we were driven to drinke our owne urine, which we saved in some sheards of certaine Jarres, which we had out of our Pinnasse, and set our urine all night to coole therein, to drinke it the next morning, which thus being drunke often, and often avoyded, became in a while exceeding red, in all this time wee had no raine, nor any good meanes to save it, if it had fallen, whereupon, seeing our selves in so great extremitie, wee devised how we might get unto the Mayne, and by good fortune, found a planke of some ten foot in length, which of likelihood had driven from the River of Plate, whereunto with withes, wee bound some other wood, and furnishing our selves with the foresaid fruit, Eeles and Crabs, wee committed our selves to God; hoping with the setting in of the tyde, and with the helpe of two poles, which we used in stead of Oares to attayne unto the Mayne, which was some three leagues off, but wee made it three dayes and two nights before we could come to the Mayne.

No fresh water. They drinke urine.

Red urine.

Passage to the Mayne.

At our comming first on land, we found a little River of very sweet and pleasant water, where William Pitcher my onely comfort and companion (although I diswaded him to the contrary) over dranke himselfe, being pinched before with extreame thirst, and to my unspeakeable griefe and discomfort, within halfe an houre after dyed in my presence, whom I buried aswell as I could in the sand. *Pitcher breakes with drinking fresh water.*

The next day following, as I travelled along the shoare towards Brasill, having mine Arming Sword and Target with me, I met with some thirtie of the Savages of the Countrey, called Tuppan Basse, which being armed with Bowes and Arrowes, and having two or three great Rattles with stones in them, and a kind of Tabrets that they used in stead of Drummes, they went dancing before me about a Musket shot off, and then they stayed and hanged up a piece of a white Net of Cotton-wooll, upon a sticks end of foure foote high, and went from it about a Musket shot off: then I comming unto it, tooke it in my hand, viewed it, and hung it up againe, then many of them, beckning and weaving with their hands, cryed unto mee, Iyorie, Iyorie, which (as afterward I understood, by living long among them) was as much as Come hither, Then I came to them, and they friendly led me a long some halfe a mile, all the way dancing, as well men as women, whereof there were some eight in the company, untill we came to another River side, where they hanged up their Beds, tying them fast to a couple of Trees, being a kinde of white Cotton Netting, which hanged two foot from the ground, and kindled fire of two sticks, which they made on both sides of their Beds, for warmth, and for driving away of wilde beasts, and having fed me with such as they had: we tooke our rest for that night. *Tuppan basse Savages.* *He goeth with them.*

The next day earely in the morning they tooke downe and trussed up their beds, crying tiasso, tiasso, which is to say, away, away, and marched that day towards Brasill some twentie miles, and came to their Towne

Savage towne described. where their chiefe Governour was. The Towne was built foure square, with foure houses onely, every house containing above two Bowe shot in length, and the houses made with small trees like an Arbour, being thatched over downe to the ground with Palme tree leaves: they have no windowes, but some thirtie or fortie doores on every side of this squadron, by which each Familie passeth in and out; their chiefe Lord, whose name was Caiou, being a man of some forty yeares old, had nine wives; but the rest have onely one wife, except such as are counted more valiant then the rest which are permitted two wives, one to looke to their children at home, and the other to goe to the warres with them. This Towne contained very neere 4000. persons of all sorts. The next day the Governour sent divers of his people abroad to bring in all sorts of victuall which the Countrie yeelded, and offered them unto me to see which of them I liked best, among which there was great store of fish, as well Sea-fish as freshwater-fishes, many sorts of Fowles, many sorts of Rootes, and divers Land-beasts, as Armadillos, which afterward I found to be very good meate. Of all these at the first, I onely tooke one Fowle, and a couple of fishes, and bestowed the rest among their children, which procured me no small good will among them.

Caiou their Lord.

Hospitall entertainment.

Here I staied among them (being well entertained) for certaine moneths, untill I had learned most part of their language, in which meane space I noted their manners, which were as followeth. They went out to the warres armed at my first comming, onely with Bowes and Arrowes, some three or foure hundred at a time, and when they had the victory of their enemies, they tied one of their Captives to one of their company with Cotten cords fast arme to arme, and bringing them home, within two or three daies after they would tie them to a poast, and with a massie club of red wood one of the strongest of the company (after they have drunke a certaine strong drinke with dancing round about him) at

He learneth their language.

Their warres.

Captives.

Man-eating.

one blow slits his head a sunder: this drinke is made by their women of a certaine roote called I. P. which first they seeth, and afterward chew in their mouthes, and then spit it out againe into a long trough, and mingle it with water, and there let it worke two or three daies, and gather yeest upon it, like to an Ale: which done, they take the liquor and put it into broad mouth Jarres of earth, and of this both their men and women doe drinke at their feasts, till they be as drunke as Apes. [IV. vi. 1189.] *Their drinke and drunkennesse.*

I could observe no religion amongst them, but onely that they reverence and worshippe the Moone, especially the new Moone; whereat they doe rejoyce in leaping, dancing, and clapping their hands. The Merchantable commodities of this Countrie, are Brasill-wood, Tobacco, red Pepper, and Cotten Wooll. They have also great store of Apes, Monkies, Armadillos, Hogges without tailes as bigge as ours; their Birds are Parrats, Parraketos, blacke Fowles as bigge as Doves, and Ostriches as high as a man. After I had lived about halfe a yeare amongst them, and learned their language, the King requested me to goe to the warres with him against his enemies the Tapwees, which I granted, but before we set out, I shewed them a way for making of certaine Targets of the barke of a Tree some three quarters of a yard long for defence against Arrowes, whereof we made some hundred; and withall I wished them to make some two hundred of Clubs. Which being done we marched forward some 700. in number, which by mine advice were all marked with a red kinde of Balsome from the knee downeward upon one legge, to be known from our enemies (by the way it is to be noted that there are three sorts of Balsamum in that Countrie, to wit, White, Red and Blacke very odoriferous and excellent good for a greene wound, and the White I esteeme to be best.) In three dayes march we came to another Towne built foure square, as before I have declared, but much lesser; we set upon the Towne about

Religion.

He teacheth them to make Targets and Clubs.

Three kindes of Balsome.

foure of the clocke in the morning, the enemy standing upon defence of their Arrowes, were much deceived by reason of our Targets, which being seconded by our Clubbes, wee immediately knocked downe to the number of two hundred, the rest, except some twenty prisoners escaped into the woods. Here the King staied one day, and caused many of thir carkases to be broyled upon the coals and eaten. The chiefest riches which we found here was their drinke which they used to make themselves drunke withall; their Cotten Beddes and their Tobacco. As for Gold and Silver they neither seeke, nor make any accompt thereof. This is to be noted, that how many men these Savages doe kill, so many holes they will have in their visage, beginning first in their nether lippe, then in their cheekes, thirdly in both their eye-browes, and lastly in their eares. Those twenty prisoners which we brought home, were afterward killed, rosted and eaten.

Man-eating.

Spoiles.

Notes of gentrie.

While I remayned here amongst these people, certayn Portugals accompanied with certayn Negros and Brazilians, came within some ten leagues of our town, to see whether they could surprise any of our Savages, and to harken what was become of me, for that they had heard by this time that some of Sir Francis Drakes company were cast ashoare amongst the Savage people, but there comming was not so secret, but that two of the Portugals and certayne Negros were taken, and after their confession, of the intent of their comming thither, they were brained with clubs, broyled and eaten. These things thus passing, I became sutor to the King to give mee leave to depart his Countrey, and to goe to some River of Brasill not planted by the Portugals, to see if I could spy out any English or French ship to passe me into my Countrey, which hee in the end favourably granted; and sent foure of his people with me to furnish me with victuals, which they did very plentifully of Birds, Fish, and Roots, for the space of nine or ten weeks, all which time they did accompany me, and I

Portugals eaten.

His departure.

desiring to goe toward the Line, they brought me into the towne of Bahia, Detodos los Santos.

But about foure or five miles before we came to the towne, I yeelded my selfe to a Portugall, called Michael Jonas, declaring unto him that I was an Englishman, and enquired whether there were any Englishmen dwelling in the towne, hee told me that there was one Antonio de Pava in the towne which could speake good English, and was a lover of our Nation, and brought mee directly unto his house. This Antonio de Pava, pittying my case, and advising mee not to bee knowne, that I understood the Portugall Tongue, brought mee to the Governour, whose name was Diego Vas, this Governour told me by Antonio de Pava, which became my Interpreter, that seeing I was found in the Inland of their Countrey Westward, being a stranger, contrary to their Lawes, he could doe no lesse then commit me to Prison, and send me into Portugall to be committed to the Gallies for tearme of life, to this I answered by the advice of my good friend Antonia de Pava, that I came not willingly into those Dominions, but beeing by casualtie once come there, I was not taken Prisoner, but sought them out and came and yeelded my selfe into their hands, laying downe my weapons at one of his Nations feet.

He yeeldeth himselfe to a Portugall.

Neverthelesse he sent me to Prison, where by the meanes of Antonio de Pava, and other of his friends, I was sufficiently relieved, and within one fortnight after brought againe publikely to the barre in the Towne-house to mine answere. There I answered the second time by Antonio de Pava, my Interpreter, that I thought it sufficient, that when I might have kept out, yet of mine owne free will I had made a long journey, with great hazard of my life through the Countries of Savages, being Man-eaters, which favoured me to seeke the Portugall Christians out, and peaceably to put my selfe into their hands. Hereupon the Governor and his assistants consulted and concluded together, that I should

His imprisonment.

[IV. vi. 1190.]

Deliverance. be committed to the house of Antonio de Payve, & there remaine untill they might write into Portugall to know the Kings pleasure concerning me. Within one yeare they received answer from Lisbon concerning me, that I should be forth comming, and that hereafter the King would send further order for my transporting into Portugall. But above two yeares passed before this order came: In which meane space, first I spent part of my time in going into the fields as overseer of my friends Negros and Savages in their planting and dressing of their Sugar Canes, and in planting of Gingers, which grow there exceeding well, but is a forbidden trade to be transported out for hindering of other places, and in cutting downe of Brasil-wood, and in bringing it downe by Rivers upon rafts unto the Port where the Ships doe lade it, and in seeing them gather their Cotten wooll, and picking the seedes out of it, and packing the same, and in gathering of the long Pepper both white and red.

His employments.

After I had spent, some yeare and an halfe in this businesse, my friend Antonio de Payve having a small Barke of his owne, which he employed in carrying of wares from Port to Port, and for bringing of Sugars to places where Ships should lade, used me, knowing I had bin brought up to the Sea, in these his businesses. Our first Voyage was to Ilheos, where we left some wares, and staied there some moneth; then we went to Puerto Seguro, and there tooke in some Sugars for Linnen Cloth, Bayes, Wine and Oyle. Then returning home, shortly after we were set forth againe in the same Barke to Spirito Sancto, and Saint Vincent, and the River Jenero, where discharging our wares to certaine Factors, and receiving Sugars and Cotten Wooll aboord, we returned safely home. In my first Voyage one Master David Leake an English Surgeon, lost there out of an English Shippe in the Countrie, being much sought for because of his skill, had passage with us from Bahia to Spirito Sancto. Upon my returne of my second

His coast voyages to Ilheos. Puerto Seguro.

Spirito Sancto. S. Vincent. R. Jenero.

Davide Leake an English Surgeon.

voyage, my good friend Antonio de Payve advertised me, that a Shippe was shortly to arrive there to carry me into Portugall prisoner, telling me that he should not be able any longer to helpe me, and therefore wished me to looke to my selfe; but kindely offered me his helpe to convay me away: whereupon I tooke his Boate and foure of his Negros, pretending to goe on fishing to the Sea; and so of purpose going much to Leeward of the place, I put in to Fernambuc: where the Negros being examined whence we came, and for what cause, being utterly ignorant of mine intent, answered that they were drawn thither by force of weather, and for their Masters sake were well intreated, and returned home with the next winde, my selfe remaining secretly behinde them.

Honest Portugal.

Fernambuc.

Within certaine moneths there came thither a Hulke with eight English men and foureteene Portugals, who after some three moneths had laden the same with English and Portugall goods to come for England. The English goods belonged to M. Cordal, M. Beecher, and M. Sadler, worshipfull Merchants of the Citie of London; which had bin left in the Countrie before by the Merchant Royall. Thus passing homeward in our course as far as the Iles of the Açores, within sight of the Ile of Pike, being five Portugall Ships in consort, we met with Cap. Raymond, and Cap. George Drake of Exeter, with two English Ships of warre, who because the peace betweene England and Spaine was broken the yeare before, commanded us to yeelde our selves to them as their lawfull prises, which we did all five accordingly without any resistance. But by contrary weather we were driven into Baltimore in Ireland, and within a while after we arrived in the narrow Seas in the haven of Chichister, in the end of November 1586. nine yeares and foureteene dayes after my departure out of England with Sir Francis Drake in his Voyage about the World.

Hulke with eight English.

Marchant Royall.

Cap. Raymond. Captain George Drake

His arrivall in England.

My strange adventures, and long living among cruell

Savages being known to the right honorable the Lord Charles Howard, Lord high Admirall of England, he certified the Queenes Majesty thereof with speede, and brought me to her presence at White-hall, where it pleased her to talke with me a long houres space of my travailes and wonderfull escape, and among other things of the manner of M. Dowties execution; and afterward bestowed 22. angels on me, willing my Lord to have consideration of me: with many gracious words I was dismissed; humbly thanking the Almighty for my miraculous preservation, and safe returne into my native Countrie.

The Q. rewardeth him.

To the Reader.

See Tom. 1. l. 2. c. 4.

HEre maist thou read that dismall and fatall voyage of Master Thomas Candish, in which he consummated his earthly peregrination. In the former voyage of his (which amongst our Circumnavigations of the Globe, we have presented thee) thou findest a perpetuall Sunshine, no man ever having in neere so little time compassed that huge circumference, or taken his choice of so much more wealth then he could bring home, or revisited his native soile with greater pompe and triumph. The clearest day hath a night, nor doth Summer last alway; the Sea hath his ebbing as well as flowing; the Aire hath calmes and stormes: the Moone hideth sometimes the Suns lustre from us by her interposition; sometimes is her selfe meerely darkened by the Earths shadow. And if the Elements, Seasons, and Heavens two Eyes be subject to such vicissitudes; what is this little molehill of earth, this modell of clay, this moveable circumference of constant inconstancie, immutable mutability; this vanishing centre of diversified vanitie, which we call Man; that herein also he should not resemble this samplar of the universe, as becommeth a little map to be like that larger Prototype. This we see all, and feele daily in our selves: this in Master Candish here, in Sir Francis Drakes before, the Seas two darlings, there and

I have heard that all his sailes at his returne in the river, were silke.

[IV. vi. 1191.]

thence both living and dying; if dissolution of the body may be called a death, where the soule arriveth in heaven, the name fils the earth, the deedes are presidents to posteritie, and England their Countrie hath the glory alone that she hath brought forth two illustrious Captaines and Generalls, which have fortunately embraced the round waste of their vaste mother, without waste of life, reputation, and substance; yea victorious over elements and enemies, illustrious in wealth and honour, they have comne home like the Sunne in a Summers day, seeming greatest neerest his evening home, the whole skie entertaining and welcoming him in festivall scarlets and displayed colours of triumph. No Nation else hath yeelded one, which in all these respects may be matchable. Magalianes hath left himselfe odious to his Portugals for offered service to the Spaniard, and like Phaeton thinking with Phebus his Chariot to compasse the World, perished midway. Midway was Schoutens Ship and men attached, and he and his had a servile returne. Cano came or rather fled home like Magalianes ghost, hardly and with a few escaping. Noort scarsly escaped taking, drowning, firing, trechery, and hostilitie. Spilbergen got blowes in the South Sea where Drake and Candish were made rich, and returned an Indian Merchant. Three Dutch worthies: but all lighted their candles at these two English Torches. Thus may we magnifie Drakes swimming, and can die the memorie of our Candish. But where it is said ye are Gods, it is added, ye shall dye like men. The Sea is a waving wavering foundation, the windes theatre both for Comedies and Tragedies. You have seene Drake acting both: and in both you here finde Candish. Christ is yesterday, to-day, the same for ever; God is without shadow, (without passibilitie or possibilitie) of change, a light in whom is no darknesse: but sublunarie things are like the Moone their neerest Planet, which never viewes the earth two dayes together with one face. God hath made our way to him so full of chances and changes, that our unstedie, slippery way on this earth, and calme-storme-

See Osorius de reb. Eman.

voyage in these Seas, may make us more to meditate and thirst after that haven of instabilitie, and heaven of eternity. Some passionate speeches of Master Candish against some private persons not employed in this action, I have suppressed, some others I have let passe; not that I charge Captaine Davis or others, but that it may appeare what the Generall thought of them. Master Hakluyt hath published Master Janes report of this Voyage, which makes more favourable on Captaine Davis his side. If hee did deale treacherously, treacherie found him out, as in his last Voyage before is declared. If any thinke the Captaine here to conceive amisse, I shall be willing to have the most charitable conceit, and therefore remit the Reader to Master Hakluyts Relation aforesaid, for his apologie: the sum whereof, and of that Voyage is this.

Sup. Tom. 1. l. 3.

Cap. Davis his voyage into the South Sea, reported by M. Jane, Hak. To. 3.

Master Jane there relateth, that Aug. 26. 1591. Captaine Candish set forth from Plimmouth with three tall Shippes, the blacke Pinnace, and a Barke. Novemb. 29. they fell with the coast of Brasile. They tooke the Towne of Santos, and burnt Saint Vincent. After a cruell storme they arrived at Port Desire, and after fell with the Magellan straites. Occasionally (saith Jane) they lost Captaine Candish, and went backe to Port Desire to seeke him: and whiles Captaine Davis further intended to seeke out the Generall, a dangerous conspiracie was plotted to murther him by Parker and Smith. There is also a testimoniall subscribed by fortie men. Thence they returned to the Straits, and had sight of the people, which were very strong, nimble, and naked. Sep. 13. they came in sight of the South Sea, and being forced backe, the next day put forth againe, and being eight or ten leagues free from land, were repelled into the Straits. Octob. 2. they put into the South Sea againe, and were free of all land, and there in a storme lost the blacke Pinnace. The Shippes company were in despaire of life, but by Gods grace recovered the Straits, and a third time came to Port Desire; and there lost nine of their men (of which Parker and Smith were two) being on Land for

Wood and Water: they knew not what became of them, but guessed that the Salvages had devoured them. For the eleventh of November, while most of the men were at the Ile of Pengwins, onely the Captaine and Master with sixe others left in the Shippe, there came a great multitude of Savages to the Shippe (there on ground on the oaze) throwing dust in the ayre, leaping and running like bruite Beasts, having vizors on their faces like Dogges faces, or else their faces are Dogges faces indeede. We feared they would set our Shippes on fire, for they would suddenly make fire, whereat wee marvelled, setting the bushes on fire, but scared with Peeces they fled. Here they found much Scurvie-grasse which recovered them; and dried 20000. Pengwins, making some salt by laying the salt water on rockes in holes. The sixt of February, many reported to each other their dreames of killing, and the like, and that day they lost 13. men at Placentia. Their dried Pengwins, when they came neerer the Sun, began to corrupt, and there bred in them a most loathsome and ugly worme which devoured their victuals, cloathes, timbers, and all but Iron, not sparing their flesh when they were asleepe, so that they could scarcely sleepe. Their multitude was such that they could not destroy them. Another disease tooke them with swelling in their anckles, two daies after which, shortnesse of breath, then falling into their cods and yards, so tormenting them that divers fell mad and died: on five onely did the labour of the Ship relye; and June 11. 1593. without victuals, sailes, or men God guided them to Beare-haven in Ireland.

Strange Canibals with dogs faces or vizars.

Dreames ominous. Men lost or taken as Knivet saith. Loathsome Wormes.

But let us heare Master Candish himselfe more then acting his owne part. Discite justitiam moniti. Let not prosperitie poyson the soule, with the sting of the old Serpent, swelling in pride, ingratitude, or contempt of God, or Man: let not any magnifie himselfe in whatsoever exploits, or trust in uncertaine riches, or promise to himselfe the perpetuall smiles of the world; and then it shall seeme no new thing, nor cause of despaire, if shee bites in [IV. vi. 1192.]

The morall of this and other historicall Tragedies.

stead of kissing. Shee is a Witch which transformeth men into Swine with her Cyrcæan cups, if the minde learne not by Religion to fasten it selfe to God, to account him her treasure, and make her selfe the treasurie, as a Pilgrime pressing towards the prize of our high calling, that inheritance of the Saints in light; for which Robes, to bee stripped of these Rags is a blessed purchase; meanwhile knowing that nothing doth, shall, can happen but by his providence, which is a Father, most wise, loving, bountifull, and mercifull, which alreadie hath given us his Sonne, doth now give his Spirit, and will give us himselfe. No Rocks can wrack that Soule, no stormes oppresse, no Seas can sinke, no fortunes can either puffe up with succesSe, or sinke and make to shrinke in it selfe by any pressures to despaire, which hath thus made God her portion: yea the worst of adversities by a holy Antiperistasis doe contract and more unite the soules forces to greater acts of fortitude in doing and suffering his Will, to whose ours ought alway to be subordinated. It is the voice of a Pagan, but the vertue of a Christian, Omnia mea mecum porto, and with Job to say, The Lord hath given, the Lord hath taken, blessed bee the Name of the Lord. I have given Master Knivets Relation after this of Master Candish, as before Peter Carder after Sir Francis Drake; that as both served under them in their Discoveries, so they may in this our Discoverie of those Discoveries, as Pages to those Worthies; the one a Mariner wayting on a Mariner; the other a Gentleman following a Gentleman; both unmatchable by any English for the rare adventures, disadventures, and manifold successions of miseries in those wilde Countries, and with those wilder Countrimen of Brasilia; especially Master Knivet, who betwixt the Brasilian and Portugall, as betwixt two Mill stones, was almost ground to poulder: whom Colds, Sicknes, Famine, Wandrings, Calumnies, Desertions, Solitarines, Deserts, Woods, Mountaines, Fennes, Rivers, Seas, Flights, Fights; wilde Beasts, wilder Serpents, wildest Men, and straight passages

beyond all names of wildnesse (those Magellan Straits succeeded by drowning, fainting, freesing, betraying, beating, starving, hanging Straits) have in various successions made the subject of their working: whom God yet delivered, that out of his manifold paines, thou maist gather this posie of pleasures, and learne to bee thankefull for thy native sweets at home, even delights in the multitude of peace.

Chap. VI.

Master Thomas Candish his discourse of his fatall and disastrous voyage towards the South Sea, with his many disadventures in the Magellan Straits and other places; written with his owne hand to Sir Tristram Gorges his Executor.

MOst loving friend, there is nothing in this world that makes a truer triall of friendship, then at death to shew mindfulnesse of love and friendship, which now you shall make a perfect experience of: desiring you to hold my love as deare dying poore, as if I had beene most infinitely rich. The successe of this most unfortunate action, the bitter torments thereof lye so heavie upon mee, as with much paine am I able to write these few lines, much lesse to make discoverie unto you of all the adverse haps, that have befallen me in this voyage, the least whereof is my death: but because you shall not be ignorant of them, I have appointed some of the most sensiblest men that I left behinde me, to make discourse unto you of all these accidents. I have made a simple will, wherein I have made you sole, and onely disposer of all such little, as is left.

The Roe-bucke left me in the most desolate case that ever man was left in, what is become of her I cannot *The Roe-bucke.*

imagine: if shee bee returned into England, it is a most admirable matter; but if shee bee at home, or any other of my goods whatsoever returne into England, I have made you onely Possessor of them. And now to come to that villaine that hath beene the death of me, and the decay of this whole action, I meane Davis, whose onely treacherie in running from me, hath beene an utter ruine of all: if any good returne by him, as ever you love mee, make such friends as he of all others may reape least gaine. I assure my selfe you will bee carefull in all friendship, of my last requests. My debts which be owing be not much, &c. But I (most unfortunate villaine) was matched with the most abject minded and mutinous companie, that ever was carried out of England by any man living. For I protest unto you, that in going to the Streits of Magellan, after I was passed to the Southward of the River of Plate, and had bidden the furie of stormes, which indeed I thinke to bee such as worser might not bee indured: I never made my course to the Straits-ward, but I was in continuall danger by my companie, which never ceased to practise and mutinie against me. And having gotten the appointed place called Port Desire, I met with all my companie, which had beene there twentie dayes before me: and had not my most true friends beene there (whom to name my heart bleedes) I meane my cousin Locke, I had been constrayned either to have suffered violence, or some other most disordered misse-hap. I came into this Harbour with my Boat, my ships riding without at Sea: where I found the Roe-bucke, the Desire, and the Pinnace, all which complayned unto mee, that the Tyde ranne so violently, as they were not able to ride, but were driven aground, and wished me in any wise not to come in with my ship, for that if shee should come on ground, shee would be utterly cast away: which I knew to be most true.

Captaine Davis blamed.

Mutinous companie.

Port Desire.

[IV. vi. 1193.]

And finding it to bee no place for so great a ship without her utter ruine: I forthwith commanded them, to make themselves readie to depart: they being fresh,

and infinitely well releeved with Seales and Birds, which in that place did abound, and my companie being growne weake and feeble, with continuall watching, pumping, and bayling. For I must say truly unto you, there were never men that endured more extremities of the Seas, then my poore companie had done. Such was the furie of the West South-west, and South-west windes, as wee were driven from the shoare foure hundred leagues, and constrayned to beate from fiftie degrees to the Southward into fortie to the Northward againe, before wee could recover neere the shoare. In which time, we had a new shift of sailes cleane blowne away, and our ship in danger to sinke in the Sea three times: which with extremitie of mens labour wee recovered. In this weaknesse, wee departed for the Straits, being from that Harbour eight leagues, and in eighteene dayes, wee got the Straits: in which time, the men in my ship were growne extreamly weake. The other ships companie were in good case, by reason of their late reliefe.

Tempests.

The Streits.

And now we had beene almost foure moneths betweene the coast of Brasile, and the Straights; being in distance not above sixe hundred leagues, which is commonly run in twentie or thirtie dayes: but such was the adversenesse of our fortunes, that in comming thither wee spent the Summer, and found in the Straits, the beginning of a most extreame Winter, not durable for Christians. In despight of all stormes and tempests, so long as wee had ground to anchor in, and Tydes to helpe us, we beate into the Straits some fiftie leagues, having (for the most part) the windes contrarie. At length being forced by the extremitie of stormes, and the narrownesse of the Straits (being not able to turne windward no longer) we got into an Harbour, where wee rid from the eighteenth day of Aprill, till the tenth of May: in all which time, wee never had other then most furious contrarie windes. And after that the moneth of May was come in, nothing but such flights of Snow, and extremities of Frosts, as

Extreme winter.

They enter fiftie leagues.

in all the time of my life, I never saw any to be compared with them.

This extremitie caused the weake men (in my ship onely) to decay; for in seven or eight dayes, in this extremitie there dyed fortie men, and sickened seventie, so that there were not fiftie men that were able to stand upon the hatches. I finding this miserable calamitie to fall upon me, and found that besides the decay of my men, and expence of my victuall, the snow and frost decayed our sailes, and tackle, and the contagiousnesse of the place to bee such, for extremitie of frost and snow, as there was no long staying, without the utter ruine of us all. What by these extremities, and the daily decay of my men, I was constrayned forthwith to determine some course, and not (for all this extremitie of weather) to tarrie there any longer.

Death of men.

Miserable distresse.

Consultation.

Upon this, I assembled my companie together, and shewed them that my intention was to goe for China, and that there were two wayes thither, the one through the Straits, the other by the way of Caput bone spei; which course shewed them, as was well knowne to mee, as the way I had undertaken. And although that fortune had denyed us this passage, yet I doubted not, but soone to recover to this Cape, where I shewed them, I made no doubt, but we should releeve our selves, and performe to their contents our intended voyage. These perswasions with many others, which I used, seemed to content them for the present: but they were no sooner gone from me, but forthwith all manner of discontents were unripped amongst themselves, so that to goe that way, they plainly and resolutely determined never to give their willing consents. Some of the best and honestest sort hearing this their resolution, wished them rather to put up a supplication to me, then thus privately among themselves to mutinie and murmur, which course might cause an utter ruine to fall upon them all: affirming, that they knew me to be so reasonable, as I would not refuse to heare their petition. Upon this, they framed an humble

supplication unto me (as they termed it) the effect whereof was: That first they protested, to spend their lives most willingly for my sake, and that their love was such to me, as their chiefest care was for mee, and they grieved very much to see mee put on a resolution, which (as they supposed) would be the end of my life, which was their greatest griefe. And next their owne lives would immediately follow, both by reason of the length of the course, all which they must performe without reliefe. And further, we had not left foure moneths victuall, which might very well be spent in running a course not halfe so long. But if it would please me to returne againe for the Coast of Brasile (where they knew, my force being together, was able to take any place) there we might both provide victuall to returne againe, and furnish our selves of all other such wants, as these extremities had brought upon us, and at a seasonable time returne againe, and so performe our first intention.

Now, I knowing their resolution, and finding, that in some things their reasons were not vaine, began more seriously to looke into all my wants. First, I found my greatest decay to bee in ropes, and sailes, wherein (by meanes of such mightie extremities) I was utterly unfurnished, for I lost a new shift of sailes comming thither; and further the Desire had bidden the like extremitie, which I furnished: so as I had left no store at all: for no ships carry three new shifts of sailes, all which had beene little enough for me: and last of all, our victuals to be most short, I was to fall into consideration what to doe. I knew well that the windes were such, and so continually against us, as by no meanes it was possible to passe through: for the violent snowes were such, as in two dayes together we should not be able to see five houres, the place not a league over in breadth, our ships not to be handled in such extremitie of winde: no, nor Canvas to hold the furie of the winde, our men so weake, as of one hundred [IV. vi. 1194.]

Windes and snows violent.

and fiftie men, I had not in my ship fiftie in health. And this ship comming with all her companie, was like three times to have been upon the shoare, by reason of her unyarie workings. These causes made mee utterly despaire of any passage at this season: so I resolved the companie I would put out of the Harbour, and beat to get through, so long as the furious and westerly windes would suffer us: but if they came upon us, so as we could not hold it up, wee would then beare up againe, and so (according to their request) goe for the Coast of Brasile, which they so much seemed to desire, and I so much hated.

But in truth I was forced to take that way, for that there was no place, where this ship could come into, to tarry out a winter. For Port Saint Julian is a barred Harbour, over which two of my ships would not goe; and Port Desire had neither wood, nor water: and besides that, the Tyde runneth so extremely, as it is not possible for anchors to hold, the ground being so bad. But the last cause of all to be considered, was the sicknesse of my men, having no clothes to defend them from the extreme cold. These causes, and their ardent desires of being out of the cold, mooved me to goe backe againe for that most wicked Coast of Brasile, where I incountred all manner of misfortunes, which as I have unripped these former, so I will briefly declare the latter.

Port S. Julian.

Port Desire.

His returne from the Strait.

We were beaten out of the Strait with a most monstrous storme at West South-west, from which place we continued together, till we came in the latitude of fortie seven, in which place Davis in the Desire, and my Pinnasse lost me in the night, after which time I never heard of them, but (as I since understood) Davis his intention was ever to run away. This is Gods will, that I should put him in trust, that should be the end of my life, and the decay of the whole action. For had not these two small ships parted from us, we would not have miscarried on the coast of Brasile: for the onely

decay of us was, that we could not get into their barred Harbours. What became of these small ships, I am not able to judge, but sure, it is most like, they went backe againe for Port Desire, a place of reliefe for two so small ships. For they might lye on ground there without danger, and being so few men, they might releeve themselves with Seales, and Birds, and so take a good time of the yeere, and passe the Streits. The men in these small ships were all lustie, and in health: wherefore the likelier to hold out. The short of all is this: Davis his onely intent was utterly to overthrow me, which he hath well performed.

These ships being parted from us, wee little suspecting any treacherie, the Roe-bucke and my selfe, held our course for Brasile, and kept together, till wee came in the latitude of thirtie sixe, where we incountred the most grievous storme, that ever any Christians indured upon the Seas to live, in which storme we lost companie. Wee with most extreme labour, and great danger, got the Coast of Brasile, where we were fifteene dayes, and never heard of the Roe-bucke. Wee came to an anchor in the Bay of Saint Vincent, and being at an anchor there, the Gentlemen desired mee to give them leave to goe ashoare, to some of the Portugals Farme-houses, to get some fresh victuals, which I granted: willing them to make present returne, knowing very well, the whole Countrie was not able to prejudice them, if they willingly would not indanger themselves. They went to a Sugar mill hard by mee where I rode (for that was my speciall charge, that they should never goe a mile from the ship) where they got some victuall, and came aboard againe very well.

Grievous storme.

Saint Vincent.

The next day in the morning betimes, an Indian came unto me with Captaine Barker; which Indian ran away from his Master, at my last being there: this Savage knew all the Countrie. He came unto me, and said, that beyond a Point, not a Culvering shot off, there was a very rich farme-house, and desired ten or twelve men

to goe thither. Captaine Barker being one whom I most trusted in the conduction of men, and who ever was the most carefull in such matters of service, I appointed to goe, and to take some twentie or thirtie men with him: and willed him (as he had any respect or regard of my commandement) not to stay, but to come presently away, finding any thing or nothing. He forthwith tooke five and twentie men of the most principall men in the ship, and then your cousin Stafford would by no meanes bee left behinde. They departed by foure of the clocke in the morning, so as I did not see their companie. But what should I write more then this unto you? they were all such, as neither respected me, nor any thing that I commanded. Away they went, and by one of the clocke, they sent my Boat againe with Ginny wheat, and sixe Hennes, and a small Hogge. I seeing no returne againe of the companie (for they had sent away the Boat onely with men to row her aboard) was very much grieved, and presently returned the Boat againe with message: That I much marvailed they would tarry at a place so long, with so few men; and further, that it was not a Hogge, and sixe Hennes could releeve us: and seeing there was no other reliefe to bee had, I charged them straightly to come aboard presently. Thus having dispatched away my Boat for them, I still expected their present comming aboard: all that night I heard nothing of them, the next morning I shot Ordnance, yet I saw no Boat come. Then I waighed anchor, and made aboard into the Bay, yet for all this, I heard nothing of them: then I doubted with my selfe very greatly, knowing there were no meanes left to make any manifester signes to them to hasten away. All that day I heard nothing of them, in the evening I set sailes againe, and ran into the shoare: all that night I heard no newes of them.

[IV. vi. 1195.]

The next morning, I saw an Indian come downe to the Sea-side, and weaved unto the ship: we being desirous to heare some newes, caused a raft to be made, for Boat

wee had none, and sent it ashore, and set the Indian aboard. When we saw him, we found him to bee our owne Indian, which had escaped away, being soare hurt in three places: who told us, that all the rest of our men were slaine with three hundred Indians, and eightie Portugals, which (in the evening) set upon them suddenly. Then I demanded, why they came not aboard? the Indian answered mee, that some were unwilling to come, and the rest, did nothing but eate Hennes and Hogs, which they had there in abundance, and that they minded nothing to come aboard. I leave you to judge, in what griefe I was, to see five and twentie of my principall men thus basely and wilfully cast away: but I leave you to inquire of others, the practices of these men, lest in writing unto you it should be thought I did it of malice, which (I protest) is farre from me, they being now dead, and my selfe looking imminently to follow them.

Captaine Barker and foure and twentie others slaine.

Thus I was left destitute of my principall men, and a Boat, and had I not (by great hap the day before) taken an old Boat from the Portugals, I had beene utterly undone. This Boat I sent to an Iland fifteene leagues off, to see if they could heare any newes of the rest of my ships: shee returned within eight dayes, all which time I remayned without a Boat. Thus I was sixe dayes before I heard newes of any of my consorts. The seventeenth day came in the Roe-bucke, having spent all her Masts, but their Mison, their Sailes blowne cleane away, and in the most miserable case that ever ship was in: all which misse-haps falling upon me, and then missing my small ships wherein (upon that Coast) consisted all my strength, having no Pinnaces nor great Boats left to land my men in, for they were all cast away going to the Strait. I (notwithstanding the want of Boats and Pinnaces) determined rather then not to bee revenged of so base Dogs, to venture the ships to goe downe the River afore their Towne, and to have beaten it to the ground, which forthwith I put in execution. And having

The Roe-bucke commeth in.

Brasilian Coast full of shoalds and barres. Master Candishes high spirit.

gotten downe halfe the way, wee found the River so narrow by reason of a shoald, as all the companie affirmed plainly, it was both desperate and most dangerous. For the River is all Ose, and if a ship come aground, it is unpossible ever to get off, for there riseth not above a foot water, and no anchors will hold to hale off any my ships, in so narrow a place, as we were almost aground in wending.

Seeing this apparent danger, I forthwith bare up out of the River, where we escaped no small danger to get well out, for we had not little more water then we drew: and if shee had come aground, it had beene unpossible ever to have gotten her off. By these meanes of not passing the River, we were constrayned to let our revenge passe: for our Boats were so bad and small, as wee durst put no men in them. Notwithstanding wee landed, and did them much spoile upon their Farme-houses, and got some quantitie of fresh victuals. This place being not for us, considering our ships were not able to passe to their Towne; and further our great wants did constraine us to seeke some course of reliefe, which being not to bee had there, both for that wee had spoyled it a little before, and also for that we could not conveniently come to doe them any prejudice, without most losse to our selves: I determined to part from thence, and to goe to a small Iland some twentie leagues off, and there to have fitted all my necessaries, and to have cast off the Roe-bucke, for that by no meanes her wants could by mee bee furnished, and so at a seasonable time, to have gone for the Straits of Magellan againe.

His intention.

Which intention (I must confesse) I kept most secret, for feare of some mutinie, but shewed the whole Companie, that I would goe for Saint Helena, where wee should meet with the Carracks: which course I well knew did not much please them; for they desired nothing more then returning home into England, and if I had but named the Straits, they would forthwith have fallen into a most extreme mutinie; for such were

His presence.

the miseries and torments they had indured, as all the best sort had taken an oath upon a Bible, to die rather then ever to yeeld their consents to goe backe that way againe. I knowing this, seemed to speake nothing of that course, but comforting their despairing mindes as well as I might, seeing their greatest griefe was for the wants of the small ships, without which, they all affirmed (and that truly) wee were able to doe nothing. For the Ports where their Townes stand, were all barred Harbours, and that it was not possible to get any of these ships over them, whereby we could releeve our selves of such wants, as we were in. These things being alleaged, I seemed to passe over as slightly as might be, but yet comforted them, that we would presently seeke some place of reliefe with all speede.

Necessitie of small ships on the Brasilian coast.

There was a Portugall aboord me, who tooke upon him to be a Pilot, who came unto me, and told me upon his life, that he would take upon him to carry both my Shippes over the barre at Spiritus Sanctus, a place indeede of great reliefe, and the onely place in Brasile for victuall, and all other wants, that we were in. I knowing very well, that if I could bring my Shippes within shot of the Towne, I should land my men, and further, it could not be in them to make resistance. The whole company desired this course, affirming that there was no way left to relieve all our wants but this: and that there they were in hope to finde some Shippes, to repaire the Roe-bucke againe. I finding their willingnesse, and charging the Portugall upon his life, to tell me truely, whither the Ships might passe over the barre without danger; he willed me to take his life, if ever the Shippes came in lesse water then five fathome, with such constant affirmations as he desired not to live, if he should not performe this. I considering the greatnesse of our wants, and knowing right well, the place to be the onely wished Towne on all the coast to relieve us, forthwith gave my consent, and thither we went, leaving all other intentions. We anchored before

[IV. vi. 1196.]

Portugal Pilots undertaking for Spirito Sancto.

the barre, and sent my Boate to sound the barre, and found the deepest water to be but fifteene and seventeene foote (the Portugall him selfe going with them, all over the bar) the most water to be but three fathome. They comming aboord, brought me word of the truth, I called for the Portugall, and demanded of him why he had so lied unto me? who affirmed that he never sounded the barre before, and that he had brought in Ships of 100. tuns, and that he made accompt, there had not bin lesse water then five fathome.

His ignorance.

This mis-hap was no small amazement to me, and all the company, considering our distresse for water and other necessaries, and that the roade was so ill, as we were scant able to ride there, so as we could neither take in water, nor doe any other businesse. In this meane time while wee were scanning of these matters, the Roe-buckes Boate rowing further into the Baye, saw where three Shippes were at an anker, not farre from the towne, and came aboord, and brought mee word thereof: at which newes the Companie seemed much to rejoyce, and all affirmed that they would goe with our Boates, and bring them out of the harbour. I shewed them how much the taking of them imported us, and told them, that although the day was spent, yet I thought the night not to be altogether inconvenient, if they would put on mindes to performe it. Resolutely my reasons were these: first they were not so sufficiently provided to defend themselves at that instant, as they would be in the morning; and further I told them, that if they were not able to defend them, they would take the principall and best things out of them, being so neere the shoare, and that if they had wherewith to defend themselves, it would be lesse offensive to us in the night, then in the day, and we in greatest securitie, and more offensive to the enemy, especially this exploit being to be done on the water, not landing.

Three Ships.

His counsell not followed.

These perswasions seemed a little to move them, for they all desired to stay till morning: yet some of them

prepared themselves. Comming amongst them, I found them, all, or for the most part utterly unwilling to goe that night: upon which occasion (I confesse) I was much moved, and gave them some bitter words, and shewed them our case was not to make detractions, but to take that opportunitie which was offered us, and not to feare a night more then a day, and told them plainely, that in refusing of this, I could stay there no longer, for over the barre we could not goe, and the roade so dangerous, as never Shippes rid in a worse. And further, we saw all the Countrey to be fired round about, and that to land we could not without utter spoile to us all, for our Boates were naught; and further, we could by no meanes be succoured by our Shippes, so as I intended to depart. The next morning, there was almost an uproare amongst them, the most of them swearing that if I would not give them leave, they would take the Boats and bring away those Shippes of themselves. I comming among them, beganne to reprehend them for their rashnesse, and told them that now all opportunity was past, and that they must be contented, for goe they should not. They much importuned me, and some of the chiefest of them desired me with teares in their eyes, that they might goe, affirming, that there was no danger to be feared at all; for if they were not able to take them, they would returne againe, and that to depart without attempting to doe this, was a thing that most greatly grieved them.

Their unseasonable eagernes.

I knowing right well, that if they landed not they could receive no prejudice: for if their Ships had beene able to withstood them, it was in their power to goe from them, being starke calme. And further I knew that no Shippes use Brasile that be able to defend themselves from a Cock-boate: much lesse that they should be of force to offend those Boates, wherein there were so many Musketteeres as could sit one by another. I seeing their great importunitie, was contented to give them leave to goe: and this was my charge to Captaine Morgaine (to whom at that present I left my directions)

His instructions to Captain Morgan.

that first, upon paine of his life, he should not land at all what opportunitie soever was offered; and that if he saw any danger in comming to these Shippes, he should attempt no further, but returne aboord againe; but contrariwise, if he saw that the place was such, as we might land without too much disadvantage, and if we might land on plain ground, free from woods or bushes, hard before the Towne, that then he would presently repaire unto me againe, and I, and so many as these bad Boates would carrie, would presently land upon them.

[IV. vi. 1197.]

Thus my Boates departed from me, having some eightie men, as well furnished with weapons, as it is possible to sort such a number withall. Now you shall understand, that in the night the Portugals had hailed the Shippes hard afore the Towne: the River where the Towne stood was not above a Bird-bolt-shot over, and halfe a mile from the Towne where the Shippes rode: the night wee came in, they had new cast up two small trenches, on each side the River one, where they had planted some two small bases a peece upon an hill. Right over them were thicke woods, and great rockes, so that if any were possessed of them, they might but tumble stones downe, and beate away 1000. men. The trench on the Wester-side of the River shot at our Boats, once or twice; upon that they began to thinke with themselves what to doe, Captaine Morgan affirming the place to be verie narrow, and that they could not well passe it without danger, considering the many men in their Boats, and also the charge which I had given, was such, if they saw any danger, they should presently repaire aboord, and certifie me, and not to passe any further, till they had understood my further determination: This Master Morgan made knowne amongst them, whereupon some of the harebraine Sailers began to sweare, that they never thought other, but that he was a coward, and now he will shew it, that durst not land upon a bable ditch, as they tearmed it. Upon this, the gentle-

The place described.

Mad Mutiners.

man was very much moved, and answered them, that they should finde him to be none such as they accounted him, and that, come what could happen him, he would land.

Upon this, in they put the Boats betweene the two sconces (that on the Easter side they had not seene) and the Boats being hard upon it, were shot at, and in the biggest Boat they hurt two, and killed one with that shot. Upon this, they determined, that the smallest Boate with their company should land on the Wester-side, and the other to land on the Easter-side. The small Boate landed first, and that place having but few in it, they being not able to defend themselves, ranne away, so that our men entred peaceably without hurt of any. The other Boate drawing much water, was aground before they came neere the shore, so as they that landed, were faine to wade above knee high in water. Now the place, or Sconse, was in height some ten foote, made of stone, Captaine Morgan more resolutely then discreetely scaled the wall, and ten more with him, which went out of the Boate together. Then the Indians and Portugals shewed themselves, and with great stones from over the trench, killed Morgan and five more, and the rest of them being sore hurt, retired to the Boate, which by this time was so filled with Indian arrowes, as of 45. men being in the Boate, there escaped not eight of them unhurt, some having three arrowes sticking in them, some two, and there was none which escaped without wound. The furie of those arrowes comming so thicke, and so many of them being spoiled, they put the Boat from the shoare, leaving the rest on land, a spoile for the Indians.

They land.

Captaine Morgan slaine.

Many others slaine or hurt.

By this time, there came two Boates full of lustie Portugals, and some Spaniards, who knowing the sconse on the Wester-side to be weakely manned, came with their Boates to the forts side: one of them ran ashoare which was fullest of men, then our men let flye their Muskets at them, and spoiled and killed all that were

in that Boate. The others, seeing their fellowes speede so ill, rowed backe againe, with all their force, and got the Town againe. In this meane time the great Boat being gotten off, they called to them in the Sconse, and willed them to forsake the Fort, and to come and helpe them; for they told them that all their men were spoiled & slaine. Upon this they strait came out of the Sconse againe, and retired to their Boat; who rushing in all together into the Boat, she came on ground, so that off they could not get her, but some must goe out of her againe: tenne of the lustiest men went out, and by that time the Indians were come downe into the Fort againe, and shot at our men. They which were a land (perceiving the arrowes flye among them) ranne againe to the Forts side, and shot in at the lower hold with their Muskets. By this, the Boat was got of, and one that was the Master of the Roe-bucke (a most cowardly villaine that ever was borne of a woman) caused them in the Boat to rowe away, and so left those brave men a spoile for the Portugals, yet they waded up to the necks in the water to them, but those mercilesse villaines in the Boate, would have no pitty on them. Their excuse was, that the Boat was so full of water, that had they come in, she would have sunke with all them in her; thus vilely were those poore men lost.

Ten brave men lost.

Cowardly basenesse.

By this time, they which were landed on the other side (the great Boate not being able to rowe neere the shoare to relieve them) were killed with stones by the Indians, being thus wilfully and undiscreetely spoiled, which you may well perceive, if you looke into their landing, especially in such a place, as they could not escape killing with stones. They returned aboord againe, having lost five and twenty men, whereof tenne of them were left ashoare, in such sort as I have shewed you. When the Boates came to the Shippes side, there were not eight men in the biggest Boate, which were not most grievously wounded. I demanded of them the cause of their mishappes, and how they durst land, considering

25. men slaine, others wounded.

my straight commandement to the contrarie; they answered mee, that there was no fault in Captaine Morgan, but the greatest occasion of all this spoile to them, happened upon a controversie betweene the Captaine and those Souldiers that landed with him, and were killed at the Fort, for their ill speeches and urging of Captaine Morgan, was the cause that hee landed contrary to my commandement, and upon such a place, as they all confessed fortie men were sufficient to spoile five hundred. [IV. vi. 1198.]

I leave it to your selfe to judge, what a sight it was to mee, to see so many of my best men, thus wilfully spoiled, having not left in my Shippe fiftie sound men: so as wee were no more then able to waye our Ankers, which (the next morning) wee did, and finding it calme wee were constrained to come to an Anker againe; for my onely intention was, to get out of that bad roade, and to put of into the Sea, and there to determine what to doe, for that place was not for us to tarrie in, for the roade was so bad, as wee were not able to helpe our selves with a Boates loading of fresh water, whereof wee stood in no small want. In this dayes stay in the Roade, I comforted these distressed poore men, what I might, and found most of their desires, to returne againe into England. I let them understand, how wee would goe backe againe to the Iland of Saint Sebastian, and there wee would water, and doe our other necessary businesses, and there make a resolute determination of the rest of our proceedings. This course seemed to like them all very well, but the companie in the Roe-bucke, instantly desired nothing more, then to returne home, all affirming, that it was pittie such a Shippe should be cast of. But in truth, it was not of any care of the Shippe, but onely of a most cowardly minde of the Master, and the chiefest of the company to returne home. *Purpose for S. Sebastian.*

Now you shall understand that the Captaine was verie sicke, and since the time that the Ship lost her Masts, she became the most laboursome Ship that ever did

swimme on the Sea, so as he was not able to indure in her, and at that present he lay aboord my Shippe, so as there was none of any trust, or accompt left in her. But such was the case of that Shippe (being without sailes, masts, or any manner of tackle) as in the sense & judgement of any man living, there did not live that desperate minded man in the world, which (in that case she was then in) would have ventured to have sailed in her halfe so farre as England: and if she doe returne, it is (in my opinion) the most admirable returne that ever Ship made, being so farre off, and in her case. These villaines having left in my Ship, all their hurt men, and having aboord of them both my Surgeans, I, having not one in mine owne Shippe, which knew how to lay a plaster to a wound, much lesse to cure any by salves: and further, having in their Shippe three times the proportion of my victuall (wherein consisted the onely reliefe and comfort of all my company) these most hard harted villaines, determined that night amongst themselves, to loose mee at their next convenient time they could espie, and in this case to goe for England, leaving us in the greatest distresse that ever one Christian left another in: for wee had all her hurt men in us, and we had taken out of her the best part of her men not long before: so as in running from us, they not onely carried away our Surgeans, and all their provision, but also our victuall, wherein consisted all our reliefe and comfort: having in them at their departure but six and fortie men, carrying away with them the proportion for six moneths victuall of one hundred and twenty men at large.

Damnable designe.

I leave you to consider of this part of theirs, and the miserable case I was left in, with so many hurt men, so little victuall, and my Boate being so bad, as sixe or seven men continually bailing water, were scant able to keepe her from sinking; and mend her we could not by any meanes, before we recovered some shoare: for had not these villaines in the Roe-bucke (that night wee rode in this Baye) suffered their Boate to run ashoare

with Irish men (which went to betray us) I had taken her Boate, and sunke this great naughtie Boate. Such was the greatnesse of our mishaps, as we were not left with the comfort and hope of a Boate to relieve our selves withall; we not having left in the Ship scarce three tuns of water for 140. men, the most part whereof being hurt and sicke. We putting out of the road the next day, they, the same night in this case left us, and (as I suppose) they could not accompt otherwise, then that wee should never againe be heard of.

The Roe-bucke forsaketh him.

The next morning looking for the Roe-bucke, we could no where be seene. I leave to you to judge in what plight my companie was, being now destitute of Surgeans, victuals, and all other reliefe; which in truth was so great a discomfort unto them, as they held themselves dead men, as well whole as hurt. The scantnesse of water made us that we could not seeke after them, but were inforced to seeke to this Iland, with all possible speede, having to beate backe againe thither two hundred leagues: which place, God suffered us to get with our last caske water, the poore men being most extreamly pinched for want thereof. Where (after we had a little refreshed our selves) we presently mended our Boat in such sort, as with great labour and danger, we brought fortie tunnes of water aboord. And in the meane time searching our store of ropes, tackle, and sailes, we found our selves utterly unfurnished both of ropes and sailes: which accident pleased the company not a little, for by these wants, they assuredly accounted to goe home. Then making a survay of the victuall, we found to be remaining in the Shippe (according to the rate we then lived at) fourteene weekes victuals large.

He commeth to S. Sebastians.

Their manifold wants.

Having rigged our Shippes in such sort, as our small store would furnish us, which was most meanely, for we had but foure sailes (our sprite-saile, and foretoppe-saile being wanting) which two, the Ship most principally loveth, and those which we had (except her maine saile) were more then halfe worne. In this poore case being

[IV. vi. 1199.]

furnished, and our water taken in, my company knowing my determination (which was to haile my Boate a ground, and build her a new) they forthwith openly began to murmure, and mutinie: affirming plainely, that I neede not mend the Boate, for they would goe home, and then, there should be no use of her. I, hearing these speeches, thought it was now time to looke amongst them, calling them together, and told them, that although we had many mishaps fallen upon us, yet (I hoped) that their mindes would not in such sort be overcome with any of these misfortunes, that they would goe about to undertake any base, or disordered course; but that they would cheerefully goe forward, to attempt either to make themselves famous, in resolutely dying, or in living, to performe that, which would be to their perpetuall reputation: And the more we attempted, being in so weake a case the more (if we performed) would be to our honours. But contrariwise, if we dyed in attempting, we did but that which we came for, which was either to performe or dye.

Mutinous murmuring.

His perswasions.

And then I shewed them my determination, to goe againe for the Straits of Magellanus: which words were no sooner uttered, but forthwith they all with one consent affirmed plainly, they would never goe that way againe; and that they would rather stay ashoare in that desart Iland, then in such case to goe for the Straits. I sought by peaceable meanes to perswade them, shewing them that in going that way, we should relieve our victuals, by salting of Seales, and Birds: which (they did well know) we might doe in greater quantitie, then our Ship could carry. And further, if we got through the Strait (which we might now easily performe, considering we had the chiefest part of Summer before us) we could not but make a most rich Voyage, and also meete againe with the two small Ships which were gone from us: and that it was but six hundred leagues thither; and to goe into England they had two thousand. And further that they should be most infamous to the world, that being within six hundred leagues of the place, which

we so much desired, to returne home againe so farre, being most infamous and beggerly. These perswasions tooke no place with them, but most boldly, they all affirmed, that they had sworne, they would never goe againe to the Straits; neither by no meanes would they.

And one of the chiefest of their faction, most proudly and stubbornely uttered these words to my face, in presence of all the rest: which I seeing, and finding mine owne faction to be so weake (for there were not any that favoured my part, but my poore cousen Locke, and the Master of the Ship) I tooke this bold companion by the bosome, and with mine owne hands put a rope about his necke, meaning resolutely to strangle him, for weapon about me I had none. His companions seeing one of their chiefe champions in this case, & perceiving me to goe roundly to worke with him, they all came to the Master, and desired him to speake; affirming they would be ready to take any course that I should thinke good of. I, hearing this, stayed my selfe, and let the fellow goe: after which time, I found them something conformable, at least in speeches, though among themselves they still murmured at my intentions. Thus having somthing pacified them, and perswaded them, that by no meanes I would take no other course, then to goe for the Straits, I took ashoare with me thirtie Soldiers, and my Carpenters, carrying foureteene dayes victuall with me for them. Thus going ashoare, I hailed up my Boate, to new build her in such sort, as she might bee able to abide the Seas, leaving aboord all my sailers, and the rest, to rigge the Ship, and mend sailes, and to doe other businesse.

Mutiner punished.

And now to let you know, in what case I lay ashoare among these base men, you shall understand, that of these thirtie there were verie few of them, which had not rather have gone to the Portugals, then to have remained with me; for there were some, which at my being ashoare, were making rafts to goe over to the maine,

which was not a mile over, where the Portugals had continuall watch of us, looking but for a fit opportunity to set upon us: being in this case, alwaies expecting the comming of the Portugals, against whom I could have made no resistance, and further the trecherie of some of my companie, which desired nothing more, then to steale over, so to betray me, I protest I lived hourly, as he that still expecteth death. In this case I made all the speed I could to make an end of my Boate, that we might be able to rowe her aboord, which in twelve daies we mainely finished, which being done, I came aboord, and found all my businesse in good forwardnesse: so I determined with all possible speede to dispatch, and be gone for the Straits of Magellane.

An Irish rascall and traitor to his fellowes.

But ere ever we could get in all our water, and timber-wood, and other necessaries, an Irish man (a noble villaine) having made a raft, got over to the maine, and told the Portugals which were there (watching nothing but an opportunitie) that if they would goe over in the night, they should find most of our men ashoare, without weapon, and that they might doe with them what they would: upon this, the next night, they came over, and having taken some of our men, they brought them where the rest lay, which they most cruelly killed, being sicke men, not able to stirre to helpe themselves. Those which were ashoare, more then the sicke men, had stolne out of the Shippe, for it was all my care to keepe them aboord, knowing well, that the Portugals sought to spoile us, the place being so fit for them, all overgrowne with woods and bushes, as their Indians might goe and spoile us with their arrowes at their pleasures, and we not be able to hurt one of them. In the morning perceiving their comming, I sent my Boate ashoare, and rescued all my healthfull men, but five, which they found out in the night, without weapons to defend them: whereof (besides the losse of our men) we having but foure sailes, left one ashoare, which was no small mishap among the rest.

[IV. vi. 1200.]

The Portugals went presently againe over to the maine, but left their Indians to keepe in the bushes. About the watering-place, our men going ashoare, were shot at, and hurt, and could by no meanes come to hurt them againe, by reason of the wood, and bushes. Wherefore finding my men hurt, and that by no meanes I could doe any thing there, without more losse of men (whereof I had no neede) for I had not above ninetie men left, or little over, notwithstanding my wants for wood and water, and my Boate (not being sufficiently mended) was in no possibilitie to doe me pleasure, in this case was I forced to depart; fortune never ceasing to lay her greatest adversities upon me.

Cap. Candishes weakenesse.

But now I am growne so weake and faint, as I am scarce able to hold the penne in my hand: wherefore I must leave you to inquire of the rest of our most unhappy proceedings, but know this, that (for the Straits) I could by no meanes, get my company to give their consents to goe. For after this misfortune, and the want of our sailes (which was a chiefe matter they alledged) and to tell you truth, all the men left in the Shippe, were no more then able to weigh our ankers. But in truth I desired nothing more, then to attempt that course, rather desiring to dye in going forward, then basely in returning backe againe; but God would not suffer me to dye so happy a man, although I sought all the wayes I could, still to attempt to performe somewhat. For, after that by no meanes I saw they could be brought to goe for the Straits, having so many reasonable reasons to alledge against me, as they had: first, having but three sailes, and the place subject to such furious stormes, and the losse of one of these was death: and further, our Boate was not sufficiently repaired, to abide the Seas: and last of all, the fewnesse, and feeblenesse of our company (wherein we had not left thirty sailers) these causes being alleadged against me, I could not well answere: but resolved them plainely, that to England I would never give my consent to goe, and that (if

they would not take such courses as I intended) I was then determined, that Shippe and all should sinke in the Seas together. Upon this, they began to be more tractable, and then I shewed them, that I would beate for Saint Hellena, and there, either to make ourselves happy by mending, or ending. This course (in truth) pleased none of them, and yet seeing my determination, and supposing it would be more danger to resist me, then in seeming to be willing, they were at quiet, untill I had beaten from 29. degrees, to the Southward of the Æquator to 20. At which time, finding that I was too far Northerly, to have good winde, I called them to tacke about the Shippe to the Southward againe. They all plainely made answere, they would not, and that they had rather dye there, then be starved in seeking an Iland, which (they thought) that way we should never get.

His purpose for S. Helena.

What meanes I used to stand againe to the Southward, I leave you to inquire of themselves: but from the latitude of 20. I beate backe againe into 28. with such contrary windes, as (I suppose) never man was troubled with the like, so long a time together. Being in this latitude, I found the winde favourable, and then I stood againe to the Northward, willing the Master & his company to saile East North-east, and they in the night (I being a sleepe) steered North-east, and meere Northerly. Notwithstanding all this most vile usage, we got within two leagues of the Iland, and had the winde favoured us so, as that we might have stemmed from 18. degrees to 16. East North-east, we had found the Iland: but it was not Gods will so great a blessing should befall me. Being now in the latitude of the Iland, almost eighteene leagues to the Westward of it, the winde being continually at East South-east, the most contrary winde that could blow: I presently made a survay of my victuall, and found, that according to that proportion (which we then lived at) there was not left in the Ship eight weekes victuall; which being so farre from reliefe, was (as I

Sailors disobedience.

Scarsity of victuall.

suppose) as small a portion, as ever men were at in the Seas.

Being so uncertaine of reliefe, I demanded of them, whether they would venture (like good minded men) to beate to the Southward againe, to get this Iland, where we should not onely relieve our selves, but also to be in full assurance, either to sinke, or take a Carracke: and that by this meanes, we would have a sufficient revenge of the Portugals, for all their villanies done unto us: or that they would pinch, and bate halfe the allowance they had before, and so to goe for England. They all answered me, they would pinch to death, rather then goe to the Southward againe. I knowing their dispositions, and having lived among them in such continuall torment, and disquietnesse, and now to tell you of my greatest griefe, which was the sicknesse of my deare kinsman John Locke, who by this time was growne in great weakenesse, by reason whereof hee desired rather quietnesse, and contentednesse in our course, then such continuall disquietnesse, which never ceased mee. And now by this, what with griefe for him, and the continuall trouble I indured among such hel-hounds, my Spirits were cleane spent; wishing my selfe upon any desart place in the world, there to dye, rather then thus basely to returne home againe: which course I had put in execution, had I found an Iland, which the Cardes make to be in 8. degrees to the Southward of the line. I sweare to you, I sought it with all diligence, meaning (if I had found it) to have there ended my unfortunate life. But God suffered not such happinesse to light upon me, for I could by no meanes finde it, so as I was forced to goe towards England: and having gotten eight degrees by North the Line, I lost my most dearest cousin.

Desperate thoughts.

[IV. vi. 1201.]

Master Lockes death.

And now consider, whether a heart made of flesh, be able to indure so many misfortunes, all falling upon me without intermission. I thanke my God, that in ending of me, he hath pleased to rid me of all further trouble and mis-haps. And now to returne to our private matters,

Cap. Candishes Will.

I have made my Will, wherein I have given speciall charge, that all goods (whatsoever belong unto me) be delivered into your hands. For Gods sake, refuse not to doe this last request for mee, I owe little, that I know of, and therefore it will be the lesse trouble: but if there be any debt, that (of truth) is owing by mee, for God's sake, see it paid. I have left a space in the Will for another name, and (if you thinke it good) I pray take in my cousin Henrie Sackeford, hee will ease you much in many businesses. There is a Bill of Adventure to my Cousin Richard Locke (if it happen the other ship returne home with any thing, as it is not impossible) I pray remember him, for he hath nothing to shew for it. And likewise Master Heton the Customer of Hampton, which is 50. pounds, and one Eliot of Ratcliffe by London, which is 50. pounds more, the rest have all Bills of adventure, but the ruine in the victuall, onely two excepted, which I have written unto you. I have given Sir George Cary the Desire, if ever shee returne, for I alwayes promised him her, if shee returned, and a little part of her getting, if any such thing happen, I pray you see it performed.

To use complements of love (now at my last breath) were frivolous, but know: that I left none in England, whom I loved halfe so well as your selfe: which you, in such sort deserved at my hands, as I can by no meanes requite. I have left all (that little remayning) unto you, not to be accomptable for any thing. That which you will (if you finde any overplus of remayned, your selfe specially being satisfied to your owne desire) give unto my sister Anne Candish. I have written to no man living but your selfe, leaving all friends and kinsmen, onely reputing you as dearest. Commend me to both your brethren, being glad, that your brother Edward escaped so unfortunate a voyage. I pray give this Copie of my unhappy proceedings in this Action, to none, but onely to Sir George Cary, and tell him, that if I had thought, the letter of a dead man would have

Mistris Anne Candish.

beene acceptable, I would have written unto him. I have taken order with the Master of my ship, to see his peeces of Ordnance delivered unto him, for hee knoweth them. And if the Roe-bucke bee not returned, then, I have appointed him to deliver him two brasse peeces, out of this ship, which I pray see performed. I have now no more to say but take this last farewell. That you have lost the lovingest friend, that was lost by any. Commend mee to your wife, no more, but as you love God, doe not refuse to undertake this last request of mine. I pray forget not Master Carey of Cockington, gratifie him with some thing: for hee used mee kindly at my departure. Beare with this scribling: for I protest, I am scant able to hold a pen in my hand.

Chap. VII.

The admirable adventures and strange fortunes of Master Antonie Knivet, which went with Master Thomas Candish in his second voyage to the South Sea. 1591.

§. I.

What befell in their voyage to the Straits, and after, till he was taken by the Portugals.

WE departed from Plimmouth with five saile of ships, determining to goe for the South Sea (the names of our Ships were these) the Gallion Leicester, which was our Admirall; the Roe-bucke, Vice-admirall; the Desire, the Daintie, and the Blacke Pinnasse. Sixe or seven dayes after that wee were departed from the Coast of England, we met with nineteene saile of Flemmings in the night. Not regarding what they were, our Vice-admirall tooke one of them, and all the rest escaped. In the morning the Master of our Flemmish prize was brought before the

Flemmish prize satisfied with English price.

Generall, and of him wee had newes of a fleet of ships, that was departed out of Lisbone for Brasile, the which newes we were very glad of. The Flemmish ship was [IV. vi. 1202.] laden with Salt, whereof the Generall tooke three Tunne for his provision. This Flemming also shewed us a licence that hee had to passe the Seas, under her Majesties hand and seale, the which as our Generall had seene he presently commanded, that every man should returne all such things as they had taken from the Flemming, and hee himselfe payed for the Salt that he had taken, and so we departed from them with a faire winde, holding our course from the Coast of Portugall to the Islands of Canarie. Thus in twentie dayes we had sight of the said Ilands, which when our Generall knew of troth to be the same, he commanded his two smallest ships, the Daintie and the Blacke Pinnasse, to be sent along the shoare, to see if they could espie any Carvels fishing, or any ships betweene the Ilands, and not discrying any thing, the next morning they returned backe unto us.

Under the Equinoctiall line, we lay seven and twentie dayes driving too and fro without puffe or winde: In *Scorbuto.* which time most of our men fell sicke of the Scurvie by reason of the extreme heat of the Sunne, and the vapours of the night; notwithstanding our great danger of sicknesse did not appause the hardnesse of our hearts, being in as great extremitie as ever men were, it hap- *Japanders.* pened that two men of Japon which the Generall had taken in his first voyage (bearing envie to a poore Portugall that went with us from Plimmouth, accused him to the Generall) having before conspired his death in this sort: The Generall being at dinner, these two Japoners came to his Cabbin, telling their tale so loud that every one might heare the report (which was thus) that the Portugall of the ship was a Traytor, and that he had often given them counsell to run away with him at Brasil: moreover (quoth he) if it so had pleased God wee had taken the Towne of Santos, as our Generall had pretended, from thence that hee would guide them to the

South Sea, where they should be well rewarded for their intelligence; upon the which accusations, the poore Portugall was hanged. And as for his going from Santos by land through America, to the South Sea, had beene a thing impossible, for the Countrie is all Wildernesse, and full of Savages. *Portugall hanged.*

After we had beene so long becalmed under the Line, we had a faire North-west winde, and in twentie dayes saile we had sight of Land on the coast of Brasile, but no man knew certainly what part it should be. At length comming neere the shoare, we espied two small ships, the one of them we tooke, the other escaped; that wee tooke was laden with Blackamores, and some merchandise; they came from Fernambaquo, and were determined to have gone to the River of Plate. By the Pilot of this ship we knew we were at Cape Frio, that is, Cold Cape. This Cape lyeth twelve leagues from the River of Jenero, and thirtie leagues from Santos, which was the Towne we meant to take. In this ship we tooke a Friar that hid himselfe in a Chist of meale; the night following by the directions of our new taken Pilot, wee came to a place called Ilha Grande, twelve leagues from Santos, at this place we tooke five or six houses with Portugals and Savages of the Countrie. Here wee had good store of Potatoes, and Plantons, divers kindes of good rootes, with some Hogs and Hennes, which was very good and comfortable for the refreshing of our men. Here we had such disorder amongst our selves, that if the Portugals had beene of any courage, they might have killed many of us, for our men would fight for their victuals as if they had beene no Christians but Jewes, and they that got the best, would get them into some hole, or into the Wildernesse under some Tree, and there they would remaine as long as they had meat. For mine owne part (there was such sharking) I could in that place get neither meat nor mony, and pure hunger compelled me to goe into the Woods, to see if wee could kill any thing with our peeces, or if we could finde some Potatoes. And *Brasil.* *Cape Frio.* *Ilha Grande.* *Portentuous presages of ill end from so ill beginning.*

as wee went, wee encountred with seven or eight of our companie that were together by the eares about a Hogge they had killed, and the strife was, who should have the best share; we comming in that time, when every one used their fists, stole away a quarter, and went a good way into the Wildernesse, where we were merry for that night; the next day wee came backe againe with good store of Potato rootes; and going into the house where the Generals musicians were, wee found them dressing of eight yong Whelpes for their dinner; wee giving them of our rootes they were contented that wee should dine with them.

In the afternoone we set fire on a new ship, and burned all the houses, leaving the Merchant and all his Moores ashoare, we departed from thence, and having a faire winde about sixe of the clocke we came to the Iland of San Sebastian, where wee anchored, being five leagues from Santos. As soone as the ships were in the Harbour, every Master and Captaine came aboard of the Generall, to know how hee pretended to take the Towne of Santos, and they all resolved that our long Boat and our Shallop onely with one hundred men was enough for the taking of it. For the Portugall Pilot told us, that it was of no strength. On Christmas-eve about ten a clocke in the night, when the Boats were to goe ashoare there were so many that would have gone, that wee began to fight and cast one another over-board into the Sea; but as soone as our Generall heard the noise, he commanded every man to come aboard the ship againe. I fearing the General, and being desirous to goe ashoare with the first (for I had seene before that they which came last got nothing) crept under the seate of our Shallop, where I was for the space of two houres, and the Boat being full of men, I could not get out, but there had beene smothered, if it had not beene for William Waldren that was our Boatsman, and steered the Boat, who hearing me crie under him, tore up the boords, and saved my life. About three a clocke in the morning,

Saint Sebastian.

Unruly demeanour.

[IV. vi. 1203.]

wee met with a Canoa (which is a Boat that they make of a whole Tree) in which wee tooke foure Portugals and two Women; the one of them was going to be married that morning. After we had taken this Boat we went close to the shoare; and having tarried for our Boat an houre, we heard the Portugals ring a Bell, presently Jasper Jorge the Portugall Pilot told us, that now was the time to land, for he knew by that Bell that they were in the middle of their Masse, and at that instant the Friar was holding up the Bread of Sacrament before the people to worship it.

He had no sooner spoke, but we were all on shoare, and so marching to the Church, we tooke every mans sword without resistance, and there we remayned till it was seven of the clocke, for the comming of our long Boat, and the rest of our companie (for we were but twentie three in all) and we durst not take sack of the Towne with so few. By that meanes some of the Portugals that were in their houses escaped with their persons and mony. Here was good store of victuall and great store of Succats, Sugars, and Cassavie meale, of the which wee made very good bread. In the Church there were three hundred men beside women and children. Assoone as wee had taken the sack of the Towne, and placed all our men in order, word was sent to our Generall of all that had beene done. After the Generall had sent answere againe to the Towne, all the Portugals were set at libertie, and we fortified our selves in the Towne, keeping onely seven or eight of the chiefest and principall prisoners, Master Cooke Captaine of the Vice-admirall, went Captaine of all the companie that went ashoare; he favoured me very much, and commanded mee to take a Friars Cell to lodge in, in the Colledge of Jesus, where hee himselfe lodged with many Captaines and young Gentlemen. It was my chance going up and downe from Cell to Cell, that I looked under a bed standing in a dark hole, where I found a little chist fast nayled, and the seames thereof were white with wheat

Santos taken.

How Anthonie Knivet found a chist of silver.

flower. I drew it forth, and finding it of great waight, broke it in pieces, wherein I found 1700. Rials of eight, each whereof contayneth foure shillings English. This hole I tooke for my lodging, and no man knew of my good purchase; cloth, shirts, blankets, and beds, and such stuffe no man regarded.

The next day following, being S. Stevens day, the Portugals gave us a false alarum; the Generall came also with all the ships into the Road, and presently landed with two hundred men, and commanded all the outward part of the Towne to bee burned. Then hee gave order for the building of a Pinnasse to row with twentie Oares, and commanded all the ships that were in the Harbour to be set on fire. At this Towne we tooke an English man, called John King, which had beene there fifteene yeeres. Our Generall lay in the Colledge of Jesus all the time that we were at Santos. This Colledge had many back-wayes to the Sea-side, and it happened one night, that two Savages being abused by the Portugals ran away, and knowing the passages of the Colledge, came in the night to the Generals bedside, and brought with them Turkies and Hennes: The Generall being awaked by them cryed out for helpe. One of them that could speake Portugall, fell downe on his knees, and said, that hee came to crave his favour, and not to offend him. The morning following the Generall had discourse with these two Savages, and by them he knew of what strength the Portugals campe was, and how that at his going out of the Towne they were determined to give battaile: likewise they told him of three great bags of mony, and a jarre, that was hid under the roote of a Fig tree, and guided us where we had three hundred head of Cattel, which served us all the time we were there.

John King English man.

Jesuites Colledge.

The Generall by two savages first scarred, and after instructed.

The Daintie being a small ship made a good voyage to Santos, for shee came in before any of our fleet, by the which meanes they laded her with Sugar, and good commodities of the Portugals ships that were in the

Harbour; this ship went voluntarily with us, and having made a good voyage, the Captaine told the Generall that he would returne for England, the Generall answered, that he was determined to send him into the River of Plate, and then with all his heart hee should returne. We continued two moneths at Santos, which was the overthrow of our voyage. In the time that we were there many Canibals came unto us, desiring the General that he would destroy the Portugals, and keepe the Countrie to himselfe, protesting to bee all on his side; the Generall thanked them for their kindnesse, and told them that at that time he had a farther pretence. We found store of gold in this Towne, that the Indians had brought from a place, called by the Indians, Mutinga, and now the Portugals have mynes there. Many of our companie counselled the Generall to winter at this Towne, but he would not by any meanes.

The Daintie would have returned from Santos to England.

Mutinga mynes.

From our first setting forth from England, till we came to Santos, I had great love to Christopher the Japon, because I found his experience to bee good in many things. This Indian and I grew into such friendship one with another, that wee had nothing betwixt us unknowne together. I a long time having found him true, I told him of the money I had found under the Friers bed; with that hee told mee of some money that hee had got, and wee swore to part halfe from thenceforth whatsoever God should permit us to obtaine: some foure dayes after that, when we were ready to depart, he told me that that time of the yeare was past, wherefore it was best to hide our money in the ground, and remaine in the Countrey. I beleeving his perswasions, agreed to doe what he thought best; thus we determined both, that the same day we were to goe a shipboord, that then he should take all the money in a Canoa, and hide it by a River side; in the morning I delivered all the money into his hands, and he swore that in lesse then two houres he would returne, but I

Japanders perfidie.

[IV. vi. 1204.]

staied above five houres, and might have tarried all my life, for he was gone aboord the Ship, afterward by good meanes I got mine owne againe, and so our former friendship was parted. Our men marched by Land from *S. Vincent.* Santos, to another Towne called San Vincent, and in the way our men burned five Engenios, or Sugar-mils, the disorder of our men was such at their imbarking, that if the Portugals had beene of any courage, they might easily have cut our throates, the two Indians, which came at night to the Generals chamber went with us to the Straits.

We departed from Santos, with a faire winde for the Straites of Magellan, fourteene dayes we had faire weather, the fifteenth day all the Masters and Captaines of the fleete comming aboord, the Admirall wonne a great summe of money. Two dayes after wee were becalmed, and the Pilotes taking their height, found it to be in the altitude with the River of Plate. And we being farre from the shoare did beare roome for Land, determining to send the Daintie, the Blacke Pinnasse, and the into the aforesaid River of Plate, but it was not the will of God that we should execute our pretence. For the same day wee thought to have descried Land, the winde beganne to blow South-west, and the Seas were very darke, swelling in waves so high, that we could not perceive any of our accompanied ships, although we were very neere one to another, the Seas brake over the Poope of our shippe, and washed our men astonisht with feare into the Skippers, the Roe-bucke in this storme ranne her against our Poope, and brake downe all our Gallerie: all things were cast into the Sea that stood above Hatches, heere miserable Fortune began to frowne on us all, especially on mee, for all that I had, both in clothes and money, were cast into the Sea, all our ship with the Seas that brake over her sides. Here our Generall shewed himselfe to bee of a noble courage, for hee did nothing but runne up and downe encouraging his men

At the river of Plate we had a great storme. In this storme the Crow a smal Boat of 20. tun sunke before our eyes, with twelve men & a boy. The Roe-bucke lost her boat with two men, and wee lost ours with three men. And at the Straits we took the Desires long Boat for the Admirall.

which were all amazed, thinking that to bee their last houre, this storme continued three dayes, in which time wee lost most of our sayles blowne away from the yards.

It was the will of God, that after we had been three dayes in the storme, the wind ceased, but the Seas continued so great, that wee were not able to beare any sayle. We lying thus tost with Seas, without sight of any of our fleet, the company murmured, and wished themselves againe at Santos, and indeed we al thought that the rest of our company were driven back with the storme to the Coast, thinking it best for us to returne againe. The Generall hearing what speeches passed in the shippe, came forth upon the halfe decke, and commanded all the company to come before him, and after he had heard them speake, he answered that he had given directions to all the Masters and Captaines of the fleete, that what weather soever should part them, that they should use their indevour to take Port Desire, and that they should tarry a fortnight, so if none of the company came, they should leave some marke on the shoare, and goe on their Voyage, with that every man was satisfied, the Generall promising twentie pounds to whomsoever could first spie a sayle, we made our course to Port Desire, and in ten dayes we safely arrived at our desired Port, where we found all our fleet but the Daintie, which was no little comfort to us all, because the time of our yeere was almost past, we stayed here but two dayes taking a few Penguins, from an Iland right before Port Desire.

Murmuring.

Port Desire.

When we came to the mouth of the Straits wee found the winde contrary, and were forced to lye beating before the Harbour of Port Famine, three dayes ere wee could double that Cape, for many times we did cast anchor without the Cape in twentie fathomes water, but on a sudden, the current would carrie away the ships with Cables and Anchors afloat in the night, in this current the Roe-bucke driven with the current, fell crosse over

Magellan Straits.

Port Famine.

Current.

the haze, there wee had no other remedy, but were forced to cut our cables, and so lose our Anchors. In the end with much adoe we doubled the Cape, and got into Port Famine, where wee lay a sevennight for want of winde and weather to goe forward. In the time that wee were at Port Famine, every day our men went on shoare, to get Muscles and Fruits of the Countrey to eate, and the barke of a tree that was like Sinamon. One day the Boate being ashoare, there came to us above a thousand Canibals naked, with feathers in their hands, but they would not come so neere us, as we could touch them. If we offered them any thing, they would reach to us with a long Pole, and whatsoever we gave them, they would returne us feathers for it, wee made our signes to them for victuals, and they would shew us by signes, that they had none, but what they could kill with their Darts. I have told you how my chist, and all my clothes were cast over-boord, now comming to this cold Climates, and wanting clothes my hope of life was little, for here men were well at morning, and by night frozen to death. It was my fortune to goe ashoare to get some food, for the allowance of our ship was little, and comming aboord againe with my feete wette, and wanting shift of clothes, the next morning I was nummed, that I could not stirre my legs, and pulling off my stockings, my toes came with them, and all my feete were as blacke as soote, and I had no feeling of them. Then was I not able to stirre.

Barke like Sinamon.

Naked Savages.

Miserable cold.

Anthonie Knivet lost his toes in the Straits.

[IV. vi. 1205.] Thus I continued for the space of a fortnight, till wee came into a faire Bay, where there were many faire Ilands, and on the rockes of some of these Ilands, wee found Scouts made of the barkes of trees, and afterwards wee found many Indians, but none of them would come to us. On the South-west side of the Mayne we found a River, which wee thought had gone to the South Sea: Our long Boate was sent up this River, and found it to be very straite and deepe. On the sides thereof they found great Muscles, and in them good store of Pearles,

Strait and deepe River.

Muscles with Pearles.

and we named it the River of Pearles; the Bay had the name of the Master of our Pinnasse, because he first found it and did discover it, called it Tobias Bay. From this place wee went further into the Straites having the winde against us, and with the cold there died every day out of our ship eight or nine men. Here one Harris a Goldsmith lost his Nose: for going to blow it with his fingers, cast it into the fire. This John Chambers, Cæsar Ricasen, and many that are now in England can testifie. The Generall having experience, that the wind would tarry at least two moneths, his men died so fast, that hee thought best to returne for the Coast of Brasill, and there to separate our fleete to the Havens, of Santos that lye on the Coast, River of Jenuary, Spirito Santo, determining by this meanes, to furnish himselfe with Ropes, Sayles, and Victuals of such prices as hee did not doubt but to take, and likewise determining to take Santos againe.

Harris his hard hap.

How we returned from the straits of Magellan. Generall Candish commeth againe to Port Famine, where hee setteth eight men on shoare and would have set mee on shoare with them, had it not beene for Captain Cocke.

The Generall came backe with this pretence for Brasill, came to Port Famine, where wee anchored two dayes, and there tooke a note of all his men, that were living, and finding some of them very sicke, commanded them to be set on shoare, I was so ill in the Straites, that no man thought I would have lived, and twice I was brought upon the Hatches to bee cast into the Sea; but it was the will of God, that when they had said Prayers, as they accustomed when any man died, and that they laid hands on me to cast me over-boord, I spake, desiring them not to cast me over-boord, till I was dead. At this Port Famine comming backe, the Generall would have set me on shoare, but Captaine Cocke entreated for me; so I remayned in the ship. I had very sorie clothes, the toes of my feet full of Lice, that (God is my record) they lay in clusters within my flesh, and of many more besides my selfe; I had no Cabbin, but lay upon a chist. Now we come out of the Straits with all our fleet, but the Dainty that lost us in the River of Plate, in the storme that we had, and the Crow that was sunke. After that we came out of the Straits, wee came before Port

Desire againe, and there our Boats went to Penguin Iland for Penguins; at this place the Generall tooke a Chirurgion who cured with words; This man comming aboord our ship, said some words over my feet, and I had feeling in my legges and feete which I had lost before, for the space of a fortnight, many times before this man came, I had hot Irons laid to my feet, but I had no feeling were they never so hot.

How I got feeling againe of my limmes after we came out of the straits.

That day that we departed from Port Desire, the Generall sent for all the Masters of the ships, and commanded them that till midnight they should keepe there course with him, and that when he should shew them two lights, then they should cast about and beare in with the shoare, but Davis which was Captaine of the Desire, and Tobie Master of the Pinnasse did deceive us, and went for the Straits, as I was enformed afterwards by some of there men that were taken at Brasill, after that I was taken. Three or foure dayes after this wee had a great storme, in the which the Roe-bucke lost her mayne Mast, and we lost her. Now were wee all alone in a great ship, and we knew not what wee were best to doe, but in the end wee determined to come for Santos, hoping there to find the rest of our company. In this storme I sate on a chist, and was not able to stirre, for still as the ship seeled on one side, the chist went from starboord to larboord, and it was the will of God, that it fell betweene a piece of Ordnance, and the Carpenters Cabbin on the one side, and on the other side betweene another Peece, and the Chirurgions Cabbin. Thus all the night I lay very cold, and it was the will of God that the chist never turned over, for if it had, I could not have escaped death, the next day the storme ceased, and most of our young Saylers, which we call men of top a yard, being wearied with their nights worke that was past, were under Hatches asleepe, and would not come up to doe some businesse that was to bee done. With that the Generall came downe, with the end of a Rope

How the Desire and the Blacke Pinnasse goeth away from us.

Of a great storme we had comming backe.

as bigge as mine arme, and one of the Saylers hid himselfe behind me; the Generall spying him, strooke at him, and hit me on the side of the head, and halfe an houre after, finding me in the same case that the Generall had left mee in, they tooke me, and would have cast me out of one of the parts of the ship, but it was the will of God that I spake and was saved. Here one of the Indians that came to the Generall in the night at Santos, fell over-boord by a mischance and was drowned.

How the Generall strooke mee dead against his will.

Wee with much adoe in the end got to the Harbour of Santos, where wee found none of our company, we anchored right before a Sugar-mill, that stood hard by the Sea side, the Generall asked if there were any that would goe ashoare, then Captaine Stafford, Captaine Southwell, and Captaine Barker offered themselves to goe on shoare, and twentie more with them, the Boate that they went in was made of Sugar chists and barrell boords, they landed and tooke the Sugar-mill, at the which they tooke a great Barke, and sent it laden with victuals, aboord our shippe, which was more welcome unto us then if it had beene gold. Here wee continued all that day, and the next day they sent the great Boate againe laden with Sugars and Guinee Wheate, then the Generall sent them word that they should come away, but they sent him word againe, that they had more provision on shoare, and before all was aboord they would not come. The third day, that our men were on shoare, the Portugall set on them. They had the little Boate ashoare, but the wind being from shoare, the great Boat went not from the ship side that day, the next day that our men were slaine, our long Boate went ashoare, and brought us newes how the little Boat was broke and how all our men were gone. One of the Indians that I have told you of landed here with our men, and having experience of the Countrey, when our men were in the hottest of their fight ranne away, having one Arrow shot thorow his necke, and

They come to Santos againe.

[IV. vi. 1206.]

The Portugals kill our men. See Cap. Candish before.

another in his mouth and out at his poale, this Indian swamme aboord unto us upon a logge, and told us that all our men were slaine.

S. Sebastian. The Generall thought good to goe from hence to the Iland of San Sebastian, and there if he did not meete with some of the ships, that then he would returne for England, the same day that we were to depart from Santos, the Roe-bucke past by the mouth of the River of Bertia: where we were, and shot a Peece, and we answered with another, then the Roe-bucke came into us with her Masts broken. After the Roe-bucke came to us, we went neerer the Towne, determining to have beaten downe the Towne with our Ordnance, but wanting water, the Gallion Lecester toucht ground, and we had much adoe to get her cleere againe. Then wee landed eightie of our men at a small River neere the Towne, where we had great store of Mandiora Roots, Potatoes, Plantons, and Pine Apples. The Portugals seeing our men going into the River, sent six Canoes to meete them, we seeing them, made a shot at them with the chaine of our Pumpe, with that they returned, and our Boats came safely aboord with good store of the aforenamed Roots. In our ship there was a Portugall whom we tooke in the ship taken at Cape Frio, this Portugall went with us to the Straits of Magellanus, and seeing of our overthrow, told us of a Towne called Spirito Sancto, this Portugall said that we might goe before the Towne with our ships, and that without danger, we might take many Sugar-mils, and good store of cattle.

The Roe-bucke come to us at Santos.

Portugals advice.

The words of this Portugall made us breake off our pretence that wee had for San Sebastian, and we went to Spirito Sancto, in eight dayes we got before the mouth of the Harbour; at length we came to an Anchor in the Roade, and presently we sent our Boats to sound the Channell, and we found not halfe the depth that the Portugall said we should finde, the Generall thinking that the Portugall would have betrayed us, without any

Spirito Santo.

triall caused him to bee hanged, the which was done in a trise. Here all the Gentlemen that were living, desired that they might go ashoare to take the Towne. The Generall was very unwilling, & told them of divers inconveniences, but all would not suffice them, they were so importunate, that the Generall chose out one hundred and twentie men, of the best that were in both the ships, and sent Captaine Morgan a singular good Land-souldier, and Lieutenant Royden, for choise Commanders in this action. They landed before a small Fort with one of the Boats, and drave the Portugalls out of it, the other Boate went higher, when they had a very hot skirmish, and their lives were quickly shortned, for they landed on a Rocke, that stood before the Fort, as they leaped out of the Boate, they slid all armed into the Sea, and so most of them were drowned. To be short wee lost eightie men, at this place, and of the fortie that returned, there came not one without an Arrow or two in his body, and some had five or sixe.

Portugall hanged.

80. men slaine: 40. wounded.

When we saw we could doe no good at this place, wee determined to come againe for the Iland of San Sebastian, and there we meant to burne one of our ships, and from thence we determined to goe for the Straits againe, the company that was in the Roe-bucke, hearing of it, in the night runne away from us, and we were left alone againe, well we came to San Sebastian Iland, all this while I lay under Hatches lame, sicke, and almost starved: I was not able to stirre, I was so weake. After we came to this Iland, the first thing that was done, the sicke men were set on shoare to shift for themselves, twentie of us were set on shoare, all were able to go up and downe although very weakly, but (I alas!) my toes were raw, my body was blacke, I could not speake nor stirre. In this case I was layed by the shoare side, and thus I remayned from five of the clock in the morning, till it was betweene eleven and twelve of the clocke, that the Sunne came to his highest, and the extreme heate of

Ro-bucke fleeth.

S. Sebastian.

Anthony Knivet left for dead.

the Sunne pierced through my bodie, whereby I came to my selfe, as a man awaked from sleepe; and I saw them that were set on shore with me, lye dead and a dying round about me: these men had eaten a kind of Pease, that did grow by the Sea side which did poyson them. When I saw all these men dead, I praysed God that had rid them out of their miserable estate, and cursed my hard fortune, that Death it selfe did refuse to end my tormented and most miserable life. I looked towardes the shoare, and saw nothing but these Pease, and if I did eate them, I was sure of death, if I did not eate them, I saw no remedie but to starve.

Venemous Pease.

Seeing in this manner, I looked towards the ship, to see if the Boate came ashoare, but (alas) all my hopes were with speed to end my life, but that it was the will of God, I saw things stirre by the Sea side, and it was a great ebbe; then I went creeping on my hands and my feete like a childe, and when I had gotten to the Sea side, I saw many Crabs lye in the holes of the mudde. I pulled off one of my stockins, and filled it with Crabs, and as well as I could, I carried them to a hollow figge tree, where I found a great fire made, so casting them on the coles, I did eat them, and so I lay downe to sleepe till the next day; and then I watched for the ebbe to get some more meate. Thus I lived eight or nine dayes without sight of any man, the stinke of some of the dead men that the Sea came not to, was so noysome that I was faine to remoove from that place, and as I went along the shoare to seeke some place to abide in, I passed by a faire River that went into the Sea; where I thought it good to make my abode because of the fresh water, I had not beene there scarce the space of halfe a quarter of an houre, but I saw a great thing come out of the water, with great scales on the backe, with great ugly clawes and a long tayle, this beast came towards me, and I had not the power to shun it, but as it came towards me, I went and met it, when I came neere it, I stood still amazed to see so monstrous a

[IV. vi. 1207.]

Anthony Knivet terrified with a terrible beast that came out of the water.

thing before me. Hereupon this beast stood still and opened his mouth, and thrust out a long tongue like a Harping-Iron. I commended my selfe to God, and thought there to have bin torne in pieces, but this beast turned againe, and went into the River, and I followed to the Rivers side.

The next day I went farther into the Iland, fearing to tarrie in this place, and I found a great Whale *Whale.* lying on the shoare like a ship with the keele upwards, all covered with a kinde of short mosse with the long lying there. At this place I made a little house, and fed on the Whale for the space of a fortnight. In this time the Generall set forty men more ashoare, at the place where I was set first on land, likewise the Generall trimmed his Boate at this place, and had a Net continually a fishing, of which John Chambers his Cooke had charge, who is this day living in London. After that these men came ashoare, I left the place where I was with the Whale, and came to our men and lived with them, beeing at this time reasonable well, and able to goe very well, for the use of going into the Sea did heale my toes. After these men had beene on shoare seven or eight dayes, we had taken wood and water for the ship, the Portugals of the River of January, landed on the North point of the Iland hard by the Whale, they took two of our men and one escaped, who came to us in the night, and told us that the Portugals and the Savages were landed. That day wee had taken a great Tortois ashoare, and wee did bid the Sayler to bee of good cheere, for if it were true, it was the better for us, for wee were sure, that the Generall would not take us againe into the ship, with that we all commended our selves to God, and dranke to our friends in faire water, and so we determined to march along the shoare with a white shirt instead of a flagge of truce, but the Sea was so high that we could not, then we determined to watch quarterly, till such times as we could espie them, I had the first

watch, and watched till I was wearie, so called one of my fellowes, to watch, and he answered angerly, Tut, tis a lye; with that I lay downe by the fire as well as the rest. Before I was asleepe, the Portugals were at our doore, then I started up, and one of them tooke me by the legge, presently wee were all led to the shoare side, there all that were taken with me, were knocked on the heads with fire-brands, the Indian that had hold of me, strook twice or thrice at me with a short Bill, but I striving, cryed out in Portugall, That if they would save mee I would tell them newes, with that a Portugall passed by, and I caught hold of him, so well as I could I told him a Tale which saved my life at that time, this Portugall gave me againe to a Savage, & I cryed to him that I would goe whersoever he went, then he bid me not fear, for that Savage was his slave, and that he would carrie me to the Captayn, so I was content perforce to goe I knew not whether, this Caniball carried me along the shore, and when wee came where any Rockes reached into the Sea; hee would take mee on his backe, and swimme with mee round about the Rockes, till wee were free from the Rockes, thus we went almost all night, til at length we came by a great Cliffe that stood by the shoare. Then the Savage whistled, and another Savage answered him from the Cliffe, whereupon five or six Portugals came forth, and amongst them came the Captaine with a piece of bread and Marmallet in his hand, and as soone as he saw me, he asked me what newes, I answered that I was very hungry, and desired him that hee would give mee some meate, and then I would tell him all the newes that I could, with that all the Portugals brake out in a laughter, and gave me bread and fish to eate, after I had eaten that which they had given me, I told them the truth of all that they asked me, heere they killed eight and twentie of our men, and saved only my selfe, and Henrie Barrawell, who was saved by my meanes.

They are taken and slaine.

He escapeth.

§. II.

Anthony Knivet his comming to the R. of Janero, and usage amongst the Portugals, and Indians: his divers travels thorow divers Regions of those parts.

THe next day our ship weighed Anchor, and whether shee went I knew not, wee were carried by the Portugals to the River of Janero, I went with a Mestizo, which is halfe a Portugall, and halfe a Savage that saved my life in the night when I was taken. When we came to the Citie of San Sebastian in the River of Janero, the Portugals in the Canoas, made such a noyse, with Pipes and Drummes, that all the people of the Citie came to shoare to see us, with that the Canoas going round, as if they were in fight, two Portugals tooke mee, and cast me towards the shoare, saying, here is our prize; the tyde being strong carried mee to the mayne, where I had beene drowned had it not beene for a woman, who seeing the tyde carry me away, sent two or three slaves, and they saved mee. When I came ashoare, all the Portugals were at the Church of our Lady, and I would have gone into the Church, but the Portugals would not let me, saying, that I was not a Christian. Then I was brought before the Governour, and he gave me to the man that had saved mee, and I was very well contented, for hee used mee very kindly as I came with him from the Iland of San Sebastian. For the space of three moneths that I was with this man, I kept a house, and went to the Sea-side with his Hogs, and there I every day brought him home a basket of great Crabs that lie in the holes of the mud, as deepe as you can thrust in your arme. This was a good life, my Master called me sonne, and I dined and supped with him: also I had a hanging Net to lie in, and lay in the same roome which hee lay in. [IV. vi. 1208.]

It happened one day being by the Sea-side washing of little Dogs, there came a Canoa full of Portugals, and they tooke me to the Towne with them, but as soone as I landed I remembred my Masters house and ran to it. As I went I met with Henrie Barway: the next day the Governour sent for mee and examined me what I was, I told him that I was a poore ship boy, with that Henrie Barway reproved me, asking what I meant to say so to the Governour; I replyed, that I was no other but what I had told him, then the Governour commanded mee to bee carried to the Sugar mill, where I was three moneths, till all the clothes that I had were torne in peeces, with working in a Barke going day and night up and downe for Sugar canes and wood for the Mill; the miserable life that I was in made mee carelesse what I did. I had neither meat nor clothes, but blowes as many as Gally slaves. Then I determined to run away into the Wildernesse, for I was ashamed to be seene naked of the Portugals. I made me a Cottage in a great Cave in the Wildernesse, where I was seven moneths. In the day I fished for to live, and in the night I came to some Indians houses, and for fish they gave me Cassavie meale, and many kindes of Rootes, that served me for bread. In the end the Governour caused me to be sought out and gave mee a sute of blue clothes, and commanded me to worke in a Garden, where I carried earth, and digged the ground to plant Cabidges and Turneps.

Henrie Barway.

He is sent to a Sugar-mill.

He fleeth.

After that I was commanded againe to take charge of the Sugar boat, where I was worse used then ever I was before, for the Factor was a man that hated English men, and would use me more like a Dogge then a Man. When I had continued foure moneths in the Barke, it happened that one of the Governours sonnes, called Martin de Saa, came from Spirito Santo. This man pittying my poore and miserable life, desired his father that he would give mee unto him, which his father granted, and I was very well used of my new Master,

His new Master.

two yeeres after I had served him. It happened that hee and his Mother in law fell out, whereupon the Governour his father sent him to a Towne, called Wyanasses, which were in peace with the Portugals, and for Knives and Hatchets, they sell their Wives and Children. This journey I went with him, and we came to a Towne called Jawarapipo (that is to say) Is this the Dogge? He seeing me forward to doe him service, sent me from this Towne with eight of his slaves laden with Hatchets and Knives, to another kinde of Canibals, called Pories, which had beene likewise friends with the Portugals, but it was long before any Portugalls had beene there, I came to the Towne of Pories, where I was saluted in this sort.

Wyanasses.

Jawarapipo.

Pories.

As soone as I came into a great house, which I thought was their Kings, which they call Morovichava; presently, they had hanged up a faire Net betweene two postes, in the which I was commanded to sit downe, and as soone as I was set, there came at the least twentie women, and some laying their heads on my shoulders, and others on my knees, they began to crie out making such a pitious noise, that I was amazed: yet I determined to sit still till they had done. As soone as the women were gone, an old man came in, all painted with red and blacke, and hee had three great holes in his face, one in the under lip, and one on either side of his mouth, and in every hole stood a faire greene stone. This Caniball came through the house where I was, with a woodden sword in his hand, and as hee came hee spake very loud, and looked as though hee had beene mad, striking his hand on his breast, and on his thighs; still crying out, he walked up and downe. After this Savage had ended his speech, he stroke me on the head, and bad mee welcome; and commanded such things as were in his house to be set before me to eate. After I had beene there two or three houres, newes went through all the Towne of my being there, and from this Towne to others that were hard by.

Strange entertainment of strangers.

His danger by a Savage.

Whilest I continued in this Towne a Savage called Waynembuth, who bare a great grudge to the Portugals, came where I was, with two women, and when hee came into the house where I was, he laid his hands on their necks, and so came dancing before mee, thus after hee had danced some quarter of an houre, he spake to me, saying, Doest thou see those women, by my valour I got their loves, and now their desire I am sworne to fulfill, which is to kill thee, as I have done many more. I answered him that I came not as an enemie against him, or any of his, but as a friend that brought him many things that I was assured hee wanted, and that if nothing would satisfie him but my life, I assured him, that hee and all his Countrie would pay for it. To this hee made no answere, but went to separate my things that lay by mee to his Concubines, withall I started out of my bed, and tooke my sword in my hand, and thrust the Caniball from my things, that I had almost overturned him, and he durst not touch them nor me any more, but stood rayling, and threatning to kill mee, and with the noise that hee made, the old man came into the house, and seeing mee stand with my sword in my hand, asked mee what was the matter, and I told him all that had passed betwixt mee and the foresaid Caniball. After hee had heard mee, hee turned to the Caniball that had offered me abuse, and asked him what reason he had to doe him so great a discredit, and to meddle with any friend of his in his Towne, and angerly commanded him to avoid his Town, if not he would make him repent that ever he came thither ; with that, for feare of afterclaps, he went away with his Concubines: the next morning newes came to the Towne, that Wanambuth was comming with three hundred Canibals, and that perforce he would have me to his Towne, and that there I should be killed according to the order of the Countrie; and how hee left order with his wives to prepare wine through all the Townes in readinesse.

[IV. vi. 1209.]

When the old man heard of this, hee presently commanded all his people to take their weapons, and desired them to goe with him into the field to meet them that were comming to wrong him; whereat they all gave a great hoope, saying, that they would all die rather then they would bee disgraced. The old man embraced mee many times, and desired mee that I would tarry in his house. I thanked him for his love, and told him that in any wise I would not tarry behinde him; so I went with him to meet the Caniball in the field; we being a great many more then they, they sent three or foure unto us as messengers, that they came to be merry, and to buy and sell such things as they had, then the old man gave leave for them all to come into his Town, except the Caniball that had mis-used him the day before; that night I gave all my merchandise to the old man, and desired him for it, that hee would cause mee to bee conducted out of his Countrie: the next day following the old man gave me seventie slaves, and caused three hundred Bow men to goe with me till I was past the River of Paraeyua; from whence they returned to their Towne, and in fortie dayes journy with ease I came againe to Ilha Grande, where I found my Master, Martin de Saa, who was very glad of my returne, and for recompence of my paines, he promised me one of them to bee my slave, but when hee came to the River of Janero, hee sold them, and gave me nothing.

Hospitall fidelitie in Savages.

River Paraeyua.

After wee had beene at home two moneths, hee would have sent mee againe into the savage countrie for more slaves, but I knew that thereby I should get nothing and refused to goe. Whereupon hee returned me againe to his father, thinking I would rather choose to goe then serve his father in the Sugar boat. But I was contented to goe againe to his father, hoping to be better used then I was before: then his father commanded me to goe a fishing in a small boat, for to make oile for the Sugar mill. One night being upon a Rocke fishing for Dog-fish, which the Portugals call

He returneth to his old Master.

Tubarones; I tooke my line, laid it under me and fell asleepe: about mid-night with the beginning of the floud a Dog-fish tooke my hooke, and the line being under mee, I awaked, tooke the line in my hand, and running about the Rocke (I know not how) the line tangled about my legge, and the fish drew me into the Sea; and assoone as I fell into the water the Sharke swam at me as if he would have devoured me, but assoone as I saw him come neere mee, I caught hold on the hooke that was in his mouth, and striking downwarke with my hand the Sharke swam away againe. I now remembred a knife, that I had about my necke tyed with a string, as the Canibals use, and therewith cut the cord, or else there had I ended all my miseries; all my body was torne with the Crags of the Rocke, so that for the space of a fortnight I was not able to stirre.

Endangered by a Sharke.

After I was healed the Governour commanded mee againe to goe a fishing: wee had newes in the River of Janero that Master Hawkins was at Cape Frio, which made me the more desirous to be on the Coast in hope to get to him. It happened that one day being a fishing by an Iland that lay two leagues from the shoare, Master Hawkins passed by the Sea as farre as well hee could bee descryed, but it was a very faire day: assoone as I saw the ships I set the Indians that were with me on shoare on the Iland, commanding them to seeke provision for us, for that night I did assure my selfe that Master Hawkins would refresh his men at the Iland of San Sebastian, and seeing the winde faire, and all the Indians ashoare, I hoysted saile, and tooke my course towards the Iland of San Sebastian, but fortune was so crosse to me, that being in sight of the ships, a contrarie winde blue with such a storme, that perforce I was driven upon an Iland so full of Rocks, that my Boat was broken all in peeces, and my selfe all cut and bruised with the Rocks. Getting to the shoare upon this Iland I remayned three dayes without meat, or meanes to get away from the Iland, the Indians that landed upon the

Master Hawkins at Cape Frio.

Another double disaster of sense and losse.

Iland where we were a fishing, got to the Towne and told the Governour how I had beguiled them. Presently upon that newes the Governour sent two Canoas to descrie the ships, these Canoas came on shoare at the Iland where I was, and there they found me almost starved, and all my face hurt beaten upon the Rocks.

From this place they went to the Iland of San Sebastian, and Master Hawkins was gone; then they returned againe to the River of Janero, and I was brought bound with my hands behind me, all the Towne rayled at me, calling me Run-away, then I was brought before the Governour, and he looking very angerly upon me sent me to prison, where I was used like a Dogge for the space of a fortnight: for I lay on the ground, and had no meat given me, but Cassavi meale and water. After I had endured this miserie, I was condemned to be hanged for a Run-away and a Lutheran, and as I was going by the Colledge of Jesus, all the Friars of the Colledge came forth with a great Crucifix, and falling on their knees before the Governour they craved pardon for me, and I was carried againe to prison, where I remayned three dayes longer, then I was brought forth on a market day, with my hands and feet bound, and there in publike beaten with cordes, that I had not a whole spot of skin on all my body. After they had punished mee, as you have heard, I was commanded to be put againe in prison, where I was for the space of a fortnight, with no meate but Cassavi meale and water, my lodging was the earth, my body was all bruised and full of wormes with lying on the ground.

[IV. vi. 1210.]

His imprisonment.

Condemnation to be hanged.

Jesuites save him!

Imprisoned againe.

After this the Governour commanded great hoopes of Iron to bee clinched to my legge, of thirtie pound weight, the which I carried nine moneths, continually working in the Sugar mill like a bond-slave. The Factor used me more like a Dogge then a Man, for his hatred was so much to me, and to all strangers, that I never came by him but I was sure of blowes.

Now was my life so intolerable, that I grew desperate and carelesse what I did to end my life. Many times I would tell the Governour how like a Tyrant the Factor used me, but for all that he saw my body black, and bruised with blowes, he had no compassion on me. I had no meanes nor hope of any release of my miserable life, but to kill the Factor. Now occasion came fitly to execute my pretence, and it happened thus; I comming in the night with a Barke laden with Sugar canes, after the Barke was unladen, the night being cold, I lay upon the boards before the Furnaces, and had not rested halfe an houre, when the Factor came into the Sugar house, so finding me asleepe (as you have heard) hee strooke mee with a withe on the naked ribs, with such force, that I thought hee had broken all the bones of my body. I started up, and seeing him before mee readie to second his malice with another blowe, I embraced him in mine armes, and with a great knife that I had, I hurt him in the side, the backe, and the arme; hee cryed out I had slaine him.

Dissolute resolution.

I thinking no lesse ran away into the chiefest of the wood, and the favourable night being darke, no man knew which way to follow mee. When day came I went wandring up and downe, praying to God to send some Leopard, or Lion, to devoure mee, rather then to bee taken againe by the Portugals, for I knew if the Governour once got mee againe, I should endure the most extreame torture that ever was invented for man. Wandring in the Wildernesse, I did heare a great noise of people, then I was amazed, knowing not what to doe to save my life, sometimes I run like a mad man, then would I sit downe and listen if I could heare any noise, and which way soever I went I heard still the noise of people neerer me. Thus seeing my selfe at the last cast, I espyed a great Tree, in which grew a thing of thick long leaves, called by the Indians, Caravala; as bigge as the nest of an Eagle, I got me into that, having not beene there a quarter of an houre, many Indians

He fleeth againe.

Danger of taking in a Caravala.

came to seeke mee, and shot many times with their arrowes at the thing where I was, when they saw that I did not stirre, they went their wayes, and I remayned all that day in the Tree, the night following, and the next day and night, I came downe very weake, for in two days I had eaten nothing, then the night being darke, I came to the Sea side, so going along by the shoare side, I espyed a Canoa drawne to shoare, and hard by it on the ground lay three Savages asleepe, by them lay bowes, arrowes, and rootes, with hookes to fish with, of those things I tooke what I thought best, and went along the Sea side till I came to a Point of the Iland, where I found a Savage asleepe upon the sands, when I had viewed him well I knew him to be one of my Masters slaves, who killed one of his fellowes, wherefore hee durst not goe home, I tooke his bow and arrowes lying by him and awaked him, when he saw me he began to lament, and desired that I would not carry him home to my Master, I answered him that my cause was ten times worse then his, and desired him to tell mee if he knew any place whither wee might goe to save both our lives, and with that told him what had befallen me.

Solamen miseris socios habuisse doloris.

This Savage was a great man in his Countrie, his name was Quarasips juca, that is, the yellow Sunne. Never man found truer friendship of any then I did of him. This Caniball and I after many discourses determined to swim from the Iland to the mayne. When we had escaped the danger of passing the arme of the Sea, at least two miles in breadth, we both landed very feeble, with the long being of our naked carkasses in the water. Now wee are at the foot of the Mountaine called Paranapiacano, a desart, where many have beene devoured with Leopards, Lions, Crocodiles, and Surococous, and divers other Serpents. Notwithstanding all these fearfull inconveniences, we chose rather to fall into the pawes of a Lion, and the clawes of the Serpent, then into the bloudie hands of the Portugall. Seven

His wandrings.

and thirtie dayes we two travelled through this desart, every day we were in danger of our lives, for we met many Leopards, Lions, and huge Serpents, but God delivered us from them. In this journey we eate wilde Honie and Palmetos, and a kinde of Snakes, called by the Canibals, Boaeyua. After we had passed this desart, we came into a champaine Countrie, where we had great store of Pine nuts. Wandring up and downe in this Countrie, one morning we espyed smoke in a wood not farre from us. Then wee travelled that wayes, and comming neere, I knew where we were, and presently I told Quarisisacupa, that the Towne was called Pianita, and that this was the place where Jawaripipo had used mee so well, when Wanambuth would have killed me. Now come we to the Towne, where we are very kindly received, especially of mine old friend Jawaripipo.

I suppose by Leopards he meaneth that spotted beast, which others call a Tigre. [IV. vi. 1211.]

Pianita.

Hee commeth to his old host.

After we had rested a little while among these Canibals, I desired them that they would joyne themselves together; for in publike I would rehearse somwhat unto them of my comming into their Countrie. Now when they were all together, I began to rehearse unto them, how cruelly the Portugals did use their Nation, in making them bond-slaves, marking them like Dogs, whipping and tormenting them, as if they were not of flesh and bloud. I rehearsed unto them the course of mine owne life, and desired them to remember how my Countrimen had used them in former times, encouraging them to bee valiant, and to pull up their spirits, and perswading to defend themselves against such Tyrants, who under the colour of friendship used them most villainously. Then I told them that I had killed a Portugall, and that I was determined to end my life with them, if they would promise to defend mee and themselves from the Portugals. With that many of them embraced me, all together giving a great hoope, saying, as long as their lives lasted, and their Bowes brake not, that they would defend themselves and me. Here I continued nine moneths, till it happened that Martin de Saa came

Senate of Savages.

againe to buy more slaves. He came to a Towne hard by the Iland of San Sebastian, called Jaquerequere, where using the Canibals kindly, and giving them Knives and Hatchets and Beades, hee won their hearts so much unto him that they gave him their Sonnes and Daughters to bee his slaves; and moreover told him, that I and Quarisisacupa was at a Towne hard by. Then Martin de Saa sent foure Portugals and twentie Savages for me to the Towne. When the Savages of Jaquerequere came to Pianita, they gave such report in all the Towne of the liberalitie of Martin de Saa, that without any deliberation they bound my hands, and brought me backe againe to my Masters sonne.

Jaquerequere.

Savage faith. Antonie Knivet is bound by the Canibals and brought to his Master.

When the Canibals brought mee before Martin de Saa, all those that protested before most friendship unto mee, are now become my greatest and most mortall enemies, and with hooping and hollowing deride mee, striking mee on the head, and declaring to the Portugals, how I used great perswasions to have them become their enemies. Martin de Saa made no answere to all their exclamations, but commanded certaine Portugals and Indians to see that I runne not away. Being brought the next morning before him, hee told mee that hee did pittie my hard fortune to come to so bad an end as I was like to come to, making mee beleeve that the Factor was dead, and therefore hee thought that the Law would condemne mee. When hee had spoken, I desired him to bee favourable unto mee, and that hee would consider what service I had done him and his father, and to thinke how unreasonably the Factor had used mee a long time. Then hee promised mee, that wherein hee might hee would stand my friend; then I entreated him to give mee leave in that desart to end my life amongst the Canibals, where hee might well bee assured I could never hurt him nor any of his Nation: hee would not condescend thereunto, but promised hee would save my life, if I would but goe to a place in that Countrie, called

Paraeyua Wereob. Paraeyua Wereob, and there to trafficke with the Canibals for Women, Boyes, and Girles.

Although the danger of going into the Countrie of wild Man-eaters where I never had beene, was no lesse then the value of my life, yet considering with my selfe that my offence deserved death among the Portugals, I chose once againe rather to stand to the Heathen mercy of savage Man-eaters, then at the bloudie crueltie of Christian Portugals. And seeing my selfe in such extremitie, I shewed my selfe very willing and diligent to doe the Captaine service; but God knowes, my hope was never to have seene him againe.

His next adventure thorow the desarts. Now goe I alongst in the Wildernesse, with twelve Savages, I know not whither, but as they guide mee over huge Mountaines, and many great Rivers, passing many dangers of our lives by land of Lions, Leopards, divers great Snakes: in the Rivers, Crocodiles, Jararaquas, and Capucaras, with many other Serpents that use the water. After wee had travelled five and twentie

A faire River. dayes in the Wildernesse, wee came to a faire River as broad as the Thames, and the Canibals that went with mee said that the Towne stood by that River side, where wee were to trafficke, but certaintie they knew not where about. Then wee made us a Boat of the barke of a Cedar Tree, going downe the streame in it. Wee had not beene there long a going with the swiftnesse of the Current, before wee espyed a

Two Savages. Boate of the same fashion that ours was, with two Canibals in it, who as soone as they had espyed us would have runne away, but wee beeing better manned then they overtooke them before they got to the shoare. With mee there went one of their owne Nation, by name Morosoeii, who had beene taken by the Wayanasses, and they sold him to the Portugals. This Morosoeii spake the language of the Taymayas, which I understood very well. The two Canibals that wee

Apparell strange. tooke in the Boate, were amazed to see men apparelled, insomuch that they knew not their owne Countriman

that was with mee, when they saw him apparelled like a Portugall; if they were amazed at us, I was no lesse at them, for in all my travell I never saw the like fashion of Canibals. For when I saw them first I thought they had beene borne with feathers on their heads and bodies, like fowles of the aire, they had anointed their bodies with gumme of the oiletusees of Balsome, and covered themselves so artificially with feathers of divers colours, in such order, that you could not have seene a spot of their skins but their legs: after wee had beholden them well and they us, I commanded Morosoeii, their Countriman to disclose himselfe to his Countrimen, and to tell them the cause of our comming, desiring them to goe to their Towne, and tell of our being there, lest our sudden comming should raise an uprore among them, the which they were very willing to doe; so giving either of them a knife, and a few beades, they departed very joyfully.

Their strange habite.

[IV. vi. 1212.]

Stranger nakednesse.

Two houres after that they were departed from us, there came at the least five hundred of them singing and rejoycing, shewing themselves very glad of our comming to traffick with them, entreating us to goe to their Towne, the which we did, where wee were received with dancing and singing of great and small, and in every house I was received with great ceremonies, and long speeches of the chiefest that were in the Towne. The next day I began to traffick with them for slaves, and I bought ninetie; all which I brought to Martin de Saa, who remayned at Ilha Grande till I returned againe. Assoone as I came unto him, I delivered all unto him, desiring him to stand my friend, and to give mee leave to tarrie among the Canibals, till such time as hee had spoken with his father in my behalfe. Laughing, hee answered that I neede to feare to goe home, for the man was recovered, and gone to the River of Plate, and that his father was very sorry, thinking I had beene eaten by some Serpent, Leopard, or Lion. When I came before the Governour; he

His entertainment.

His returne.

blessed himselfe to see mee, mervailing where I had beene so long, and sent me againe to his Sugar mill, where I continued a twelve-moneth, and I had the charge to chist all the Sugar, in which time I got two hundred crownes. I determined to goe to Angola in Æthiopia; and the Governour gave me his word that I should, and that what favour he could shew me, I should bee sure to have, but when the ship was readie to depart, the Governour sent mee out of Towne on a sleevelesse errand, and I remayned ashoare, and lost all that I had scraped together for my voyage.

A moneth or two after this, it happened that the Wayanasses were set on by a kind of Canibals, called Taymayas, the Wayanasses have traffick and friendship with the Portugals, and the most mortall enemies that the Portugals have in all America, are the Taymayas. *Ambitious malice in savages.* The Wayanasses having lost a great many men in a battell, not being able to make any head againe of themselves, craved succour againe of the Portugals. *Expedition against the Taymayas.* My Master being Governour of the Towne, sent his sonne Martin de Saa with seven hundred Portugals, and two thousand Indians. The Wayanasses certified unto us that the most that wee should bee, before wee come to the Taymayas, would bee a moneth.

Thus the fourteenth day of October 1597. we departed on our way with sixe Canoas by Sea, some thirtie miles from the River of Januarie, for a Port called Paratee. The first day that we departed, we had a great storme, *Danger of drowning.* where we thought we should all have beene drowned, but it was the will of God to save our lives, with the generall losse of all we had, the Canoas turned upside downe with the storme, wee holding fast on the bottom of them, were driven on shoare with great hazard of our lives. From the place where we drove on shoare to the River of Wareteena it was three miles, which we went by land, and sent the Canoas to the River of Januarie for victuals. We tarried two dayes at Wareteena till the aforesaid Canoas returned, the third day wee

went to a place of Great Iland, called Ippoa, where there dwelt two or three Portugals. Here we had great store of Potatoes & Plantons to eat. At this place we remayned five dayes for five hundred Canibals, that were to come from an Iland called Jawaripipo. When these Indians were come we departed in our Canoas for our desired Port called Paratee. As we went in the night wee cut a great Bay of the Sea, where a Whale did overturne one of our Canoas, notwithstanding wee tooke the men that were in the Sea, and went on for the Harbour aforesaid. The next day the Captaine commanded all the Canoas to be pulled out of the water, and to cover them well with boughes, determining immediately to depart by land.

Ilha Grande.

Whale overturneth a Canoa.

That night that we came to Paratee, there came a Caniball to us, called Alecio, from a Towne called Jequerequere, this Town lyeth by the Sea-side right over against the Iland of San Sebastian. This Indian brought eightie Bow-men with him, offering himselfe with all his companie to goe with our Captaine. The next day we departed on our voyage, through the Mountaines, at night the Captaine seeing Alecio the Caniball lying on the ground, tooke away the Net that I had to sleepe in, and gave it to the Caniball, I being faine to lie upon the earth. I complayned to some of the Portugals of the wrong that the Captaine did use unto mee: they answered, that his father sent me in that voyage onely to be made away; I replyed, Gods will be done. After wee had gone on our journey three dayes, we came to the bottom of a great Mountaine, called by the Indians, Paranapeacano, that is in our language, The sight of the Sea; this Mountaine is so high, that wee were three dayes going up, and three dayes also going downe. Two dayes after wee were descended we came into a faire champaine Countrie like meadow ground with long grasse, and great store of Pine trees, where we lodged that night in a bottom, in which we killed about sixe hundred Snakes; it was

A Caniball captaine with eightie followers.

Three dayes ascending a Mountaine.

Snakes very venemous.

the will of God that one Indian, called Jeronimo, was bit by them, and not any more. This Indian presently swelled, and his bloud sprung out of his eyes and his nailes, and so he died. [IV. vi. 1213.]

After that we came to travell againe through the Mountaynes some forty dayes, then wee came to a great River called Paracuova; which river wee passed with things made of Canes tyed together with withes, which the Portugals call Jangathas. We were foure dayes before we passed over this River it was so great, and ranne so swift. After that, wee travelled againe some 20. dayes till we came to a great Mountayne called Panaçe yuawe apacone, we were foure dayes going up this Mountayne by reason of the great showres of raine that we had, besides wee were very weake, and all our victuals were done. But hoping to find our enemies very soone, we did our best to hold out comming up this hill, from sixe of the clocke in the morning, till it was two of the clocke in the afternoone on a rainie day, the Captaine commanded every man to make his abode for that night; whereupon I set downe my burthen, and went into the Mountaynes to cut some boughes of a Tree called Sammambaya, to cover us from the raine, the weather was so cold, and I having travelled all day without meate was so feeble, that going to cut a bough, my sword fell out of my hand, and I sate under a Tree, where I had made mine end, if it had not bin for my deere friend Henry Barrawell, who seeing that I tarried long came to seeke me, and found me in such case, that I was not able neither to speake nor stand. After he had brought me to the Campe, he layed me by the fire, I recovered and was very well.

R. Paracuova how passed.

Mountayne of foure dayes journey.

His danger of death.

After we had passed this Mountayne of Pareeva, wee travelled in a kind of low wash ground; there were great store of Canibals called Pories. Upon a sudden there would come one 100 of them out of the Wood, and assoone as they had gotten anything from us, would be gone, wee knew not whether: and presently there would come

as many more. There we kept very good order, and had alway very good watch, for feare they should worke us any Treason, for all our men were very weake; within foure dayes journey from the aforesaid Mountayne, we came to the River of Paraeva, where we had great store of fish, but nothing else to eate withall. At this River, one day I going a fishing, being a very rainie day, three Indians that went with mee returned againe, and left me alone. As I would have come backe, I lost my way that I had gone with the Indians through the Wildernesse, then I returned againe to the River side, knowing thereby I could not misse my way, still going by the River side homewards where the Captaine was, being somewhat late, suddenly I came to a place where there were at least a 100. men and women of those Pories. I thought I should have died no other death, but these Canibals did mee no harme, but only tooke away my Knife and my fish-hooke, and gave me of their meat they were eating, which was rosted Monkeyes. After I had eaten as much as I would, they made mee a thing of dry Canes that they had to swimme upon the water, which in a meane space carried me where the Campe lay by the River side. These Canibals told us of a towne within two dayes journey, where we might get Pease and Ginnie Wheate, and some Roots of Cassam.

R. Paraeva.

He loseth his way.

In one day we passed Paryeva, and the next day wee came to travell towards the Towne that the Pories had told us of. We were seven dayes betweene the River and the Towne, and when we came there, we found almost nothing but women, and asking for their Husbands, they told us that they had gone to warre against the Taymoyes, and that they had killed them all at this Towne. We found a little Ginnie Wheate, but it was not ripe, of the which we fed a weeke being there, these Canibals are called Tapuyas. Wee went forward to other Townes of a kinde of Canibals, called Waanawasons, that were hard by the Tapuyas. Com-

Tapuyas.

Waanawasons.

ming to one of their Townes, there came twentie old men with woodden Swords in their hands, whooping and rejoycing, which is (as I have said) their manner of bidding welcome. After they had done, they asked what was our determination; wee told them that wee came to warre against the Tamoyes, then there came an old man unto us all painted with red and blue, with Bow and Arrowes in his hand, and a paire of slippers on his feete, and with one of his Daughters that had beene captive to a Portugall of Santumsence, which had runne away from her Master, with other Captives, and so came againe to her father. This old man, by name Carywason, came before our Captaine, and at this Towne, all our men both Indians and Portugals fell sicke by eating of a kinde of sweet pleasant fruit that was poyson, and had it not beene for a Gentleman called Enefrio de say my Masters Kinsman, who had a piece of Unicornes horne, we had all died. At this Towne we had nothing to eate but a few Potatoes. As we came through this Towne, all the Canibals Waanassees ranne away from us, with all our clothes. Now the old man with tenne lustie young men went with us, and guided us betweene two Mountayns continually up a River from morning till night for the space of forty dayes, we were never out of the water from morning till night that we should make our abode, and entred in the morning againe.

Poysonous fruit.

Fortie dayes journey up a River.

Our men were very weake, and almost starved with hunger. The Indians died, amazed (as some of them said) with a Spirit which they call Coropio, which did kill them, many would complaine that they were possessed with Spirits called Avasaly. Those that were tormented with this Spirit, would command themselves to be bound hand & foot with their Bow strings, and then desire their friends to beat them with the cords, that they hang their beds withall, but for all their Ceremony, I saw not one of them escape after they came to that estate. The most of our Indians died with a kind of sicknesse, that is common in all hot Countreyes,

Of Spirits that possessed the Indians, and killed them.

[IV. vi. 1214.]

Master Knivet told mee that he heard one Indian upon

that is, with a sweate and wearinesse of the body; with Wormes in their fundament, that consume their guts, and they so consume away, knowing not what hurteth them. Against this the Indians do take slices of Lemons, and greene Pepper, and put it in their fundament, likewise Salt-water is good, questionlesse all our Englishmen that died on the Coast of Guinee and Brasill perished of this Disease: it breedeth with head-ache and burning Fevers, then wee presently let bloud, and that killeth us.

occasion of such possession, conferring with the Spirit and threatning, if the Spirits used them so ill they would turne to the Christians: and thereupon the Spirit left the person so possessed. Strange disease.

After we had done travelling up the aforesaid River, wee came into a faire Champion Countrey, all full of Pine Trees, but the Apples were not ripe, and we could find nothing to eate, but here and there a little wilde Honey; wee travelled at least a moneth; the Portugals beganne to dispaire, and threw away their Peeces, being not able to carrie their clothes. In all this misery, the Captayne made me carry two Muskets (as I hope to be saved) and I was faine to waite upon him every day to helpe to make his lodging, and my friend Henry Baraway, was so ill, that I was many times faine to carry him on my backe, and continually to leade him by the hand. In this march wee were forced to eate all our Targets, which were made of raw Hides of Buffe; likewise we did eate a Cowes skinne, which the Frier carried with him (as he went with us) to cover his things which hee said Masse withall from the raine, happie was hee who could get a Toade or Snake to eate. After wee had passed those Champion Countreyes, where wee lost 180. of our men, we came againe into the Mountaynes, and travelled a great Hill called Etapuca; that is to say, the Mountaine of long stones, for there we found blacke stones of a yard long, as round as if they were made of wood. When we came to the top of this Mountayne, wee were not able to goe downe, but as you shall heare In those Mountaynes there are great store of withes that hang from the sides and the Jaquetyva Trees, wee tooke of those withes, and making them fast to a great Tree, wee were faine to slide by them at the least one

Hard servitude.

Miserable famine.

180. *men lost.*

Mountaine of blacke round stones.

Steep descent. hundred fathomes. In those Mountaynes, we had great store of Palmitos and wilde Honey, and many kinde of Fruites.

The Canibals that guided us told us, within foure dayes wee should bee with our enemies the Tamoyes, but wee were above twentie dayes, wee came into a dry blacke Champion Countrey, not having in it almost *Ground Hony.* any grasse, there we found good store of Honey that the Bees made in the ground, likewise we found *Ant beare.* a kind of great Beast as bigge as a Beare, and like a Beare in the bodie, but it hath a nose of a yard long, and a faire great tayle all blacke and gray, this beast putteth his tongue through Ant-hils, and when the Antes are all upon his tongue, hee swalloweth them up. After we had passed this place, we came to a Mountayne called *M. of greene stones.* Etaowbo, that is to say, the Mountayne of greene stones; we were in as great misery as ever we were. Then the Portugals assembled together, and told the Captayne that they thought that the Canibals did leade them up and downe of purpose to destroy them. The Captayne called the old Caniball, and told him how long we had followed him, and how he told us before, that in twenty dayes we might easily goe from his Towne to the Towne of our enemies the Tamoyes. The old man answered, that within two dayes he would bring us to the Towne of our enemies, if not he would lose his head, and that all his company should be our slaves.

Within two dayes according as the old man said, wee came before the Towne by a River side, which River *R. Jawary which floweth from Potossi.* is called Jawary, it taketh the head from the Mountayne Potosin in Peru, the Towne was on the farther side from us, and on the side that we were on, they had good store of Mandioqua and Peasen. Wee came before the Towne in the Evening, and lay all night in ambush, thinking to take some of them the next morning comming for their meate. That night our men eate so *Vomits and death.* much Mandioco, that when we thought we should have had some skirmish, they lay all vomiting that they were

not able to stand, and thirteene of them died. The next morning, when we saw no bodie stir, we marvelled, thinking that they were in ambush for us, the Portugals durst not goe over the River, for feare thereof. Then the Captayne commanded me to passe over the River, the which I did upon a woodden Target, when I came into the Towne, there was nothing but a few great pots that the Canibals had left full of greene Wheate, great store of Pumpions, and two great Estridges, I took most of the provision that I found, and layed it altogether for the Captayne, then I called for the company that they might not feare, for there was no body. At this place wee remayned two moneths, here the Captayne reaped the grounds, that the Indians had planted with Mandioque, commanding every man to make meale for his provision homewardes, for hee said that from thence hee would returne. Wee had nothing to eate at this place but Potatoes and Casavi Meale that wee made our selves, and of that very little.

The enemies town forsaken.

By this Towne there was a bogge, and when it rained, there would bee great store of Frogges, of them wee would take in the night with Torches of Waxe to light us, It fell out one night that I should have beene Sentinell at midnight, and about eleven of the clocke it rained, then I sayd to my friend Henry Barrawell, I would to God that one night you would goe and take some Frogges, for you know presently I shall bee called to watch, with that hee went and presently returned againe without any thing, and told us, that a great Snake was by the bogges, and that it leaped up and downe after him. Then the Indians said, that it was a kinde of Snake that flyeth at the fire, I asked Henry Barraway where I might finde the Snake, hee told me at such a place, then I tooke the handle of an Axe beeing of a heavie blacke wood, and little Waxe Candle in a guard, because the Snake should not spie mee, and made it very readie. When I came to the place where my friend had told mee, I lighted my Torch, and was

[IV. vi. 1215.]

Snake which leapes at the fire.

so neere the Snake, that if I would, I could not shunne her, this Snake had a great Frogge in her mouth, and assoone as shee saw the fire, shee put the Frogge out of her mouth, and raising up her skinne like the scales of a great fish with her mouth open, shee offered to flye at mee, as soone as her mouth was open, I strooke at her, and hit her on the head and the teeth, that I crushed her braines. Assoone as I had strooke her, I threw my Torch one way, and ranne halfe a dozen steps another way, the Snake made a great noyse in the water, but I looked still towards my Torch, to proove if it were true that they would flye in the fire, but when I saw no such thing, I went and tooke my Torch againe, and very warily went to the place, where I had strooke the Snake, where I saw all her head bloudie, and her eyes broken, and so I killed her. When I had done, I tooke a withe and bound it to her forequarters, and dragged her home to the house where I lay, when I came home I asked if I had beene called to watch, the Portugall and Henry Barraway said that no man had asked for me, then I tooke a Knife, and beganne to cut a piece of the Snake for the Captayne, and would have parted the rest among the rest. As I was parting the Ensigne of our company came to the doore, I went and opened the doore, and assoone as hee came to mee, hee strooke mee with a cudgell. I not knowing why hee should use mee so, came and closed with him, so both of us went to the ground, with that the Portugals that were in the house came and parted us, and asked him wherefore hee strooke mee, then the ensigne answered that the Captaine had risen and found no body in the watch, to that they all answered, that no man had called mee, then hee commanded mee to goe before the Captaine; hee without hearing me speake, commanded two Indians to binde mee to a poste, and commanded them to take the cords of their beds and whip me, I desired that the Captaine would heare the truth, and if hee found any fault in mee, I would

The Snake killed.

Worse Snakes alive.

according to Marshall Law bee hanged. Before the Indians had untyed their beds, there came in an ancient old man, by name John de Soso, Captaine of our Rereguard, and with him some twentie Portugals, that lay in the same house where I lay. When they saw mee bound they told the Captaine that I was not in fault, for no man had called mee. Then the Captaine commanded mee to bee untyed, and bade mee goe to my Watch, I went home and fetched my Sword, and presently came againe where I should have watched, and when I came there, I found him that had gone his way before, and said to the Captaine before my face, that hee had called mee, and that I made him no answere, when I saw him there, I asked him if hee was not ashamed to avouch that which was a Lye? with that he beganne to abuse mee in vile words, calling mee English Dogge and Heretique, when I saw my selfe disgraced by a paultry Mestizo, I tooke my Sword with both my hands, and strooke him on the head with the Hilts, that I made a great wound.

He is set in the Stockes.

Then the Captaine commanded mee to bee set in the Stockes, and bound my hands, where I lay all that night, and the next day in the afternoone there came two Portugals and read certaine Articles against mee, which the Captaine had caused to bee made, saying, that I had killed many sicke Indians when I had found them alone, and that I had deserved death by making a mutinie in the Court of Guard by striking, that was sufficient to make an uprore. After they had read all this, they bid mee prepare my selfe for death, and so went their wayes. Within halfe an houre after the Frier came to mee, and asked mee whether I would confesse or no, I told him that I had stolne nothing from no man, and as for my sinnes God knew the secrets of all hearts, wherefore I had nothing to confesse to him. With that after many Orations that hee made to mee, hee went his way. All the Portugals went to the Captaine entreating him to pardon me, but hee would

not heare them, desiring God that he might never come into Christian Countrey if hee did not hang mee. I lay all day and night in the Stocks, till it was foure of the clocke the next morning. Then the Frier came to me againe, and told mee that my houre was very neere, and desired mee to prepare my selfe to dye like a Christian, I told him I hoped the Lord would have mercie upon me.

Betwixt six and seven of the clock, there came the ensigne, and a Scrivener, and two or three Portugals with them, and an Indian with a cord in his hand, and by the command of the Portugals put it about my necke, then I was carried to the place of execution: all the Portugals being about me, I said, Gentlemen, the Captaine putteth me not to death for the offence that lately I have done, but a grudge he holdeth against me falsely rumered by his Cosen, who is now present, because I would not save him; and for that, and no other matter I am condemned at this present. As I was speaking, the Indian that should have beene my executioner, came from the top of the house, where I should have bin executed, and thrusting me on the side of the head said, What doest thou prate, knowest thou not that the Captaines Father sent thee hither, that thou mightest never returne? with that the Portugals checkt the Indian, and John de Soso standing with Graned del Galbo, and Fostino Abanos, yea, a great many Portugals said, what authoritie hath the Captaine to hang this man, we come not in the Kings service, but for our owne profits, and he is but the Governours bastard Sonne; so they commanded the execution to be staied, then John de Soso went to the Captaine, and told him, Sir, we know not where we are, and many of our men are dead, wherefore it is not convenient at this time, that we should weaken our selves for we know not if any of us shall returne againe or not, wherefore wee desire you to pardon this Englishman, for he is as good a Souldier as any of us, and the man that is hurt is not in danger. The Captaine

He is brought to execution.

[IV. vi. 1216.]

Honest Portugals intercede.

swore a great oath, that I should dye; then John de Soso, and the rest of the Portugals, bid him shew what authoritie he had to put me to death, and if he shew not authoritie from the King, I should not dye at that time, for they were to answere for me as well as he. The Captaine came out very angerly, and made great protestations against John de Soso, that hee was an upholder of mutinies. John de Soso said, that he would answere to all that he alleadged, and so I was released from death.

After we had beene at this place, two moneths making our provision, we went forward to another Towne, we found great store of Ginnie Wheate newly planted; here we remained three moneths, till the Wheate was ripe, from thence all the Company returned home but my selfe, and twelve yong men; we asked leave of the Captaine to goe to seeke our adventure, the Captaine gave us leave to doe what we would; for mine owne part, I asked leave onely for feare to goe homewards, lest the Captaine should worke me some mischiefe; likewise wee did all thinke we should hardly get home, for we knew not where we were, and the way that we did come, we durst not returne againe, for feare of the Pories, and Lepos Tominenos, and other Canibals, lest they seeing us weake, should betraie us. *A new adventure.*

§. III.

His strange travailes with twelve Portugals, whom the Savages did eate. His life with the Canibals: and after that with the Portugals, from whom hee fleeth to Angola, is brought backe, and after manifold chances, is shipped to Lisbone.

IAnd the twelve aforesaid, tooke our leave of the Captaine, determining to goe to the South Sea, rather then returne againe without any thing. The names of the Portugals were these, Francisco

Tavares, Lewes de Pino, Gonsalo Fernandes, Tomas Delvare, Lewis Loello, Matheas del Galo, John de Silvesa, Petro de Casta, Antonio fernandes Gorgedias, Manuell Caldera, and my selfe Anthony Knivet. After we had departed from our Captaine, we made a great Canoa of a barke of a tree, and went downe the River called Janary for the space of a weeke, that we came where we found a little Village of sixe houses, and it seemed it had beene a long time sithence any inhabitants were there; when we came to this Village we left our Canoa, and determined to goe by land. In this Towne we found great store of earthen Pots, and in some of them peeces of Gold tied at lines that the Indians fish withall; likewise we found Stones as greene as grasse, and great store of white glistering Stones like Christall, but many of them were blew and greene, red and white wonderfull faire to behold: when we saw the peeces of Gold and those Stones, we made accompt that we were very neere Potasin, then we tooke our way South-west, and went up a great Mountaine of Wildernesse. After that, we came to a place of dry Browne earth, full of hils, rocks, and many small Rivers at the head; by many of these Rivers we found little peeces of Gold, as bigge as an Hasell nut, and great store in dust like sand. After which, we came into a faire Countrie, and we saw a great glistering Mountaine before us, ten daies before we could come to it, for when we came into the plaine Countrie, and were out of the Mountaines, the Sunne began to come to his height, wee were not able to travaile against it, by the reason of the glistering that dazeled our eyes. At the last, by little and little we came to the foote of this Mountaine, where we found great store of Tamandros.

Fishing with golden hooks.

Faire Stones.

Golden Rivers.

Glittering Mountaine.

Tamandros are the Ant-beares.

We went along by this Mountaine at the least twenty daies, before we could finde any way to passe over it; at last we came to a River that passed under it, here we determined to make some shift to get through, some of our company said that they thought it best to goe

still along by the foote of the Mountaine, rather then to venture to goe through; for they said, if this water goe not through, we are all cast away, for it is impossible to returne againe against this current. Then I answered friends, we may as well adventure our lives now as we have done heretofore in many places, if not we must make accompt to live here like wilde Beasts, where we shall have life as long as pleaseth God, without credit, name, or Religion; wherefore I thinke that our best way is to goe through if we can, for no doubt but God that hath hitherto delivered us from dangers infinite, at this time will not forsake us, and questionlesse if it be our fortunes to passe on the other side, we shall finde either Spaniards or Indians, for I am sure, that each of you have heard, that on a faire day it is to be discerned from the top of Potasin to this Mountaine. After I had thus spoken, the Portugals determined to venture to goe through; we made a great thing of great Canes, three yards and a halfe broad, and six yards long, that we might lye downe and sleepe upon it: we killed good store of Tamandroes, and rosted them very dry for our provision, for we knew not how long we should be in the vaute.

Hideous adventure.

[IV. vi. 1217.]

After we had made all ready, taking good store of wood with us, commending our selves to God, we put our selves into the vaut, which made such a noise with the running of the water, that we thought it had beene some inchantment. We went in on munday morning, and we came out on a morning (whether we were two dayes or one in the vault I know not.) As soone as we perceived light we were very glad, but when we came out, we saw on every side houses, then we tooke counsell what was the best for us to doe, to hide our selves, and see if we could passe the Townes in the night, or to goe and submit our selves to the Indians: we all agreed, that the best was to goe to them; then I said, well friends, sithence we have agreed, let us fully determine here what we shall doe and say, for questionlesse, they will examine us what we are, and from whence we came; then the Portugals said, we

Charons Ferry.

will tell them that we are Portugals; then I answered, I will tell them that I am a French man. We went towards their houses, who as soone as they had perceived us came out hooping and hollowing with their Bowes and Arrows; and when they came unto us they bound our hands, and tied cords about our middles, and so led us to their houses: presently there came two or three old men, and asked what we were, then the Portugals answered, that they were Portugals, and I, that I was a French man.

The Indians kils the Portugals, and after eate them.

Within two houres after they had examined us, they tooke one of the Portugals, and tied a new roape about his middle, and carried him into a yard, with three Indians holding a cord on the one side, and three on the other side, and the Portugall in the middest, there came an old man, and bid him looke on all things, that he liked, and told him that he should bid them farewell, for hee should see them no more: then there came a lustie yong man, with his armes and face died red, and said unto him, doest thou see me, I am he that hath killed many of thy Nation, and will kill thee. After he had spake all this, he came behinde the Portugall, and strooke him on the nape of the necke, that he felled him to the ground, and after hee was downe gave him another that hee killed him; then they tooke the tooth of a Conie and opened all the upper skinne, so they tooke him by the head and the feete, and held him in the flame of the fire: after that, rubbing him with their hands, all the upper skin came of, and the flesh remained white, then they cut off his head, and gave it to him: they tooke the guts, and gave them to the women, after which they jointed him joint by joint, first hands, then elbowes, and so all the body. After which, they sent to every house a peece, then they fell a dancing, and all the women made great store of Wine: the next day they boiled every joint in a great pot of water, because their wives and children might eate of the broth; for the space of three dayes they did nothing but dance and drinke day and night: after that

Divellish Butchers.

they killed another in the same manner as you have heard, and so served all but my selfe.

When I saw all the Portugals dead, I looked for the same, but after the Indians had done with the Feasts, they came unto me and said, Feare not, for your ancestors, have beene our friends, and we theirs, but the Portugals are our enemies, and make us slaves, wherefore we have done with them as you have seene. After I had heard what they said, I told them I had no reason to feare, for I knew they were my friends, and not mine enemies, and that I had bin a long time prisoner to the Portugals. *Hatred of the Tamoyes to the Portugals.*

When I had bin two moneths with these Indians called the Tamoyes, they went to warre against Tomominos, and comming to fight, we had almost lost the field, for the Tomominos were a great many more, so that we were faine to take the Mountaine: when I saw the rusticall manner of their fight, that without any order they would set upon their enemies like Buls, I taught them how to set themselves in Battaile, and to lye in ambush, and how to retire and draw their enemies into a snare: by this meanes, we had alwayes the upper hand of our enemies, and I was held in great accompt amongst them, for they would never goe to the field, except I went with them: in a short time we gave so many battailes to the Tomominos, that we made them leave their Countrey, and flye further from us: so wee lived in peace. The Tamoyes offered mee many wives, but I refused, saying it was not our custome to take wives out of our Countrey. After wee had conquered the Tomominos, wee lived in peace for the space of foure moneths, and then there came another kinde of Canibals, called Topinaques. These made their Towne very neere us, at a Mountaine called by the Indians Tamiuva (that is) the Mountaine of Gold. *Tamominos.* *He teacheth them to fight.* *Topinaques.* *Mountaine of Gold.*

When we heard of them, we prepared to make warre against them, wee went five thousand strong, in five dayes journey we came before the Towne; but we being espied, they left their Towne and fled, we followed them tenne daies, taking many old men and women, which as we

tooke them we killed: we followed them till we came to a great River side, where we durst not passe for feare lest [IV. vi. 1218.] the enemy should overcome us at the landing, so we returned home againe, from the River called Morgege, where we remayned still in peace, for the space of eight moneths till we removed our selves.

His rich apparell.

At this place I went all naked with out any thing, onely a few leaves I tied before mee for shame. One day going all alone a fishing for pleasures sake, I sat downe remembring my selfe in what state I was, and thinking what I had beene, I began to curse the time that ever I heard the name of the Sea, and grieved to thinke how fond I was to forsake my naturall Countrey where I wanted nothing: then was I out of all hope either to see Countrey or Christian againe; sitting by the River in these passionate thoughts, there came an old Indian one of the chiefest of them, and beganne to talke with me saying. It was a good time with them when they dwelt at Cape Frio, for then they had trade with the Frenchmen, and wanted nothing, but now they had neyther Knives nor Hatchets, nor nothing else, but lived in great necessitie, with that I answered I did heartily wish, that he and his company would goe and dwell by the Sea-coast, without danger of Portugals, whereupon hee and I went home together, and the Indian reported in the Towne what I had said unto him: the next morning there came (at the least) twenty of the chiefest of them into the house where I lay, and asked me if I knew my Plate certaine, where they might finde any French Ships: I told them that I was sure betwixt the River of Plate, and a River called by the Portugals Dos Patos, we should finde French men, and if we did not, that here the Portugals could not hurt us. Moreover, it were better to dwell by the Sea side, where we should have plenty of al things, then where we did, where we had nothing to live upon but roots. These old men went and told the people, which all desired to see the coast, so they resolved, and making provision, we departed from our abode, being thirty thousand of us.

He perswades them to seeke new habitations.

After we had passed many a Hill, all Wildernesse and Rivers, where wee found many precious stones, we came to a faire sandie Countrie, through which we travelled some twentie dayes, and we went Northward for feare of comming into the Countrie where there are great store of Spaniards, and this Countrie is it selfe very populous, and are friends with the Spaniards. Therefore we changed our course and travelled all Northward, till we came into the Countrie of the Amazons, which the Indians call Mandiocusyanas, then we tooke our course Southward againe. I would have perswaded the Tamoyes to have warred against the Amazons, but they durst not, for they said, we know that their Countrie is very populous, and we shall be all killed. After wee came to the head of the River, called Patos, there we found Canoas of barkes of trees that came downe the River some eight dayes, then wee found the River very broad, and many trees cut by the Rivers side, whereby we suspected that we were neere the Sea side, or some Town of the Waanasses, for the Waanasses never inhabit far from the coast. When the Indians saw these tokens of abidance; they asked me what I thought was best to doe: I answerd, I thought it best to hide our selves, and to send some nine or ten yong men to see if they could spie any Towne, so we to circle them in their houses in the night: to that they all agreed, and ten of them were sent, they returned again at night without sight of any Towne, but they said there went a great path by the River side, and brought peeces of Cords that they found in the way with them. Hence we judged that we should finde some Towne by the River side, and determined to goe downe the River in the night with our Canoas, to see if we could finde the Towne.

New discoveries of this wandering Nation.

Amazons, not a one-breasted Nation, but warlike women.

About foure of the clocke we came to a faire Bay, and saw the Sea; and doubling a point of the shoare we espied a Towne, then as fast as we could we landed our men, and the day began to be cleare, and one of the Town comming out to the Sea side, espied us, whereupon

Battell of Savages. all the Town rose up in armes, and we had a great skirmish. We were many more in number, and had farre better order, so we put them to flight killing a great many of them: wee tooke three hundred prisoners men and women, which the Tamoyes killed and did eate afterwards. These Indians are called Cariios. After we had put them to flight they went to Saint Vincents by land, and craved succour of the Portugals. At this Towne of the Cariios we found great store of provision, Cassavi, Ginnie Wheate, Potatoes, Plantons, Pumpions, and all other such like that the Countrie yeeldeth, and in great plenty: there likewise we found great store of Ryals of eight, for there had beene a Carvell cast away in that place not long before, and the Spaniards were gone before by land to Bonas Ayres in the River of Plate: with these Indians the Portugals had peace, but now they are in warre with them againe.

Cariios.

They are assailed by the Portugals. Some of the Cariios went to the River of Plate to crave succour, others, as I said before, came to the Town of Saint Vincents: from Saint Vincents, newes was sent to the River of Janero, from thence the Portugals made a Navie of Canoas and Carvels, of the which the Governours sonne Marten de Sasa (which was come home from the River of Janary, where I departed from him) was come againe as Captaine of all the Portugals, and comming upon us in the night, they seized our Towne: about three of the clocke, an Indian that came with the Portugals beganne to speake very loud to the men of the Towne, that they should not stirre, for if they stirred they should be all put to the sword. When the Tamoyes heard the Indian speake, they began to russell with their Bowes and Arrowes, making a great noise, with that the Portugals shot of a Peece, then they all lay downe in their beds, like men without lives or soules; when the day was cleare, and my Masters Sonne saw me alive, he blest himselfe, and asked me what was become of my companions, I told him that the Indians had killed them, and eaten them. After that, about ten of the clocke, all the Indians were

[IV. vi. 1219.]

He returneth to his Master.

brought out of their houses, and being examined, some of them said that I bid them kill them, & if many of them had not been, I had died for it, but it was Gods will to discover the truth by their own mouthes: then the Portugals killed all the old men and women, and all those that had beene particuler actors in the Portugals deaths, which were in all 10000. and 20000. were parted amongst them for their slaves.

The Portugals kill 10000. *and captive* 20000. *Indians.*

I came againe to my old Master, and was sent with the Tamoyes to a Sugar Mill that my Master had newly made. There I went still to the woods with the slaves to draw out great peeces of Timber for the space of three moneths: then was newes brought from Cape could, that the Canibals, called Vaytacasses, were come to make their abidance a little Southward of the Cape, in certaine places, where before the Tamoyes had inhabited. The Salvador Coria de Sasa sent his Sonne Gonsalo Corea de Sasa, with whom I went against my will. We travelled eight dayes by the Sea side, where we had alwayes great store of Fish. After that we came to a place, called Etaoca, that is to say, the Stone house, as strong a thing as ever I saw, for it was a great huge rocke, and it hath an entrance like a great doore within it, as any Hall in England: the Indians say that there Saint Thomas did Preach to their forefathers there: hard by standeth a Stone as bigge as foure great Canons, and it standeth upon the ground upon foure stones little bigger then a mans finger, like stickes; the Indians say that was a miracle which the Saint shewed them, and that that Stone had beene Wood: likewise by the Sea side there are great Rockes, upon them I saw great store of prints of the footing of bare feete; all which prints were of one bignesse. They say that the Saint called the Fishes of the Sea, and they heard him.

Vaytacasses.

Tale of Saint Thomas, savouring like Saint Francises Legend.

From thence we went through the Wildernesse, foure dayes till we came to a great Mountaine, called Abousanga retam; by the Sea side of that Mountaine, we found a small Towne of Tamoyes, that had escaped in the time of the first conquest, that Salvador Corea de Sasa made

against that kinde of people, and never were heard of till now that wee found them by chance. The Captaine of them was (as they shewed by signes) one hundred and twenty yeares old, and yet was very lustie: he had in his lippe a great hole, and on either side of his cheekes a great hole, and in either of them a faire greene Stone. After we had taken this small Towne, wherein there were five hundred soules, we asked if they knew where the Waytacasses were, they told us all that they knew very well, so in three dayes they guided us into a low seggie Countrie, where the Waytacasses were: when we came to their habitation, this Abousanga come among the thickest of the Portugals, and said these words; He that never saw Abousanga let him looke on me now, and they that dare follow me shall see my valour: and so with his Bowe and Arrowes, he ran amongst the thickest of the enemy, where he was shot with one and twenty Arrowes. In that enterprise we all saw him kill three of the Waytacasses. When we came to the fight, all the Waytacasses ranne away, & we tooke but one of them: for all that Abousanga was so hurt, he lived foure houres: the Portugals asked him why he had beene so desperate: he told them that he had lived all his life a free man, and that he had beene a great warrier, and would rather dye then be their Captive. Then he asked Baptisme, and desired them that they would tell him somewhat of God, for he said whatsoever they told him he would beleeve; the Portugall Frier told him that God was the saver of soules and the giver of life, and that if he truely repented and would be Baptised he should be saved; he answered, that all that was told him he truely beleeved, and desired that with speede he might be Baptised, and so died, calling to God for mercy till his last houre: from this place we returned home.

Old Captaine.

High spirit of a Savage.

After we came home again, his son Gonsalo Corea de Sasa, reported so well of me, that his father commanded me to waite on him whither soever he went: newes came at that time from Portugall of a Navie of

Shippes out of England, that were come to Brasil; whereupon the Governour commanded a Fort to be made of his owne cost upon a rocke that standeth on the mouth of the haven, so neere the River side, that three moneths after it was done, the Sea carried it away, with all the Ordnance in it. I have told you before that three moneths after I was taken, the Desire came from the Straits to a great Iland, where sixteene of her men were slaine, and one taken, by name Andrew Towers: this man was a Phisitian, and did many cures, the Portugals tooke him for a Sorcerer, for he would prognosticate many things; he had but one eye, and the Portugals said that in his eye which was out, he had a familier: this man tooke upon him to make a devise to take the peeces of Ordnance out of the Sea, which was this; he caused to be made a suite of Leather all greased and pitched, that no water could enter into it, then he caused a great head to be made all pitched, with a great nose, & at the nose were three bladders, and at the mouth two; he intised me to undertake to goe down into the Sea in that, saying it was very easie to be done. I told him, that if I might be well recompensed, I would venture my life to doe it; then he made it knowne to the Governor, that if I were well paid, I would venture my life, then the Governour called me and said, I will give you ten thousand Crownes, and a Pasport to goe for your Countrie, or whether you will, if you put a Ring into the eare of one of the Peeces. I told him, I would doe my best by Gods helpe.

What became of the 13. men (so many M. Jane reckoneth) lost out of Cap. Davis his Ship.

Andrew Towers devise.

After the devise of Leather was made, most of the Portugals went to the place, where the pieces were lost with great solemnitie, praying to God to send me good lucke. Putting on the sute of Lether, I was cast into the Sea in eighteene fathome deepe, with a mightie great stone tyed about me. The head was so bigge, all pitched and tarred, that the weight of the stone (for it was great only) carried me downe, and it was a great paine unto me, for the weight of the stone carried me downeward, and

[IV. vi. 1220.]

His mad adventure.

the water by reason of the head bare mee upward, that I thought the cord I was tied withall, would have cut me in pieces. When I felt my selfe so tormented, I tooke a Knife that was tyed in my hand, and cut the cord, and assoone as I came above water, I tore the bladders from my face, and cut my sute before, for I was almost stifled, and for the space of a moneth, I knew not what I did.

Continually I desired my Master, to give me leave to get my living, intending to come into my Countrey, but the Governour, would not let me goe from him. When I saw no meanes to get leave of my Master, I determined to runne away to Angola; for to serve the King as a Souldier in Massangano, till such time that I might passe my selfe to the King of Anyeca, which warreth against the Portugals, and so have come through Prester Johns Countrey into Turkie. On the seven and twentieth day of June 1597. I embarked my selfe unknowne to my Master in a small ship of one Emanuell Andrea, for to come for Angola. In this Voyage wee were driven so neere the Cape of Good Hope, that we thought all of us should have beene cast away, the Seas are there so great; and by reason of the current they brake in such sort, that no shippe is able to endure. Then we brake both our mayne mast and our Mesen. It pleased God to send us the wind Eastward, which brought us to our desired Harbour Angola. Wee had beene five monethes in our Voyage, and by that meanes other shippes that departed two monethes after us were there before us, when I heard that there were ships of the River of Jenero, I durst not goe ashoare for feare of being knowne of some of the Portugals, the next day after that wee came into the Harbour; there came a great Boate aboord us, to aske if wee would sell any Cassavi meale, wee told them we would, and asked them whether they went with their Boate, they answered, that they tarried for the tyde to goe up to the River of Guansa Tomasongano, then I thought it a fit time for my purpose, and so embarked

Massangano a Portugall Fort in Africa. See And. Battell.

His escape to Angola.

my selfe in the Barke, the Portugals marvelled to see mee goe willingly to Masangono; for there men dye like Chickens, and no man will goe thither if he can choose.

Nine dayes we were going up the River of Guansa, in which time two Portugall Souldiers dyed, the Countrey is so hot that it pierceth their hearts, three dayes after I had beene in Masangano, Don Francisco de Mendosa Fortado, the Governour of the Citie of Congo, having received a Letter from Salvador Coria de Sasa, who was his great friend, sent a Pursuivant for me, who brought me by Land through the King of Congos Countrey, and in sixe dayes we came to a Towne called Saint Francis, (where the Governour was) hard by the Kingdome of Manicongo, when I came before the Governour hee used mee very kindly in wordes, and asked mee, what I meant to cast my selfe away wilfully in Masangano, then I told him, how long I had served Salvador Coria de Sasa; and in how many dangers I had beene for him and his Sonne, without ever having any recompence of any of them, and therefore I thought it better to venture my life in the Kings service, then to live his Bond-slave. The Governour commanded me to be carried to Angola, and charged a paire of bolts to bee put upon my legges, because I should not runne away. About a fortnight after I was sent backe againe in a Carvell of Francis Lewes, and in two moneths we arrived in the River of Jenero, and I was carried with my bolts on my legges before the Governour; when he saw me, hee beganne to laugh and to jeast with mee, saying, that I was welcome out of England. So after many jeasts he spake, hee bade pull off my bolts from my legges, and gave mee cloth, and used mee verie well.

He is taken & sent backe to Brasill.

Nil habet infœlix paupertas durius inse. Quam quòd ridiculos homines facit.

After I had beene with the Governour againe some two monethes, then came a small man of Warre to great Iland, the Captaines name was Abram Cocke, he lay in waite for the ships of the River of Plate, and had taken them if it had not beene for five of his men that ranne away with his Boate, that discovered his beeing there, for

Captain Cocke.

within a sevennight after hee was gone, three Carvels came into the same Road where he was. These five men were taken by a Frier that came from San Vincents, and were brought to the River of Jenero, I being at this time in some account with the Governour, favoured them aswell as I could, especially one of them, by name Richard Heixt, because that they all said, that hee was a Gentleman, after that wee had beene in the Towne together about some three moneths, one of them called Thomas Cooper, being married, had his house by the Sea side, where he used his Trade, we were then nine Englishmen, and three Dutchmen, and wee determined when the shipping came from the River of Plate, that wee would take one of them comming into the Harbour, this Heixt alwayes went with me to a Portugals house where I was very well beloved. One night hee comes into the house, and steales away a boxe that had sixtie Rialls of eight in it, and two or three pieces of Holland, I desired him to restore the same, but this Heixt being a swaggering companion used me most vilely in words, and went and told the Governour, what wee all had determined, and said that wee were Heretickes, and that he himselfe was a Catholicke; that day at night I should have stolne the Key of the Kings Store-house to have taken Muskets and Powder, and have carried it to Thomas Coopers house, but it was Gods will that he had accused us before I had done it, or else we had beene all hanged for it. We being all before the Governour, and denying that we had ever meant any such matter, Heixt said, Sir, send to Thomas Coopers house, and you shall find 20. Muskets and powder, that Anthony had stolne out of the Kings Store-house for that purpose, if your Worship find it not so, say that I am a lier, and a false dealer. Then the Governour sent us all to Prison, & himselfe and Heixt, went to T. Coopers house, where they found no such matter. He went to the Kings Store-house and saw that nothing was stirred: whereupon hee was somewhat angry with Heixt, because he

Heixts perfidiousnesse to his Countrimen.

[IV. vi. 1221.]

had taken him with an untruth, and said, that he never saw men of so perverse and vile condition as we were to seeke the destruction of each other. Upon occasion of this Heixt his ill demeanure not long after, the Governour sent him to Angola, and from thence Don Francisco sent him to Masangano, where he dyed in a miserable estate. Presently after that Andrew Towres, was accused for eating flesh on the Friday, and for that was put in prison, and paid 100. Rials of eight, and was set at libertie, within a moneth after he had bin out of prison, he ran away to Fernambucke, the Governour being informed of it sent two small Carvels after him to bring him back againe: in one of the small Carvels went his sonne Gonsalo Corea de Sasa, and the High Priests Nephew, and a great many more young Gentlemen. After they were out on the Mayne, and almost aboord of the ship that Andrew Towers was in, on a sudden, there came a great storme, that the small Carvell that the Governours sonne was in, could not endure the Sea, but was fain to run on shore on the Coast, where three of their company were cast away, one of them beeing the High Priests Nephew, and I thinke that they had bin all drowned, if it had not bin for Martin de Sasa, that was at that place with 100. slaves making Brasill ready for a ship of his Fathers, the other Carvell followed him to Fernambuquo, and brought him backe againe to the River of Jenero, where hee was put in prison and should have bin hanged, but that all the Towne begged him, he was sent to Masongona where he dyed.

Heixts miserable death.

Anno Dom. 1598. there came two Dutch ships being Captaine of them, Jasper Fernandes a Dutchman, and leave of the Governour after he had shewed his Licence out of Portugall, set all his goods on shore, and had bought and sold for the space of three monethes in the Towne, and made great store of money. At the time of his going away, the Kings Officers said that his Licence was not good, and would have stopped his ships, then the Governour said, why looked you not to that before,

Two Dutch ships.

seeing I gave them leave to come in upon your words, saying, that his dispatch was good, answere it how you can, for seeing he came in with leave and upon my word he shall goe out without any hearing, and so he departed for Angola.

After that, the Governor General of all the Coast of Brasil, Don Francisco de Sasa, came to the River of Jenero, with two Hulkes, and being enformed that Jasper Fernandes was at Angola, hee sent a Carvell thither, that his ships should bee kept for the King, hee hearing of it went aboord his ships, and went away in spight of the Portugals; the same yeere there came Francisco de mondunsa de vesconsales for Governour to my Masters place, that day the Hulke which the new Governour was in, came to the mouth of the Haven, the Governour Salvador Corea de Sasa was at a Sugar-mil that he had newly finished. The aforesaid, when she came to the mouth of the Haven beganne to shoot off her Ordnance, the Governour not knowing what it should bee, presently caused a great Canoa to bee made readie, for immediately, hee would goe to the Towne to see what was the matter, within halfe an houre after we had bin out at Sea, to come to the Towne, a great tempest rose and overturned the Canoa, there my Master had bin cast away, if God first, and I had not laid hands on him, for all his slaves swamme away to the shore, and Henry Barraway with them, only I, and Domingos Gomes a Molato slave that my Master carried with him in the Sea, and betweene us, we got him to the Canoa, where he held fast, till wee drew neere the shore, where the Sea brake like Mountaynes, there we had like to have bin all cast away, for the Sea would cast us against the Hils of sand, and carrie us backe againe to the Sea; after I had got my selfe ashore, I looked towards the Sea, and saw my Master come in a great wave, and as the wave brake, I and my deere friend Domingos Gomes tooke hold of him and dragged him out of the Sea; but we both thought that hee would have dyed, for hee

He saveth his Master.

could not speake, then wee tooke him betweene us by the legges upon our shoulders, and made him vomit a great deale of water, and so recovered him, when I saw him well, I told him that the Sea knew no Governours better then other men, the next day the Governour went home by land, and found the other Governour in the Towne, for whose comming I did not a little rejoyce, for then I thought the time was come that I long had desired, hoping shortly to come into my Countrey.

Foure Holland ships.

In the same yeere there came foure Hollanders, and anchored before the Citie in the mouth of the Haven, then all the Towne rose up in Armes, my Master was at his Sugar-mill, and I remayned in the Towne to wayte on my Mistris. When shee saw the Portugals runne up and downe with their Armes, she commanded me to take a Musket, and bade mee goe to one of the Forts, the which I did according to her command: the new Governour came to the Fort where I was, and viewed the men that were in the Fort, and commanded one of his men to give us Powder and shot. After I had spoken with the new Governour (who liked mee very well, because he said I was ready with my Peece, and praysed the English Nation to be very good Souldiers.) One John de Selvera told him, that he were best take heed of me, that I ranne not away to the Hollanders, for I had done greater matters then that, and that he knew I made no account to swim aboord of them in the night upon any piece of wood, and rehearsed many things that I had adventured in the time that my Master was Governour. The new Governour came and tooke me by the hand, and carried mee to Prison, where I lay 27. dayes, till the Hulkes were departed from the mouth of the Haven, and went to Great Iland, then I was set at libertie. After that the Governour Generall had beene at San Vincents some two moneths, there came a great Hulke of Amsterdam, called the Golden World, and a Captaine that was called Lawrence Bitter, the Hulke had beene at Saint Thomas Iland, and an Iland called

[IV. vi. 1222.]

the Prince, and from thence to the Straits of Magellan, where many of her men dyed, and by contrary wind they were compelled to returne to the Coast of Brasill, this Hulke comming to San Vincent, sent her Boate to tell the Governour that they were Merchants, and that if they would give them leave, they would traffique with them, the Governour Generall made them a Certificate under his hand and Seale, that they should have no wrong, but pay the Kings Custome and goe their wayes when they would, and whether they would: with that the Captaine of the Hulke put into the Harbour; & commanded his goods to be set on shore. Every day he was visited by the Governour Generall aboord his ship, and promised him great courtesie. After that the Captayne had landed all his goods, and most of all the Hollanders were ashore, a great many Portugals went aboord the Hulke with Gitternes singing and playing. When the Flemmings saw them come in that sort they mistrusted nothing, the Portugals danced in the ship and dranke with the Flemmings, and upon a sudden when the Flemmings thought least of them, they drew their Swords and killed two of them, and possest themselves of the Hulke for the King.

Perfidiousnes of Portugals.

Flemming taken treacherously.

In the beginning of the yeere of the Lord 1599. there came nine Hulkes before the Citie of Bacia, but they could do no good. After the Governour Generall had been some foure monethes at San Vincents, my Master had some businesse thither, and I went with him, when we came to San Vincents the Governour Generall was departed fiftie leagues within the land, at a place where he was enformed of some Mynes of Gold, but when he came thither, he found that they were not worth the working, then he determined to send farther into the Land to a place called Etapusick, I being there, and knowing the place was commanded by the Governour Generall to goe thither, when we came to the aforesaid place, we found very singular good Mynes, and wee brought of the soyle to the Governour Generall, and

Mynes of gold.

many small peeces of Gold that we found in many places where the water washed away the Earth, the Governour Generall tooke it, paying us for it more then it was worth, and sent it to the King with a Sey, for to consider whether it should be wrought or not, the Governour Generall sent likewise 40000. pounds worth of Plate, that he had wrought out of the Myne of Saint Paul, which is twelve leagues from San Vincents. In the time that I went to Etapusicke, my Master was gone home, then I served as a Souldier for the space of three moneths, that shipping went to the River of Jenero: then the Governour Generall requited my paines very honourably, and sent me backe againe to my Master. After that my Master sent to a place called the Organs, which Hill is to bee seene from the River of Jenero, where we found a little Myne of Gold, and many good stones. There came a Hulke out of Spaine that brought a Bishop, and a Spanish Governor to goe from thence in small shipping to the River of Plate, and from thence to Somma. A little after that, this Hulke arrived at the River of Jenero, where fell a disease in the Countrey like the meazels, but as bad as the plague, for in three moneths their dyed in the River of Jenero, above three thousand Indians and Portugals: this disease was generally in all parts of the Countrey. At this time going up and downe from the Sugar-mill to the ship, in the night with a Barke lading of Brasill for the Hulke, with the Ayre one of my legges swelled, that I could not stirre: it is common and very dangerous in those Countries when a man is hot, to come in the Ayre, especially in the night, for being a hot Countrey, it hath a piercing ayre, and suddenly striketh in any part of the bodie. I was very ill for the space of a moneth.

Silver Myne

The Organs.

Mortalitie. Divers frayes, dangers of the Author, which here followed, as in other places of the Historie, for brevities sake are omitted.

Legge swolne with the aire.

The fourteenth of August 1601. Salvador Corea de Sasa; Governour of the River of January, embarked himselfe in the aforesaid Hulke with his Wife Donenes de Sosa, determining to make his Voyage to Fernam-

buquo, we sayled East to Seaward. The fifteenth day wee kept still Eastward to the Sea. The sixteenth day we kept North-east, and about tenne of the clocke we had sight of the Cape.

The seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth, having the wind North-west, we kept stil Eastward for feare of the sands and cliffes called Aborollas, they lye betweene the Cape and Spirito Santo. The twentieth day having the winde South, wee sayled our course North-east. This course we kept till the five and twentieth of the moneth, then the winde turned Northward, we made East to Sea; this course we were faine to keepe till the last day of the moneth, the first of February, the winde being at South-west wee sayled North-east along the Coast, till the seventh day of the moneth. The eight day the Master and the Pilot tooke the height of the Sun, and were ten degrees and an halfe Southward of the [IV. vi. 1223.] Line. As the Master and the Pilot were talking together concerning the Voyage, there came a Sea-foule, and sitting upon the backe stay, cast out two or three little fishes, with that a Spaniard called Jasper Conquero, who had some experience of the Coast, said to the Master take heed, for I am afraid you are neerer the shoare, then you take your selfe to bee, for you know not how the current driveth you Westward upon the Coast, the Flemmings bade him meddle with his owne businesse, and that they knew what to do without his counsell, the Pilot made himselfe forty leagues from the shore, & directed his course North. The ninth day at midnight wee descried Land, the Pilot presently cast his Lead, and found but eight fathomes water, then he commanded the Saylers to cast about, the which they did, the wind being at North-east, and wee being neere the shore, could not *Danger at Sea.* beare up to Sea; for wee saw Clifts both on the starboord and larboord side of us, and before wee could get out our Anchor, we were driven so neere the Clifts on the lee side of us, that wee had no other remedie, but to runne upon the Rockes, where we had beene all

cast away, but that it was the pleasure of God to deliver us, for wee lay with the Prow of our ship upon one of the Rockes for the space of halfe an houre, and we were faine to cut off both our Masts, and to cast many chists overboord, thinking it had beene impossible to save any thing, but it was the will of God when wee least thought of it, that a great Sea brake over the Rocke, and put us into eight fathomes water, betweene the Rockes and the Cliffes, so by the providence of God, wee were delivered out of the aforesaid danger.

The next day we saw Canibals along the shore, then the Governour commanded mee to be set on shore to talke with the wilde people, and to know of them upon what Coast wee were, or if we might goe to Fernambuquo by land, the Captaine commanded a Mamaluke, called Antonio Fernandes to goe with me ashore, but when we came to land, this Mamaluke durst not goe on shore, for feare of the wilde Canibals, so I went alone, and saluted them according to the fashion of the Countrey, then I enquired of them, how they called the place where they were, they told me that it was called Cororeyespe, which is the River of Toades, likewise they said that we were very neere the River of Saint Francis, and Northward, we had the River called Saint Michell, and that they were slaves to the Portugals of Fernambucke, having driven cattle to Baya; and now they returned home againe. One of these bond-slaves went aboord the shippe with mee, and talked with the Governour, the next day, the Governours Wife entreated her husband, that hee would leave the Hulke, and goe by land, the which he did at his wifes request, so commanding all his Treasure to be set on shore, we left our ship, the Governour commanded the Master to take Fernambuquo if it were possible, if not that he should goe to Baya, and from thence into Portugall, with any ships that should depart from thence, this Hulke had nine tunnes of Silver in her, the which incharged to Diego de Guadro, by the Governour Generall Don Francisco de Sasa; and at Fernam-

Mamaluke, or Mestizos.

River of toads.

Nine tuns of silver.

buquo, the charge of it was given to my Master Salvador Corea de Sasa; from the place where we were driven on shore to Fernambucke, is fortie leagues. In this journey from the River of Toades, or from the Clifts called Bayshas Deamrobrio did I and Domingos Gomes alway carrie a Boxe of pure Gold of my Masters, some twelve leagues; from the aforesaid River of Toades to a place called by the Indians Upavasou are three leagues, this Upavasou, is a very singular good place to take fresh water; from Upavasou to another River called Casuays, is one league from the Casuayes, to the River of Saint Michell are foure leagues, at this River dwelleth a very rich Mamalucke, John de Recho, at this River we rested three dayes. The Governour Generall fraughted a small fisher Boate at this place, and determined to goe to Fernambuquo in it.

Places on the Coast.

The same day that wee made sayle in the smal Barke from the River of Saint Michell, there arose a great storme from that North-east, and we were faine to take the River of Saint Michels againe with great hazard of our lives, for the winde being very great, wee were driven upon a Rocke that lyeth South-west from the mouth of the River very neere the shore, all those that could swimme leaped into the Sea; and so the Barke was lighter, and swamme off the Cliffe, then the Governour and his Wife said that they would goe by Land, so the day after we departed from the River of Saint Michels to another great River called Uno, this River is three leagues from Saint Michel, heere my small ship may enter and take fresh water, and kill great store of fresh fish, from thence we went to another River called Jaquareasicke, from this place the Governour sent me and Antonio Fernandes before to a small Village to provide some provision against his comming, there was in our company a Portugall called Rafiel Penera, that perforce would go with us, we told him that we had many great Rivers to passe, and that it were better for him to tarrie with the Governour and his Wife, he not regarding our

A storme.

words went with us, so we departed all three of us, the next day after wee had departed from the Governour, wee came to a very faire River called Saint Antonio, that which we passed upon a Jangarie made of Canes, from thence we went to a place called by the Indians Amrecuva Prisema, this is the Harbour of Frenchmen, from thence wee came to a great faire River called Camarijiuva, wee went on to the River of Stones. We departed from thence up the River on a Mangada, made of three dry posts pinde together, the next morning we landed in a faire Champaine Countrey, where we saw great store of Cattle, and a Sugar-mill grinding of Canes, to which wee went, the Owner of the Mill was a high Dutchman, [IV. vi. 1224.] to whom we delivered the Governours Letter, the which as soone as hee had read, presently he commanded two Beeves to be killed, and sent away with tenne bushels of Cassavi meale, and many Hens and Turkeyes, and wee two were very honourably used for the space of a weeke that we were there, from thence wee departed to a place called Porto do Calva, three leagues from the Areseeve, this is an excellent Haven for all weathers, and all the yeere long, there is at the least two thousand chists of Sugar. At this place Manuell Masquerennas met us with two hundred Horse, and then after two dayes rest we came to Fernambuquo.

Twentie dayes after we had beene in the Towne Jelisiano Cuello sent word to Manuell Masquerennas, how that he was beseeched in Rio Grande, by the Putewaras, and that if he were not presently ayded by him, he should be forced to lose the Kings Towne, with the losse of all their lives, Masquerennas presently determined to goe himselfe, and left the Towne of Fernambuquo in charge to my Master Salvador Corea de Saa; and thus we departed from Fernambuquo with foure hundred Portugalls, and three thousand Indians, and in seven dayes journey we came to Rio Grande, having many a brave skirmish, with divers Canibals in the way. As soone as wee were come before the Towne our Captaine

Army of Savages.

made a long speech to all the Portugals and Indians, incouraging them against those Infidels whose Armie was at the least fortie thousand strong, and desired them all to confesse to their Ghostly Fathers and to take the Communion, for the next morning he was resolved to give the onset on his enemies, the which was very bravely performed, for the Canibals the day before in a skirmish that they had, did take two hundred prisoners, and having killed many of them to eate, not expecting our comming in the chiefest of their feast, and their drinking we set upon them, the people of the Towne on the other side, hearing the rumour, issued forth, thus taking them on the sudden, wee made such slaughter among them, that they were forced to remoove their siege, with the losse of three thousand prisoners, and five thousand that were slaine. The King of these Canibals was called Piraiuwath that is to say, the finne of a fish, when this Heathen Prince saw himselfe overthrowne with so small a number as wee were, in comparison of his multitudes, he sent certayne of his men to Manuell Masquarennas to treate of peace, upon these conditions, that if he would release all those prisoners, and admit him and all his Nation to live as free men, that then hee and all his would submit themselves as subjects unto him and be baptized, which offer indeed was accepted of by Masquarennas, and thus one of the greatest Provinces of all the North part of Brasilia, became subject to the King of Spaine. This conquest beeing ended, our Captaine Generall Masquarennas presently built two strong Forts hard by the Towne, on the River side, and sent to Fernambuquo for forty cast Peeces of Iron, placing twentie in either Fort, many Souldiers got at this conquest very rich stones, both Diamonds, Rubies, and great store of blue Saphires, in some small Villages that stood by the Sea side.

Ambergreece.

We found great store of Ambergreece, which the Indians call Pirapoun Arepoty, here fortune was somewhat favourable unto me, for I got above five hundred Crownes in this journey.

A.D. 1601.

After this conquest was ended, Manuell Masquarennas returned againe to Fernambuquo, where I found my Master Salvador Corea de Saa, readie to ship himselfe for Portugall, in the same ship that brought him from the River Janero, which by this time was come from Bayeya, after wee were set ashore at the place, called Ous Busshos de don Rodrigo, where we had all like to have beene cast away, at my returne from Rio Grande to Fernambuquo, I met with two Englishmen, the one of them a Gentleman called Thomas Turner, the other Musgrave, Pilot of a Fly-boate of Master Newtons a Merchant of London, Master Turner by my advice, went to the River of Janero, and from thence to Angola, where he made great profit of his Merchandize, for which hee thanked me after we met in England. Now to my storie. The thirteenth of August 1596. Salvador Corea de Saa, Lord Governour of the River of Janero, Captaine Generall of Spirito Santo, Porta Segura, Santos, and San Vincent, departed from Fernambuquo, with fifteene Hulkes of Hamborough, seven Fly-boates of Omden and Hamborough, and at the least twentie Carvels, all of them being laden with Sugars. The old Mary of Hamborough wherein the Governour came was Admirall, a ship of seven hundred tunnes, the Owner whereof was called Hans Burgo, the new Mary Vice-admirall a ship of five hundred tunnes, the Owner called Adrian Cornelias, Rere-admirall a ship of five hundred tunnes, the Owner called Conrado, likewise another great ship came with us, called the George of one Hans Duke, the David and others, with this fleete we departed from Fernambuquo, the fifteenth of August 1599. and in two monethes sayle wee arrived at Lisbone, where I continued with the Governour in his house for the space of nine moneths, after which time I fell very sicke, and by this time having spent all that I brought with me from Brasill, my misery great, and had beene a great deale greater, had it not beene for a vertuous English woman, which I met withall in a Nunnery, and in that time that I was there, shee made her approbation. By

This Thomas Turner I was acquainted with, and received of him some notes, which follow after M. Knivet.

A. Knivet arriveth at Lisbone.

God first, and by her meanes I was saved from dying a most miserable death.

His sicknesse. After my comming to Lisbone, I fell very sicke in my Masters house, where I lay in a backe roome having only a piece of an old mat for my bed, thus I lay for the space of sixe weekes, in the greatest misery that could be, for first I was sicke of a burning Fever, none came at mee but a poore slave of my Masters, for before this time my deare friend Domingos Gomes was dead, this slave [IV. vi. 1225.] in love to me, sometimes would bring me meate and water, sometimes I was two daies without either meate or drinke: in the end of this sixe weekes, Thomas Musgrave and Master Thomas Turner came to me with some Dutchmen, and they amongst them gave me twelve shillings: I had received so many bountifull gifts before of my vertuous friend Mistris Foster, that I would have chosen rather to have died, then she should have knowne my want; but Thomas Musgrave of Ratcliffe, knowing how much she favoured me, did perswade me to write unto her, the which (although unwillingly) I did; presently upon the receit of my letter, I received from her fiftie Crownes, and every day was visited from her, yet for all this my sicknesse grew to be such, that those that saw me thought that I could not escape, except I had the helpe of some Doctor, then by her meanes, reporting that I was her kinsman, I was carried to the Kings Hospitall, where in two moneths I recovered, being one and twentie times let bloud, and shortly after that I was past all danger, I was very kindely discharged out of the Hospitall, with ten shillings in my purse.

After I came forth of the Hospitall, I thought with my selfe, that the best way was to leave my Masters house, and determine how to get my living by some other meanes: with this determination I went to the Kings Custome house, where I met with many men of all Countries, there I met with some Scotchmen, seeking of one that could speake the language: I hearing them, offered my service, & after that, I had as many customers

as I could turne my hands unto, and got by them for interpreting verie good maintenance: many Dutch Merchants would have had me gone backe againe in their affaires for Brasil, and the Indies, but I still had a desire first to come to England, thinking that there I should finde some meanes to set forth my selfe in some good fashion, but alas I finde that want hath no preferment: now for my comming into England, my determination was to have tarried somewhat longer then I did, but that my fortunes were and are ever like to be crost, for living as I have told you in verie good fashion, maintaining my selfe verie well by foraine Merchants, that could not speake the Spanish tongue: one day amongst the rest in the Kings Custome house I met with one who told me that my Master Salvador Corea de Saa, did command me to come to him againe, if not, that he would make me be brought whither I would or no: in briefe, I made little account of his message, and held on my course with them by whom I lived, but now my old friend, imprisonment, and miserie comes againe, and I am as farre from my long desired home as ever I was, for Salvador Corea de saa, seeing I would not come at him, incenst the Viceroy Christopher de Mouco against me, telling him what harme I might doe if I got into my Countrie, I presently upon this was taken in the streete as if I had beene some notorious villaine, carried to prison, cast in a dungeon, where I lay (God be my witnesse) three daies without meate, or sight of light; in the end I espied a little glimpse of the light, and clambering up the wall, in despaire and halfe madde, I broke downe a peece of a boord that stood before an Iron grate, there I cried out in such sort that a great many came to the window, where many pittied me, but none could helpe me, &c.

[§. IIII.

§. IIII.

The divers Nations of Savages in Brasil, and the adjoyning Regions: their diversities of Conditions, States, Rites, Creatures, and other things remarkeable, which the Author observed in his many yeares manifold peregrinations.

The Petivares described.

THe Petivares are not of so wilde and barbarous conditions as many other Provinces are in Brasil; for if you come as a Merchant unto them, they will trafficke with you, if as a Warrier, they will fight very valiantly. They are men of good stature, their bodies are all carved with very fine workes, and in their lips they make a hole with a Roe-bucks horne, and when they come to mans estate, they cut the hole of their lippes with a Cane, and then the hole being bigge they weare a greene Stone therein, and he that hath not this fashion is counted a pesant. These Canibals have no religion, they may take as many wives as they will, or as they can get: the women can take no more husbands but one, except her husband give her leave in publike before them all, then she make take whom she will. When these Indians goe to the wars, their wives carry all their provision in Baskets on their backes: these Canibals goe all naked, and inhabit on the Northerne parts of Brasil from Baya to Rio Grande: they have no certainty of meate but rootes, and if they kill any wilde Beaste or Foule in the Mountaines, when he comes home, looke to which of his wives he giveth that which he bringeth, with her he will lye that night; then she presently goeth to the water, and washeth her selfe, and lying downe in a net, commandeth all the rest of her husbands wives to serve her; which they doe very obediently for that day. When the time commeth that any woman is to be delivered of Childe birth, she will goe to the doore, and as soone as the Infant is borne, presently the Father lyeth downe in the net (as women

No set forme of Religion.

Warres.

Region.

Diet.

Rites of childebirth.

[IV. vi. 1226.]

doe with us in childe bed) and is visited of all his neighbours, and his wives serves him diligently. No Indian, when his wife is great with childe, will kill any thing, fish nor flesh if it be female; for he beleeveth that if he should kill any thing breeding, that for it his child should dye. *Superstition.* These Indians when they travaile through the Wildernesse, doe carry great store of Tobacco with them, and continually they have a leafe laid along their mouth betweene the lip and the teeth, and as they goe the rume runneth out of the hole, that they have in their lippes. *Tobacco.*

These Canibals warre against the Portugals, and against all other Provinces of Canibals, and eate all kinde of people that are their enemies, when they take any man, and if they take any prisoner they kill him not, but he that tooke him giveth him to his brother or his friend to kill: and as many men as any Indian killeth, so many names he taketh. *Man-eaters.* When they kill a man, they take a new cord made of Cotten wooll, and binde him that shall dye about the middle, they bring him forth of the prison, and three men holding one end of the Cord, and three the other, he that must dye remaineth fast tied in the middle. Then he that must kill him commeth forth with all his wives dancing, being painted all in red, and gallantly attired with Feathers of divers colours on his head, knees, and armes, with a great Sword made of wood in his hands. Comming before him that must dye, he maketh him a long oration, telling him that he must dye, with these words, You must behold the Sunne, and all things that like you, and so bid them farewell, for you shall see them no more. After he hath said these words, he goeth away dancing with his wives, and presently commeth backe againe hooping and crying, saying, I am he that commeth to kill thee, defend thy selfe: and thus comming behinde him that is to dye, he striketh him in the pole of the necke; and when with that blow he is fallen downe, he breaketh the scull of his head, then they beleeve that he is dead. After *Manner of their Butchery.*

that they have killed him, they take the tooth of a Conie that is set in a peece of wood, and with that they scratch all his body raising the upper skin, holding the dead man in the flame of the fire, all the upper skin commeth off, and the flesh remaineth very faire and white. Then they roast and boile it, and feede of it, thinking that mans flesh maketh them strong and valiant.

Townes and houses.

These Canibals have great Townes, their houses are two hundred and twenty yards long, covered with Palmita boughes without any partition. They hang their nets upon beams that they lye in, and make their fire in the ground: every morning men, women, and children, doe wash themselves: they have good store of Ginnie Wheat, and Mandioca, whereof they make Bread. They part their grounds, and are setled, keeping good orders among themselves. In this Countrey there are many good Fruites, and Hearbes of great vertue, and many wilde Serpents, the which as neere as I can I will describe unto you. In this Countrie I saw Serpents both dead and alive, or Snakes, that the Indians call Jebya, you shall finde these Serpents in the Mountaines of Rio grande, lying on the ground like the body of a Tree: when anie wilde beast commeth neere him, he striketh out two finnes out of his forequarters with such force, that whatsoever he hitteth he killeth. This Jaboya hath foure legges like a Crocadile, or an Aligator, and a great taile, the which hee hideth under him when he lieth in the woods for his pray for the wilde beasts, because that they shall not know him. Likewise in this part of the Countrie, I saw a kinde of Munkies, called by the Indians Wariva, they are as bigge as a water Dogge, all blacke, their faces are like a mans; they have long broad Beards, you shall see twentie of them together in a Tree, and one of them will walke up and downe alwaies with his hand on his Beard making a great noise, and all the rest sitting still and harkening for the space of an houre.

Serpents called Jebya.

Strange Munkie Orators.

The Mariquites Tapoyes is a name (as in the Portug. Friers treatise which followeth, appeareth) given to 76. Nations.

On the coast betweene Fernambuquo, and Baya inhabite a kinde of Canibals, called Mariquites, which all other

Indians call Tapoyes. Tapoyes in their language is a Wilde Man: among all the Canibals that name is held in great disgrace, except among themselves, or another kinde of Canibals, called Vaanasses, like the Mariquites in their behaviour. The Mariquites are men of a good stature, the women are very proper of person, and fight with their Bowes as well as the men. They have no dwelling, but runne up and downe the Wildernesse like wilde Beasts: they have no Religion, nor friendshippe with any Nation, but warre, wheresoever they come (but now they are in peace with the Portugals.) They have holes in their lippes, as the other Canibals have, but they are not carved in their bodies as the Petiwares are: they take wives as the other Canibals doe, as many as they will. Their language differs from all other Indians; they take a kinde of Gumme to rubbe their bodies with, and then they take the young Feathers of Parats, and other Birds, and paint their bodies. These Canibals are verie tawnie of complexion, verie swift; will never come to the field to fight as other Canibals will, but alwaies keepe in the Mountaines, lying in holes, and hiding themselves behinde Trees; and when they see that they have advantage of their enemies, they will start out, and hurt, and kill as manie as they can have advantage of. Thus when these Caniballes have done what mischiefe they can, they will runne away, and hee that can runne fastest is accounted most valiant. You shall have of these Canibals at the River of San Francisco, San Miguell, Saint Antonio. These Caniballes likewise eate mans flesh, but they use not those Ceremonies which the Petewares, and other Caniballes doe.

Amazones.

[IV. vi. 1227.]

From the River of Saint Francisco to Baya de Todos Santos, inhabit Topinanbazes; like the Petiwares in their behaviour: all their bodies are carved from the face to the feete: the women are of better complexion then the Petiwares: they goe all naked as the other Canibals doe; they let their Beards grow long, and so doe no other kinde of Canibals, but still as their haire groweth

Topinambazes.

they pull it away with a likewise they pull away all the haire of the eye-browes, and of their privie parts: they doe sing and dance like the Petiwares, and doe speake the same language.

Waymores, strong, tall, swift Savages.

From Baya to the Elews inhabite a kinde of barbarous people, called Waymores: these are men of great stature: they are verie resolute and desperate; as swift of foote as any Horse. These Canibals have driven the Portugals from the Ilands, and are so desperate, that five or sixe of them will set upon a Sugar house, where there are at least one hundred persons; and I have seene one of them, take a man a live, and defend himselfe with his prisoner, as if one of us would defend our selves with a Target. They have long blacke haire like wilde Irish: have no Townes nor Houses, but runne up and downe the Wildernesse like wilde Beasts: care not what Province they come into, for they are so swift of foote, that no people can hurt them. These feede verie greedily on mans flesh, and are verie filthie people, for their bodies are alwayes foule with dust and durt, lying on the ground and in the ashes.

The Tomomynos.

At Spirito Santo inhabite a kinde of Caniball, called Tomomynos; these are men of good stature, I have gone to warre against them, many times with the Portugals, at a place called Morogege; they had many Townes in the Ilands that stand in the River of Paraeva; their Townes

Their Townes walled.

were all setled with great stones set together like pales, of a good height, & within that there are walls made of clay and stone, their houses are long all covered with the barks of trees, and the side of their houses are like hurdles made of Canes, in such sort that they may shoot out of them.

Morogege.

We were at least five hundred Portugals, and three thousand Indians, in the siege against the City of Morogege, and many times the Tomomynos did set upon us with such violent force, that wee thought we should all have beene slaine there, we were forced to settle our selves under a walke made with stone, clay, and logs, sending for succour to Spirito Santo. The Indians Tomomynos would

stand upon the wall of their Citie, all decked with feathers, and their bodies all painted with black and red, most ugly to be seene, with things in their hands like a wheele, all done with feathers, the which they would set on fire, and wave it about their heads, crying out to the Portugals, Lovas eyave pomombana, that is to say, Even as this you shall be consumed. After the fresh men came from Spirito Santo, they began to feare, and to steale out of the Towne. But when we saw that, we made things that the Portugals call Panesses (they are made of Canes, of seven or eight yards long, that no arrow can passe them) and those the Portugals and Indians that were on our side did carrie before them like a wall, and so came to the wall of their Citie and brake it downe, with hurt and death of many on our side.

Valiant Savage.

Here our Captaine Martin de Sasa was cast into the River by a Caniball, that tooke him in his armes, and in despight of us all carried him a stones cast, and threw him into the River, where he had beene drowned if it had not beene for a very famous Indian, called Patammycu, which was the same Martin de Sasa his slave. This Patammycu (that is to say, Long Tobacco, for the Indians take such names) killed the Caniball that would have drowned his Master, and so saved him. That day wee had the victorie, and tooke 16000. of them, of the which wee put to the sword 1600. and all the rest we parted among the Portugals. After that, we tooke many small Townes, killing all the old men and old women, likewise we parted the rest that were serviceable, and so wee returned home; after we had destroyed the Countrie, comming for the space of a weeke downe the River of Paraeyva. Then we came to a Towne of Canibals which was called Morou, and from thence to the Hill, called by the Indians, Paranapiaqueva, that is to say, the sight of the Sea; and from thence to a place, called by the Canibals, Tupanboyera, that is, the Beades of God; the Portugals call this place the Organes: it hath certaine Hills that lie over the River of Jenero, then

16000. taken.

Morou.

wee came downe a River called Macuiv, and from thence to the Citie of San Sebastian in the River of Januarie, from whence every man went with his slave to his owne house.

Waytaquazes. The Waytaquazes inhabite at Cape Frio, called by the Indians, Jocoex, they dwell both on the North and on the South side of the Cape, in low marish grounds: they are men of bigger stature then the Waymores. I went with Gonsala Corea de Sasa to warre against these Canibals, and at one time we tooke thirteene of them and laid them bound hand and foot in a house, going forward to take more of them, and when wee returned they were all gone, wee left them fire, and they burned the Cordes from their hands, and so got away. They weare their haire long like wilde Irish; the women doe warre with their bowes and arrowes as well as the men, their houses are very low and little, they doe not lie in Nets as the Tamoyes and other Canibals doe, but on the ground like Hogs, making a fire in the middle of their houses. These Canibals have no peace with any kinde of Nation, but doe eate all kinde of people, Frenchmen, Portugals, and Blackamoores. Many times whilest I was at the River of Januarie, some ships were cast away at this Cape, and all the Portugals and Blackamoores were eaten. I have seene them take great dog-fishes by the taile, and dragge them ashoare. In this place I have seene very great water Aligators (which we call in English Crocodiles) seven yards long. This Crocodile hath great scales, and long clawes very ugly to be seene. The Portugals, when they know where any of these great ones are, doe fish for them with a chaine, and a great Iron hooke, and for bait they tie a Cock or a Hen to the hooke, they take this paines to take him because his Cods are very great, and better then any muske. At this place, the Mountaines are so full of Crab-lice, that wee knew not what to doe, they would stick in our skins that we could not get them off, but were faine to take drie straw and singe our selves, as you would singe Hogs, and so rid our selves of them. Here also

Women warriors.

[IV. vi. 1228.]

Sharkes devoured by Sharkes.

Crocodiles, how and why taken.

Crab-lice.

wee had great store of wilde Hogs, and a kinde of wilde Fowle as bigge as Turkies, called Mutas.

Abausanga, is the name of a valiant Caniball, that is adjoyning hard by the Wataquazes, these Canibals are a kinde of the Tamoyes. Some twentie yeeres agone there was a Governour among them, called Mendesaa, in the River of Januarie, who made warre against the Tamoyes, and in the end over-run all their Countrie or Province; onely this Abausanga remayned hidden in Dungeons and great Holes with some fortie or fiftie of his Countrimen. It was our chance going to warre with the Wataquazes to come through this Towne, and there we had newes by Abausangas people, that he was at warre against the Wataquazes; whereupon we made Spies to see if we could take him, before that we would set upon the Wataquazes. One evening, we heard a great noise of Canibals, then the Captaine sending out some Spies, my selfe being one, wee saw that it was Abausanga, and his companie, that had taken five Wataquazes, and with great stirre were killing of them to eate. Assoone as we had espyed all that we could, wee returned againe to the Captaine, and told him what we had seene, and that night circled Abausanga, and tooke him prisoner, with sixtie young men of his companie; wee asked of him our best course, to warre against the Wataquazes, he told us, that he was rather to take our advice, then we to aske his, that he used no policie but to fight in open field, and if we would, we should see how he made warre against his enemies: the next day, we being hard by the Inhabitants of the Wataquazes; Abausanga came forth, and joyned all his companie together with leave of our Captaine, and assoone as they were all readie with their bowes and arrowes, hee ran into the thickest of his enemies, with all his companie, where eighteene of his companie were presently killed, and most of them sore hurt, he himselfe being shot in one and twentie parts. In our sight he killed three Wataquazes before hee fell; the Portugals kept still by the woods side, and with their

Abausangaretam.

See the former §.

peeces killed one hundred and thirtie Wataquazes, the wilde people were so amazed when they heard our peeces goe off, that they thought the Devill had beene amongst them, and every one began to flie as fast as he could, the Portugals following them, found Abausanga in the field hurt, as you have heard. This Abausanga assoone as he perceived the Portugals to stand amazed at him, desired them to tell him somewhat of God, for he said, that Frenchmen had told him that there was a God, and that he which beleeved in him should be saved. The Portugals telling him of their faith, hee said that hee beleeved in that God, and desired to bee baptised, and had his name given him John. For the space of two houres that this Indian lived, hee did nothing but call upon God, and so ended his life, being one hundred and twentie yeeres of age, as he shewed us by signes.

The Wayanasses. The Wayanasses, inhabite eighteene leagues Southward of the River of Januarie, at a place called by the Portugals, Ilha Grande, that is to say, The great Iland. These Canibals are of low stature, great bellies, and broad feet, very Cowards, of a reasonable good complexion. They doe not carve their bodies, neither doe they glorie so much to eate mans flesh, as the Tamoyes, the Tomymenos, and other Canibals doe. The Women are bigge in the body, and very ugly, but they have very good faces. The *Painting.* Women of this Countrie doe paint their bodies and faces with a thing called in their language Urucu ; it groweth in a round Cod like a beane, and that maketh a red inke like Oker; which maketh them seeme most ugly. The haire both of men and women groweth long by the sides, and on the crowne all shaven like Franciscan Friars. These Canibals lye in Nets made of barkes of trees, and likewise when they travell through the Wildernesse, such provision as they have, they carrie in little Nets *Tabacca.* at their backs; they are never without Tabacco, they esteeme it more then any thing that they have in their Countrie, and with it do heale their wounds, when they are hurt. When the Portugals doe stand in need

of slaves, they doe come to Ilha Grande, and there they shall be sure to meet with some of the Wayanasses a fishing, then they shew them Knives, Beades, and Glasses, telling them what they would have for merchandise, and presently they will goe to a place called in their language Jawarapipo, which is their chiefest Towne, and from thence bring all such as they meane to sell to the Sea side, and as good cheape as you can you may buy of them.

The Topinaques.

The Topinaques inhabite at Saint Vincents, they are men of good stature, and of reasonable good complexion; their women are all painted with divers colours, and on their heads, they weare a thin barqe of a tree like a Ribband: the Canibals eate mans flesh as other Canibals doe, they adore no Idoll, neither have they any kinde of Religion, onely when they kill any man, they all paint their bodies with a kinde of fruit, called Janipavo, and all their heads are set with feathers, and great stones in their under-lips, with Rattles in their hands, and thus they will dance for three dayes together. I was amased to see how they would drinke a filthy drinke without breaking of their bellies, and asked them how they were able to stand so long and drinke so much of that filthy drinke: they answered me, that Tabacco did make them as fresh as if they had done nothing. Among these Canibals there is great store of gold in many Hills hard by the Sea side, and now the Portugals have some of those places, I would wee had the rest. Here I end to discourse any farther of the Canibals that dwell by the Sea side, till I have told you of such Nations as I met withall when I went through the Countrie, and how I came againe to the Sea; I have told you in the first booke of my travell, how that five or sixe yeeres after I had beene taken by the Portugals, I went to warre against the Canibals with the Portugals. Now by the grace of God, as neere as I can I have told you of all the Nations, that I saw, and converst with in nine moneths, that I travelled through the Wildernesse with the Portugals,

[IV. vi. 1229.]

and a yeere and eleven moneths that I passed with the Canibals themselves.

Canibals called Pories.

Small Cocos.

THe Canibals called Pories, inhabite at the least one hundred miles within the land, they are most like unto the Wayanasses, men of low stature, they live onely on Pine nuts, and small Cocos that are as bigge as Apples, but they have shells like Wall-nuts, somewhat harder, the Indians call them Eyrires. They are of good complexion, and esteeme very much of clothes if they can get them; the women are all painted with divers colours, as red, blue, and yellow; they are in peace with the Portugals, and warre with no Nation, neither will they eate mans flesh, if they have any other meate; they lie in little Nets made of barkes of trees, they have no houses but two or three boughs tyed together, covered with Palme leaves if it happen to raine. In this part of the Countrie I saw great store of Leopards, and Lions; the Indians call the Leopard, Jawaryle, and the Lions, Jawarosou; and many great Cats of mountaine, which the Indians call Marcayahite, here you may have of the Indians for a Knife or a Combe, five or sixe Gallons of Balsome oile.

The Molopaques, bearded Savages, and civiller then others.

After you have passed the famous River of Paraeyva, you shall come into a Countrie of Canibals, called Molopaques; they are much like unto Dutchmen in bignesse, very faire of complexion, they have all beards like other men; so hath not any other kinde of Canibals, except it bee here and there one. Most of them doe cover their privie parts, they are very civill in their behaviour: their Townes are very strong, all circled with walls made of earth and great logs, they have houses severall every man with his familie. They have one amongst them whom they call Morovishava, which is their King, but we saw no difference betweene him and the rest, but only the name, and he had (as I remember) thirteene wives, and no other had so many. Amongst these Canibals we found good store of gold, the which

Houses several.

Gold.

they doe not esteeme, neither doe they use it for any thing, but to tie on their fishing lines, when they goe a fishing in the River of Para, where they take great store of good fish. Para is beyond Paraeyva eightie leagues: these Indians doe not worke in the mynes for gold, as the Spaniards doe, but onely take such peeces as they finde when the raine hath washt away the earth: for where the mynes of gold are there are no trees, but are drie Mountaines of black earth, which the Indians call Taiuquara; and the Mountaine where the Molopaques doe finde this great store of gold, is called Etepararange: if these Canibals had the knowledge of God, I might boldly say, that there are not any in the world like them. The women are goodly of person, faire of complexion, as our English women are, they are very modest and civill in their behaviour, you shall never see them laugh, they are people very capable to conceive any thing, they have their haire so long, that they tie it about their middles with the barke of a tree, wherewithall they cover their nakednesse, they esteeme very much of it. Their haire is of colours like our English women, some yellow, some white, some browne: the women that have not long haire, to cover their nakednesse, doe weare a kinde of Furre, which they call Sawyathwasou. These Canibals doe eate mans flesh, I was not past nine or ten dayes among them, therefore I cannot resolve you further of their customes. In that time I was with them I saw no manner of Religion among them, they doe keepe very good order, observing times to eate their meate, at noone, and at night, and that doth not any other Nation amongst them, they are very cleanly in whatsoever they doe.

River Para.

Mynes.

Faire women.

Meales.

Then wee came to a faire champaine Countrie, where wee found a kinde of Canibals, called Motayas. Assoone as these Canibals heard of our being in their Countrie, they all left their houses, and came to meet us dancing and singing, telling us that they were very glad of our comming into their Countrie; they brought Ginny

The Motayas.

Wheat, Pepper, and divers kinde of rootes to present us, and craved our friendship, desiring us, that we would aide them against the Tamoyes. We desiring nothing more, told them that to that purpose we were come. Assoone as wee came to the houses of these Canibals, all the women would sit about us, and laying their hands on our bodies, they would weepe most bitterly. After that, every one of them would bring such victuals as they had; some brought boyled Frogs, others brought Serpents, and Snakes, which wee found very good; other some brought Munkeis, and a kind of wilde Dogge that they kill in the Mountaines. The men brought us mans flesh rosted, drie, as black as a coale, and told us that it was of a Tamoya that they had killed, and desired us that we would eate of it, thinking they had presented us a great and daintie dish. When they saw that wee refused to eate mans flesh, they fell a laughing, and some of them said that we knew not what was good meat. These Canibals are men of small stature, browne of complexion, they goe all naked, they weare their haire (as now we doe in England) below their eares, and so doe the women. As their haire groweth long, they burne it with fire, making it equall so artificially, that you cannot perceive but that it was cut with Sizors. They will not have any haire grow on their eye-browes, nor on their chin, but still as it groweth they pull it away with a shell: their food is Ginny wheat, and Roots, Frogs, Snakes, Serpents, Crocodiles, Monkeis, Dogs that they kill in the Wildernesse, Leopards, and Cats of Mountaine; all this is good meat amongst them, and we found them very good, and were very glad when we could get them to eate.

Weeping welcome.

Wilde Dogs. [IV. vi. 1230.]

The Lopos.

Then we came to a kinde of Caniball, called Lopos, the Portugals call them Bilreros, these Canibals are alwayes in the Mountaines of Pine trees, and have not any other thing to live on: I never saw any houses that they dwell in, but boughs tyed together with rines of trees, these Canibals would come to us, and tell us of

many things, and would goe with us two or three dayes, and then would run away from us, and many times when they did meet with any of our Indians, or our Portugals, they would take away such things as they had about them, and send them away without any hurt to their persons. As wee went through this Countrie we found many mynes of gold, and amongst these Indians our Captaine got good store of it, and many good stones. In all America, there is not a richer part then this, but it is so farre within the Land, and that Countrie is so populous that as yet neither Portugall nor Spaniard can inhabite there. They are men of small stature, and very browne of complexion, their bodies are all painted as the other Canibals before named. The women are as browne of complexion as the men, and very rude and shamelesse, for in their behaviour they differ not from wilde beasts, but in all things live like them.

Gold in plentie.

After we had passed this Province, we came into the Province of the Wayanawasons, where we found them in small Townes built by a Rivers side, and found these the simplest Nation of all other; for these Canibals would stand and gaze upon us like herds of Deere, and never say any thing unto us. Here we found great store of Ginny wheat, and pompions that wee did eate. In many Bogs hard by their Towne we killed good store of Crocodiles, and did eate of them, for in this journey we were almost starved. These Canibals are of a good stature, bigge, and tall of bodie, and very cleane made of their lims, very sufficient to behold; but they are a kinde of lasie people, that care not for any thing, but will lie all day lasing in their houses, and never goe abroad but for their victuals. The women are of good stature, they are of a dunne pale complexion, and they doe provide Pompions and Rootes for their husbands. Here we were all, or most of us very sicke with eating of a kinde of fruit, which the Indians call Madiopuera, this fruit is as bigge as a Horse plum, as yellow as gold, the kirnell of it is as sweet as any Almond, of this

The Wayanawasons, simple savages.

Venemous plum.

fruit did most of our companie eate, and of them dyed sixteene, and many others sicke for a fortnight after.

Assoone as our companie had recovered we went on our way to seeke out the Tamoyes, having for our guides sixe of the Motayes, who carried us at the least two moneths up and downe the Wildernesse, every day making us beleeve, that we should come unto our enemies Countrie. They brought us at last to the sight of two Townes along by a River side. The Portugals after they had seene how great the Townes of the Canibals were, durst not adventure to passe over the River, for feare lest the Indians had espied us, and were layne in ambush. There was not any of all the companie, Portugall nor Indian, that durst to goe over the River; the Captaine and chiefest of the Portugals agreed together and made me goe to the Towne, whether I would or no. When I saw that there was no remedie, I tooke my leave of them all: for I thought verily that *Many straits.* I went to the slaughter house, or at least to have lived a Caniball with them during my life. With these two extremities in my thought, commending my soule and bodie to Almightie God: I swam over the River upon a little Target made of Corke, and assoone as I had landed I went straight to the Towne, where I found *Tame Estridges.* nothing but two tame Estridges the people had espyed us, and were run away. When the Portugals had newes from me that there was no body, then they were so valiant as Lions, striving who should get first into the *River Jawary. Menuare.* Towne, this was the River of Jawarie, the Towne is called Menuare. Here it was that I should have beene hanged, for striking of Antonio Martines in the Court of guard, after I had killed the great Serpent, called Sorocuev. In this Towne we found great store of Ginny wheat, and Pompions dried in the smoke. In this Towne likewise we had great store of drie Tabacco, *Gold, Cristall and Jemmes.* and Potato rootes: wee found great store of gold in peeces, and also store of Cristall, and many other good stones: some found Diamonds, and a kind of blue stones

A.D. 1601.

that the Portugals did esteeme of very much, and called them Pedras de Sangua, bloud-stones.

The Serpent Sorocuev described, his strange forme and qualities. [IV. vi. 1231.]

The Serpent that I killed was thirteene span long, it had foure and twentie teeth, as sharpe as any naile, about the necke it had greater shels then the other parts of her body; the shels were blacke and russet like a coller, and on her body they were russet and darke greene; under her belly all speckled with black and white. It had foure sharpe feet, no longer then a mans finger, it had a tongue like a harping Iron, her taile was like a straight Bull horne, all black and white listed. From one of these did the Lord defend me, and permitted me to kill one of them with the helve of an axe in the night. The Indians dare not goe to kill one of them except they goe five or sixe of them with bowes and arrowes. All kinde of wilde Beasts, Lions, or Leopards, all kinde of Snakes, but only this, doe feare the fire, and if they come where the Indians leave any fire travelling through the Wildernesse, if any of these Serpents doe finde it, they never leave beating themselves in it, till they either kill themselves or put out the fire. These Serpents when they seeke their prey will stand about a small tree or a bough, and when any wilde beast passeth, hee falleth upon him, thrusting his taile into the fundament of whatsoever it seizeth on.

After we had remayned at this place a fortnight, or three weekes, the Portugals did resolve to come back againe without any purchase, there the Captaine gave up his authoritie, and joyned himselfe with his friends to seeke the neerest way home, then did I and twelve young men of the Portugals determine to goe to the South Sea by land, for we knew by the Notes of the Motayes, that we were not farre from Peru, and Cusco, and we knowing how poore our estates were, and the great famine we had passed comming to the Towne of Menvare, made us afraid to goe back againe, that way which we had come, and for mine owne part, I encouraged the twelve young Portugals all that I could to goe forward, for I had surely

beene knocked on the head if I had gone back in my Captaines companie. With much adoe, wee thereon resolved to seeke our fortunes in the Wildernesse. After we were departed from our companie, wee came to many Mountaines, where we found good store of gold, and many precious stones ; when wee came into this Countrie, wee thought wee had beene in the Province of Peru, wee had such plentie of mynes, and there was not one of us but had store of stones, that those which we tooke as to day, wee would throw away to morrow to take other better then them which we had before. Thus wee travelled some two moneths in the golden Countrie, till at the last wee came to that great and most strange Mountaine of Cristall. This Mountaine is of a huge height, that it seemeth to be within the cloudes, and so steepe that it is impossible to goe over the top. Here it was that wee passed through the Vault, and in truth it was one of the greatest dangers, and the most desperate that ever I was in.

Two moneths travell in a golden Countrie.

Cristall mountaine.

Vault-straits.

Assoone as we had passed this danger, it was the pleasure of God to deliver us into the hands of our mortall enemies the Tamoyes, where my twelve companions were killed and eaten, onely my selfe remayned among these Canibals a yeere and eleven moneths, in the which time I went many times to warre against other Provinces that were joyning upon the Countrie of Tamoyes, and (I thanke God) prospered so well that I was very much esteemed of them, and had a great command over them when they went to the field. These Tamoyes be as proper men as any bee in all Europe; they use to make holes in their upper-lips like the Petewares; most of them are of a very faire complexion. The men have their heads alwayes set with feathers of divers colours which sheweth very pretily, they goe starke naked. The women are as proper as any Nation can be, tall, comly, well legd, cleane made of body, very small in the waste, very faire of complexion, fine handed, and very comly faces. They use a kinde of carving over their breasts,

Tamoyes proper men.

which becommeth them very well. Here the Canibals esteeme not any more of gold, or precious stones, then wee doe of any stones in the streets: if the Spaniards had knowne of this Countrie, they needed not to have gone to Peru, there is not like unto this for all kinde of rich metals, and many kinde of precious stones. In this place I lived eighteene moneths, and went naked as the Canibals did. After I had lived with these Canibals the time that you have heard, I was in great favour and credit with them, insomuch that they would not doe any thing before they had made me acquainted withall: I have told them many times of the comming and going of our English ships to the Straits of Magellan, and how well we did use all kinde of Nations, and what kinde of all things necessarie wee had for their use. These wordes made the Canibals desire to come to the Sea coast, and asked of mee how it were possible for them to come to dwell by the Sea without being slaves to the Portugals: I told them that I knew many places where English men and French men did use to come, but that neither Portugall, nor Spaniard was never there. After I had told them what I thought best, we all agreed to come through the Province of Tocoman, and so to the Sea, betweene the River of Plate and Saint Vincents. This Countrie of Tocoman is all sandie, and in it inhabite the Pigmeys; I have seene many of them amongst the Spaniards at the River of Plate. They are not altogether so little as wee speake of them here in England: their inhabitation in Tocoman is in Caves of the ground. In this Countrie the Inhabitants in many places have such Wheat as we finde in England, and Cassavi meale.

Store of gold.

His journey with the Savages. Tocoman.

Pigmeys dwelling in Caves.

This Tocoman is judged by the Spaniard to be the end of Brasill, and the entring into Peru; for in Tocoma there are all kinde of Brasila Rootes, and all kinde of Corne, aswell as Peru; this Countrie yeeldeth nothing to the Spaniards, but wilde Horses, and the Indians of Tocoman are mortall enemies to all the Inhabitants of Peru; therefore the Spaniards doe keepe this Countrie

[IV. vi. 1232.] because they keepe the Provinces of Peru in feare, or else they would rise up against the Spaniards. After we had passed this Countrie, we came to a River that runneth from Tocoman to Chile, where we tarried foure daies making Canoas to passe the River, for there were so manie Crocodiles, that we durst not passe it for feare of them: after we had passed this River, we came to the Mountaine Detodas Metalas, that is, of all Mettals. At this place divers Spaniards and Portugals have beene, and certain lawlesse men were set on shoare on this coast by one Pedro de Charamento, which came to this place, and set up a great Crosse, and on it writ, that the Countrie was the King of Spaines; the which I put out, and writ that it was the Queene of Englands. This hill is of divers kinde of Mettals, Copper and Iron, some Gold, and great store of Quicke-silver. It is verie high, and all bare without any Trees. Here likewise was a little Church made, where we found two Images, one of our Lady, and another of Christ crucified. When the Tamoyes saw those signes, they thought that I had betraied them, and (indeede) I was amazed, thinking that we had beene in some part of the River of Plate, and because the Indians should not be discouraged, I shewed my selfe to be very glad, and told them that I knew those were signes that my Countrie men used to make when they came into strange Countries: with these perswasions I made the Tamoyes to come on their journey to the Sea; where otherwise if I had told them it had bin set up by the Spaniards, the feare that the poore Canibals stood in of them had bin enough to have made them all returne againe from whence they came. At the last we came to the Sea, as I have told you, to the Towne of the Cariyohs: this Towne standeth in a fine pleasant place, hard by the coast in a faire Bay, where one hundred Ships may anker without any danger. And in this place you shall alwaies have great store of fish. In this Countrie, for a Knife or a fish hooke, you may buy a dozen of skinnes of very good Furre; and if you will, these Indians will goe (for any

River running to Chile.

Mountaines of all Mettals.

trifle) and fetch two or three baskets of Mettals, and some have had such good lucke, that for two or three Glasses, and a Combe or two, with some Knives, they have got the value of foure or five thousand Crownes in Gold and Stones. The Towne stood upon a hill, but we puld it down. But when we were taken by the Portugals, and that the Cariyohs were restored againe to their Countrie, they did scituate againe with in the same place where they were when we drave them out of their Countrie. Here the Portugals did binde mee, and would have hanged mee for the twelve Portugals that the Canibals had killed and eaten.

The Caryiohs.

The Caryiohs are men of good stature, and very valiant: they make holes in their under lippe as the other Canibals doe. These Canibals likewise eate mans flesh, and speake the same language that the Tamoyes doe: the women are very comely, the most of them are of a faire complexion; they weare their haire loose about their eares, and all their bodies are died with blacke, and their faces withered, and yellow, their brests are all carved with divers colours, which beseemeth verie well. Here is the end of my travell through America, with the Canibals, from whence I returned againe to my Master Salvador Corea de Sasa; where I was worse then ever I was before.

The Giants of Port Desire, and inhabitants of Port Famine: also Angola, Congo, and Massangana, and Angica, Countries of Africa.

AT Port Desire, which is the next haven to the straits of Magelan, inhabited Giants of fifteene or sixteene spans of height. I affirme, that at Port Desire I saw the footing of them, by the shoare side, that was above foure foote of one of our mens in length; and I saw two of them that were buried newly, the one of them was foureteene spannes long. After I was taken with the Spaniards, the Desire, one of our Shippes that had beene all alone at Port Desire, lost nine men and a boy, and two

or three of them that had beene taken on the coast of Brasil, said that these Giants did throw stones of such bignesse at them out of strings, that they were faine to weigh anker, and to lye further from the shoare. I saw another of these in Brasil, that was taken by Alonso Dias a Spaniard, that with foule weather was driven out of Saint Julians; this was but a young man, yet above thirteene spannes long. This Port Desire is a faire pleasant Countrie, it hath many fine Rivers, and the Spaniards doe affirme, that from this place it is easie to goe to the Indians Chele, which is a very rich Countrie. In Port Desire, in many small Rivers there is a great store of Pearle, and Currall. Here you may have great store of Penguins and Seales at an Iland that lieth a mile Southward of the mouth of the haven. These Giants whereof I have spoken, goe all naked; they weare their haire long to the shoulders. He whom I saw at Brasil, was a man of faire complexion, and very well proportioned according to his long stature: and this is all that I can report of them, for I know not their behaviour, but as the Portugals and Spaniards judge, they are no better then the Man-eaters of Brasil.

A youth 13. spans high.

Chile.

Giants habitlesse habit.

Port Famine in the Straits of Magelan.

Wide mouthed men.

At Port Famine the Generall would have left mee. Here inhabit a kinde of strange Canibals, short of body, not above five or six spans high, and very strong and thicke made: their mouthes are verie bigge, and reach almost to their eares; they eate their meate in a manner raw, for they doe nothing but scorch it a little in the fire, and so eate it, and with the bloud that runneth from their mouthes, they smeare all their faces, and their breasts, and lay yong feathers on their bodies to the bloud that clingeth to their skinnes like Glue. When we were at the straits in this place, there came above foure or five thousand unto us of them, but they never brought unto us any thing but Feathers and Pearle as much as we would (for there is great store in this Port Famine) all the while that we were at it. These Canibals would never let us come so neere them, as to touch any of them,

[IV. vi. 1233.]

for feare we should take them; when they would give us any thing, they would tie it at the end of a longe staffe, and so likewise we did to them. Here our Generall left seven sicke men ashore: the Snow lyeth all the yeare on the Mountaines, and it is so cold in June, and July, that our men did freeze, and many of them lost their toes, as I my selfe for one, for in one night that I lay moist of my feete, I lost three of my toes on one of my feete, and foure of the toppes of the other foote; some had their feete frozen, some their noses, as Harris a Gold-smith, Henry Barrawell, that was taken with me, lost his haire from his head, and was all bald for a yeare or two in Brasil: yet for all this cold, all the Inhabitants goe naked, except here and there one weare seale skinnes, or the skins of some wilde Beasts, of the which there are many, as Leopards, Lions, and a kinde of Beasts bigger then Horses, they have great eares above a spanne long, and their tailes are like the tailes of a Cowe; these are very good, the Indians of Brasil call them Tapetywason: of these Beasts I saw in Ethiopia, in the Kingdome of Manicongo, the Portugals call them Gombe: farther within the Straits at Tolisbay, we found many barkes of trees, that the Indians of the Straits doe fish in, these Indians would not come neere us, but still as they espied our Boates they would runne away, but we plainely saw that they were men of good stature, and of white skinnes; they goe all naked both men and women. And thus I end my travell of America.

Extreame cold and naked people.

Harris the Goldsmith. H. Barrawell.

Beasts bigger then Horses at the Magellan straits, called Tapetywason, in Ethiopia: whether he meaneth Zebra or Danteca, see Tom. 1. p. 1002.

Angola is a Kingdome of it selfe in Ethiopia, where first the Portugals did begin to inhabit: the Countrie of Angola commeth along the coast, as Portugall doth upon Spaine, so doth Angola runne upon the Kingdome of Longa and Manicongo. In Angola the Portugals have a Citie, called the Holy Ghost, where they have great store of Merchandise, and the Moore doe come thither with all kinde of such things as the Countrie yeeldeth, some bring Elephants teeth, some bring Negro slaves to sell, that they take from other Kingdomes which

Of Angola to which he fled out of Brasil, as is before delivered.

joyne hard by them: thus doe they use once a weeke, as we keepe Markets, so doe all the Blackamoores bring Hens and Hogs, which they call Gula, and Hennes they call Sange, and a kinde of Beast that they take in the Wildernesse like a Dogge, which they call Ambroa: then they have that Beast which before I have told you of, called Gumbe, which is bigger then a Horse. The Blackamoores doe keepe good Lawes, and feare their King verie much: the King is alwaies attended with the Nobles of his Realme, and whensoever he goeth abroad, he hath alwaies at the least two hundred archers in his guard, and ten or twelve more going before him singing and playing with Pipes made of great Canes, and foure or five yong Moores comming after him as his Pages, after them follow all his Noblemen. When there falleth out anie controversie among them, they crave battell of the King, and then they fight it out before him. They come before the King and fall flat on their breasts, then they rise up and kneele on their knees stretching out their armes, crying Mahobeque benge, benge; then the King striketh them on the shoulders with a Horse-taile, then they goe to the Campe, and with their Bowes they fight it out, till they kill one another. After the battell is done, if any liveth, he that liveth falleth downe before the King in the same manner as he did when he went to the field, and after a long oration made, he taketh the Horse-taile from the Kings shoulder, and waveth it about the Kings head, and then laieth it on his shoulder againe, and goeth away with great honour, being accompanied with all the Nobles of the Court: the Moores of Angola doe know that there is a God, and doe call God Cari pongoa, but they worship the Sunne and the Moone.

The Kings pompe.

Rites of the people.

The Countrie. The Countrie is Champain plaine, and drie blacke earth, and yeeldeth verie little Corne, the most of any thing that it yeeldeth is Plantons, which the Portugals call Baynonas, and the Moores call them Mahonge, and their Wheate they call Tumba, and the Bread Anov;

and if you will buy any Bread of them, you must say Tala Cuna aven tumbola gimbo, that is, give me some bread, here is money. Their money is called Gull ginbo, a shell of a fish that they finde by the shoare side, and from Brasil the Portugals doe carrie great store of them to Angola. These Moores doe esteeme verie much of red, blew, and yellow cloathes, they will give a slave for a span of cloath in breadth I meane, and the length of it of the breadth of the peece, those peeces of cloth they weare about their middles, and under it they hang the skin of a great Weasell before them, and another behinde them, and this is all the garments that they weare. A Weazell in their language is called Puccu. You can doe a Blackamoore no greater disgrace, then to take away his Skinne from before him, for he will dye with griefe if he cannot be revenged: the Portugals doe marke them as we doe Sheepe with a hot Iron, which the Moores call Crimbo, the poore slaves stand all in a row one by another, and sing Mundele que sumbela he Carey ha belelelle, and thus the poore rogues are beguiled, for the Portugals make them beleeve that they that have not the marke is not accounted a man of any account in Brasil or in Portugall, and thus they bring the poore Moores to be in a most damnable bondage under the colour of love. The Countrey of Angola yeeldeth no stone, and very little wood: the Moores doe make their houses all covered with earth; these houses are no bigger then a reasonable Chamber, and within are many partitions, like the Cabbins of a ship, in such sort that a man cannot stand upright in them. There beds are made of great Bulrushes sowed together with the rindes of a Tree. They doe make cloth like Sparke of Velvet (but it is thinner) of the barke of a Tree, and that cloth they doe call Mollelleo. The Elephants doe feed in the Evening and in the Morning in low marishes as there bee many. The Moores doe watch which way they come, and assoone as the Elephants are at meat, they digge great holes in the ground, and

Wezels skin affected.

Branded beguiled slaves.

[IV. vi. 1234.]

Taking of Elephants.

cover them with sticks, and then they cover the pits with earth, and when they have made all readie they goe to the Elephants, and shoote at them with their Arrowes, and assoone as the Elephants feele themselves hurt, they runne at whatsoever they see before them, following after the Blackamores that chase them, then they fall into the deepe pits where after they are once in, they cannot get out. The Moores of Angolo are as blacke as Jet; they are men of good stature, they never take but one Wife, whom they call Mocasha. These Moores doe cut long streakes in their faces, that reach from the top of their eares to their chinnes. The women doe weare shels of fishes on their armes, and on the small of their legges. The Law amongst them, is, that if any More doe lie with an others wife, hee shall lose *Circumcision.* his eares for his offence. These Moores doe circumcize their children, and give them their names, as wee doe when we baptize. Angola may very easily be taken: for the Portugals have no Forts to defend it of any strength.

Of Congo. The King of Congo is the greatest King in all Æthiopia; and doth keepe in the field continually sixtie thousand Souldiers, that doe warre against the King of Vangala, and the King of Angola; this King is a Christian, and is brother in Law of Armes with the King of Spaine, his servants of his house are most of them all Portugals, and hee doth favour them very much.

The King. The King is of a verie liberall condition, and verie favourable to all Travellers, and doth delight verie much to heare of forreigne Countries. He was in a manner amazed to heare how it was possible her Majestie had lived a Maiden Queene so long, and alwaies reigned in peace with her subjects. When I was brought before the King, and told him of my Countrie; what plentie of things we had, if the Portugals had not liked of it, they would interrupt my speech, and the King would shew himselfe verie angrie, and tell them that everie man was best able to speake of his Countrie, and that I had no reason but

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to tell him that which was true. The King of Congo, when hee goeth to the Campe to see his Armie, rideth upon an Elephant in great pompe and majestie, on either side of the Elephant he hath six slaves two of them were Kings, that he himselfe had taken in the field; all the rest were of noble birth; some of them were brothers to the King of Ancica, and some of them were of the chiefest bloud of the great King of Bengala. These noble slaves at everie command of the King of Congo; doe fall flat on the ground on their brests. When the King doth ride as you have heard, they carrie a Canopie as it were a cloth of State over his head. His two Secretaries, the one a Nobleman of Spaine, the other a More, doe ride next after him. Before him goeth at the least five hundred Archers, which are his Guard, then there followeth a More, which doth nothing but talke aloud in praise of the King, telling what a great Warriour he hath beene, and praising his wisdome for all things that hee hath accomplished verie honourably to his great fame of such as knew him. When this King of Congo commeth to his Host, all the Souldiers as he passeth, fall flat on their faces to the ground. He never commeth into his Host after any battell, but hee dubbeth at the least twentie Knights Portugals, and as many Moores, giving them verie great living according to their callings, and the service that they have done. The brother of this King was in Spaine, at my comming from thence for Ambassadour from his brother.

Here the Portugall Captaine would have taken mee perforce, to have beene a common Souldier, but the King commanded that they should let mee goe whether I would, and my determination at that time was to have gone for the Countrie of Prester John, for I had a great desire to see the River of Nilo and Jerusalem (for I accounted my selfe as a lost man, not caring into what Countrie or Kingdome I came) but it was not the will of God, that I should at that time obtaine my desire. For travelling through the Kingdome of Congo,

to have gone to the Kingdome of Angila. It was my fortune to meete a companie of Portugall Souldiers that went to a Conquest, that the King of Spain had newly taken, called Masangana; which place is on the borders of Anguca. Here they made me serve like a Drudge, for both day and night I carried some stone and lime to make a Fort. It lieth right under the Line, and standeth in a bottome in the middle of foure hils, and about are many fogges, but not one River. It is the unfirmest Countrie under the Sunne. Here the Portugals die like Chickens; you shall see men in the morning verie lustie, and within two houres dead. Others, that if they but weat their legges, presently they swell bigger then their middle; others brake in the sides with a draught of water. O, if you did know the intollerable heate of the Countrie, you would thinke your selfe better a thousand times dead, then to live there a weeke. There you shall see poore Souldiers lie in troupes, gaping like Camelians for a puffe of winde. Here lived I three moneths, not as the Portugals did, taking of Physicke, and everie weeke letting of bloud and keeping close in their houses when they had any raine, observing houres, and times to goe abroad morning and Evening, and never to eate but at such and such times. I was glad when I had got any thing at morning, noone or night, I thanke God I did worke all day, from morning till night, had it beene raine or never so great heate. I had alwaies my health as well as I have in England. This Countrie is verie rich, the King had great store of Gold sent him from this place: the time that I was there, the King of Angica had a great Citie at Masangana; which Citie Paulas Dias, governour of Angola, tooke and scituated there, and finding hard by it great store of Gold, fortified it with foure Forts, and walled a great circuit of ground round about it, and within that wall, now the Portugals doe build a Citie, and from this Citie everie day they doe warre against the King of Angica, and have burnt a great part of his Kingdome.

Mosangana. See Tom. 1. l. 7. c. 3.

And. Battell lived here sixe yeeres.

Sickly disposition of the place.

[IV. vi. 1237.]

Gold.

Paul Dias.

Angica.

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The Angicas are men of goodly stature, they file their teeth before on their upper Jawe and on their under Jawe, making a distance betweene them like the teeth of a Dogge; they doe eate mans flesh, they are the stubbornest Nation that lives under the Sunne, and the resolutest in the field that ever man saw; for they will rather kill themselves then yeelde to the Portugals: they inhabit right under the line, and of all kinde of Moores these are the blackest; they doe live in the Law of the Turkes, and honour Mahomet, they keepe manie Concubines as the Turkes doe, they wash themselves everie morning upwards, falling flat on their faces towards the East. They weare their haire all made in plaits on their heads, as well men as women: they have good store of Wheate, and a kinde of graine like Fetches, of the which they make Bread: they have great store of Hennes like Partridges, and Turkies, and all their feathers curle on their backes: their houses are like the other houses of the Kingdomes aforenamed. And thus I end, shewing you as briefe as I can, all the Nations and Kingdomes that with great danger of my life I travelled through in twelve yeares of my best age getting no more then my travell for my paine. From this Kingdome Angica, was I brought in Irons againe to my Master Salvador Corea de Sasa, to the Citie of Saint Sebastian in Brasil, as you have heard. Now you have seene the discourse of my travels, and the fashions of all the Countries and Nations where I have beene, I will by the helpe of God, make you a short discourse in the language of the Petiwares, which language all the Inhabitants of Brasil doe understand, especially all the coast from Fernambucquo to the River of Plate, the which I hope will be profitable to all travellers, and of them I trust my paines shall be well accepted of.

Anzicans valiant.

Of Mahumetan Religion, if the Author were not deceived by occasion of their circumcision; which in Africa is common to Christians and Ethnicks, with Mahumetans.

First, you must tell them of what Nation you are, and that you come not as the Portugals doe, for their wives and children to make them bondslaves.

[We

We are Englishmen, as you all know that in times past had peace with you.

Now knowing the neede and want that you have of all such things as before your Fathers had, for the love that both your ancestours and ours did beare one to another, and for the love and pittie that we have of your want, we are come to renew our ancient amity.

Ore aqureiuva que se neering per amoya werisco Catadoro warevy orenysbe beresoy.

Coev pecoteve Cowavere pipope pewseva baresey opacatubaye berva oweryco coen pecoteve sou se. Core mandoare peramoya waysouba, ore ranoya waysonua reseii etegueva rescii pecoteve pararava, ore iu ibewith ore ramoya pereri socatumoyn go pacum.

§. V.

The description of divers Rivers, Ports, Harbours, Ilands of Brasil: for instruction of Navigators.

Rio Grande. RIo Grande, is called by us the great River, lately was conquered by a Portugall, called Manuell Masquarenhas. It is above two leagues broad in the mouth, and on the South-east side standeth a great Fort made by the foresaid Manuell Masquarenhas: that Countrie is plaine and sandy in many places, especially neere the Sea, and yeeldeth Sugar Canes in abundance. On the coast are many great Bayes, where the Indians *Ambergreese.* doe oftentimes finde great store of Ambergreese: within this place, there is also store of Wood, Pepper, Ginger, and Waxe. Here inhabit a kinde of Canibals, called Petywares: these Canibals have had trafficke a long time with France, and amongst them there are many that can speake French, which are Bastards, begotten of Frenchmen.

Paraeyva three Rivers. On the coast of Brasil there are three Rivers of Paraeyva: one is this that lieth next to Rio Grande, the other is a great River that runneth through the Countrie almost as farre as Lymo, and commeth out betweene Cape Frio

and Spirito Sancto: the third is a faire River that lieth betweene the River of Plate and Saint Vincents. This Pareyva whereof we speake, is a faire great Bay, where shipping being never so great may enter, within this Bay upon a hill, you shall see a faire Citie, and on the Sea side standeth two small Forts. You may anker neere the shoare, at the entrie of this Bay, you shall see three hils of red earth on either side of the harbour, which the Portugals call Bareras Mermethaes.

[IV. vi. 1238.] *A River called Guyana, I mean not that of Sir Walter Rawly.*

Guyana, is a small River that lieth by Paracua, it belongeth to Jasper Desiquerd, who was chiefe Justice of all Brasil. In the mouth of this River standeth a great rocke, which is continually covered with Sea Foules. This River hath two fadome water in the mouth, a quarter of a mile within this River, on the South-west side, you may take fresh water, and great store of Cattell: upon this River there are great store of Sugar Mils, and continually you shall have in this River small Carvels that fish, and carry Sugar from thence to Fernambuquo: likewise here is great store of Brasil, Pepper, Ginger, and Cotten, Cocos, Indian Nuts, here likewise inhabit Petywares.

The description of a place, called by the Indians Etamariqua.

Etamariqua in the Indian language is a bed, it is a point of the land like a Cape: the point runneth halfe a mile into the Sea, and upon it the Portugals have built a Towne, you may anker very neere the shoare, both on the South-west and on the North-east side of the Towne, in seven and eight fadome water. All the Countrie till you come to Cape Augustin, is low land, and to saile from thence to Fernambuquo is no danger, but the clifts which lye along the coast, as farre as the River Saint Francis, which are alwayes seene, the Seas when there are any Spring tides, doe overflow the land behinde: moreover if any winde blow from the East, it beateth the Sea into hils of the Clifts, that it maketh a great noise. Wherefore the Indians call it the Land of the Bell. Here are reasonable store of Sugars, and great store of Coco Nuts.

Fernambuquo and the Citie of Olindo.

On the North side of Fernambuquo, you shall see white Downes, and when you are past all the Downes on the South, you are by Capignramirinii, which is a place where alwaies you shall see Fisher-men in small Boates or Jangades; and from thence to Fernambuquo, are five or six miles, and so if you be under 8. degrees, you shall see a flat land even and bare, called Capituya; then you must take heede you runne not Southward, for then you runne upon a point of the land, called by the Portugals Punto de Olynda, which is foure leagues from the Cape, and stretcheth into the Sea as farre as Cape Augustin. As soone as you have doubled this point, you must take heede you put not in with the Towne of Olynda, which you shall see; for if you doe, you will runne upon the Sands, called by the Portugals Bayhos de S. Antonio, which lye at least foure or five miles into the Sea, being neere the shoare, you shall see the Shippes that lye at anker over the Clifts called by the Portugals Arecias: this place is a league from Fernambuquo, being the harbour where all the Shipping that goes from Fernambuquo doe arrive: from this place to the Cape you shall see the Clifts, as if it were a wall made by Bricklayers, no higher in one place then in another, but all even. The Towne of Fernambuquo is scituated upon a hill, and very strongly entrenched round about, on the Sea side every twelve score, standeth a small Fort or defence for Soldiers, with foure cast Peeces, and so they scowre all the shoare from the Arecias, where the Shippes lye to the point of Olynda, which is the farthest part of the Towne Northwards, from the Arecias where the Ships lye commeth a River through the land, a Harquebusse shot from the Sea coast, and runneth right behinde the Towne from the South to the West and East, which maketh the Towne almost an Iland, all but a little part of the North side.

Cape of Saint Augustine.

The Cape of Saint Augustin is a Point of land that runneth into the Sea two or three miles: from the Sea you shall see three hils, called by the Petiwares, Aquare

Wason Remitum, they will seeme unto you like the backe of a Camell, and now you may easily know it, for you may see a Church that the Portugals have built; and halfe a league towards the South, you shall see the Iland of Saint Aleyxo.

Il. of S. Aleyxo.

The Iland of Saint Aleyxo is long and narrow: it lieth within a league of the shore, and stretcheth North-east and South-west, you may anker betweene the shoare and it all weathers, for the Iland hath very faire Baies, where you may lye in ten or twelve fadome water. Upon this Iland you may take wood or fresh water.

Porto Docalon.

Porto Docalno lyeth Southward of the Iland of Saint Aleyxo, it is a flat land, you neede not feare the comming in by the rockes, for hard by them you shall have foureteene fathome water. Here you shall have great store of Cattell, and Sugars. This Countrie is plaine low land, and all planted with Sugar Canes: you shall know this harbor very easily from the Southerne point of the Iland Saint Aleyxo, for when it ebbeth, you shall see a faire Bay, and all the shore bare almost to the Cape, being blacke ground.

River of stones.

Eight leagues Southward from the Porto de calno, is the River of stones. Southward of it you shall see three great red Hills, which stand over the River of Camary-juva, which is a league from this River, you shall see from Sea a great Bay run within the Land, and before the mouth of it many great Rocks, to come to this Bay you must come close to the shoare on the South-west side, and after you bee in the Bay keepe full West, and it will bring you to a River that runneth into the Land at the least twentie leagues. In the mouth of this River dwell sixe or seven Portugals, that keepe Cattell for John Pays, but they are of no strength. Here you may take water at pleasure, and alwayes in those houses, that stand in the mouth of the River, you shall have good store of Cassavi meale. If you be of any strength, that you dare goe ten or twelve miles up the River you shall take good store of Sugars,

for there standeth three or foure Sugar mills onely, an other on the River side; likewise here is good store of Brasill, and Pepper, Cotton, and many other merchandise.

[IV. vi. 1239.] *Camaryjuva.* Camaryjuva (as I have said) lyeth a league Southward from the River of stones, to know it you shall see three Hills of red ground, called by the Portugals, Bareos Vernellios, this place is not inhabited: the mouth of this place is narrow, and hath not above five foot water, but you may anchor in the Bay hard by the River, and send your Boat safely for fresh water without danger, or to fish with your Net, for there is great store of fresh fish of all kindes.

The River of Saint Antonio. The River of Saint Antonio lyeth seven leagues from Camaryjuva, it is a faire great River, lyeth some fiftie leagues within the Land, hath foure fathom water at the comming in, but is so narrow that no ship can come in. It is a very good place for you if you stand in neede *Salt.* (having salt) to make your provision, for there you shall have great store of all kinde of fish, especially of a kinde *Fish Varava.* of fish, called by the Indians, Varava, which is as bigge as an Oxe. After you are within this River, you shall have high land on both sides, and you must be carefull and keep good watch, for up this River dwelleth a kinde of people, called Carayas, these people if they see you unprovided will fight with you, but if they see you able to defend your selves, then will they bring such things as they have to traffick.

A place called the Harbour of Frenchmen. The Harbour of French-men, called by the Indians, Ajurema piasave, lyeth two leagues Southward from the River of Saint Antonio. It is a small Bay, that may be knowne by a high Hill that standeth over it, which is all full of Brasill trees. To enter into this Harbour, you must marke the Cliffes, and when you are to the North of them all but one, you may safely come within a stones cast to the shoare. When you have landed if you want fresh water, you must seeke on the South side of the Hill, and you shall finde a streame that runneth

out of the Hill into a great Cisterne of stone, which is made out of a rocke, you cannot misse of this place if you seeke for it, for all the way you shall see small Rocks, and mens names written in them.

River called Jaquareasicke.

This river in our language is called the River of Crocodiles, for in it there are many, which the Indians call Jaquares; it is narrow, and in the mouth of it standeth a white Rocke. To enter it you must take heed you keepe on the North side of this Rocke, and you shall finde nine and ten foot water; after you be within it you shall come to a great Bay, and on the North-east side you shall finde a small River, where you may take fresh water, but let every man take heed how hee leapeth into the water, for the Crocodiles lie by the banke-side hidden, and if anything fall into the water presently they kill it. Here is nothing to bee had unlesse you will fish for the Crocodiles, and take the Bladders or Cods of muske from them: here you need not feare any Inhabitants, except you be espyed by some passengers that goe to Fernambuquo.

Alaqua.

Alaqua is a very faire River, that lyeth foure leagues Northward from the River of Saint Michael, and three leagues Southward from the aforesaid River of Crocodiles. On either side of it you shall see a great Hill, called by the Portugals, Os Caivas. You shall finde but seven or eight foot water at the comming, and very cleere from any Rocks, but after you bee within, you shall finde many bankes of sand, where you shall kill good store of fish, and alwayes you shall bee sure to have Carvells fishing in this place, at the comming in on both sides you may take fresh water.

River of Saint Michael.

Before the River of Saint Michael you shall see the Cliffes like Arecines of Fernambuquo; you must enter at the end of the Cliffe, hard by the shoare on the South-west: and you must marke a small Cliffe that lyeth betweene the mouth of the River and the shoare, this Cliffe you leave betweene you and the shoare, and betwixt this Cliffe and the great Rocks you may

enter it; three fathom water. But take heed when you enter, that you saile not towards the North-east, although you see the Bay great, for you shall run upon many great bankes of sand, therefore you must keepe West still within a stones cast of the shoare, so shall you be sure to keep in the Channell. Thus you must saile till you discover a house, that you shall see doubling a Point full South from you, then your best is to anchor, for if you goe farther, you are in danger except you know the Channell very well. In this place dwels a Portugall, called John de Rocho: and up a River that you shall see runne into the Land dwell many Portugals, where they have a Church with Friars to say Masse. Here you shall have good store of Cattell if you need, and Brasill wood, Cassavi meale: and in this River you shall have good store of Oisters, and in them you shall find many great Pearles: likewise here is good store of Balsom oile, and trees of All Nesico, which is a very precious and rich wood, singular good for bruises, or old hurts: also here is good store of Tabacco. This place is eight leagues from the River of Toades, where we were driven on the Rocks, because we knew not where wee were, for it is a singular good Harbour to enter, if a man know the comming in betweene the Rocks, called, Os Bayos de Don Rodrigo.

The Harbour, called the River of Toades.

Because the Indians indeed doe kill many Toades, therefore they call it Cororoen, that is to say, the River, or water of Toades, I tell you the name in the Indian language. Because in all places you shall have of them, and so you may know when they tell you where you are. When you are in ten degrees and an halfe Southwards of the Equinoctiall Line, you shall see five hils and the three that standeth on the North side of this place whereof wee speake are round and high, the other two that stand on the South, not farre in distance one from another, are long and lower then the other, if you come neere the shoare, you shall see a great many of small Rockes, and a great Bay which is the place I speake of, right

before this Bay you shall see two great Rockes, to goe into this Harbour, you must passe betweene these Rockes which are called Bayos de don Rodrigo, when you are entred you may anchor hard by the Rockes, and sound the Channell, which will lye North-east from you. Here you may have fresh water up the River, but it will be hard for you to find, therefore your best is to goe a quarter of a mile by the Sea side, and you shall see a faire River, where you may take water at pleasure, and kill good store of fish. At this place comming from the River of Jenero, in the night we were driven upon the Rockes for want of a Pilot that knew the Coast. [IV. vi. 1240.]

I doe not set downe the places betweene this and the Cape Frio, because I know them not, but by report of other Travellers, and therefore I leave it to them, for I will write no more but what I have seene, and am able to prove when time shall serve, and thus I end shewing you all that I have seene on the Coast Northward of Cape Frio, which is in our Language Cape Cold.

Cape Frio is a point of the Land that runneth into the Sea at least twelve mile, it lyeth under 22. degrees. At this Cape you may have sight of a great Mountaine, that you may see over it called Abausango Retambuera, here you may anchor on the East-side of this Cape in a Harbour called Abayia formozo. Here you may have great store of Brassell-wood, and in this Bay you shall find oftentimes good store of Amber-greece, and on the North side of this Bay you shall see a great River called Uparasou, where you may kill good store of many kinde of fishes, and in the mouth of this River you shall have great store of Corall, if you will dragge for it.

R. Saquarema. Saquarema is a River, where the Frenchmen did traffique with the Canibals called Tamoyes; it floweth foure leagues Southward from the Cape. This River is narrow at the comming in, you shall find twelve foote

water, till you be three or foure leagues up the River. You shall find fresh water on either side of the River, and great store of Brassell-wood, all along the River side. On the South side of this river you shall see a great hill which the Indians call Boypeva, that is, The rotten Whale, for you shall see the top of it like a dead Whale. If you want refreshing, you may have good store of Potato Roots there, Plantons, Lemons, Orenges, and many other good Roots as bigge as great Turnips, which the Indians call Caravasou.

Etioca. Etioca is a league Southward of the River of Saquarema. It is (as I have said in the description of my travell) a great and huge Rocke, hollow within, where the Indians say that the servant of God did preach unto them, which they call Topanvayapera, before the mouth of this Rocke towards the Sea standeth another flat Rocke, that reacheth somewhat into the Sea; upon it you shall see the prints of bare feet, here if you fish with Lines, you may quickly lade your shippe. A little behind this stone house, you shall see a fine River of water, where you shall finde many pretie greene stones that Indians doe use to weare in their lips. You may anchor within a Musket shot of the shore, but it is verie dangerous if the wind be in the East.

Pirateninga. Pirateninga is five leagues to the Southward of Etioca, right before it standeth a small Iland, it is inhabited by the Portugals. It is a Bay that runneth betweene two Mountaines a mile and more within the Land. There

Mermayd seen by the Author. I have seene a Mermaid and many other strange fishes. You may lie with your shipping at the Iland, and send your Boates ashore, where you shall find great store of Cattle; and you may take good store of all kind of fishes if you will, either with Hook or Net. Here you may have Oranges, Lemmons, and Cassavi Meale, and all other such things that the Countrey yeeldeth, but you must be alwaies sure to keepe good watch, for feare of the Portugals of the River of January, which are hard by you.

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The River of Jenero, and Citie of Saint Sebastian.

The River of January lieth three leagues from Pirateninga, it is a great Arme of the Sea, that runneth into the Land at the least fourteene miles; on the mouth of this place, stand foure Ilands, and now the best marke that it hath to be knowne, is a Fort that standeth on the North side of the comming in of the Harbour, upon a Rock. On the South side standeth a Hill that reacheth into the Sea, which the Portugals call Camo, that is, The top of a ship, for it seemeth like the maine top-saile of a ship from Sea. Hard by the Sea side on the foote of this Hill on the North side of the Hill as you saile into the Harbour standeth a Rocke of great height made like a Sugar-loafe, and is called by the Portugals the Sugar-loafe. In the midst of the going in, in the mouth of this River lieth a Rocke plainly to bee seene, to goe in you must keepe betweene the Rocke and the Fort, that standeth on the North side of you. When you are entred the mouth of the River and are past the Fort, you shall see an Iland lie right before you, and even with a Church called Santa Lucia, this Iland is called the Iland of Brigalion. You must be sure to passe on the North side of this Iland, and assoone as you have passed it, you shall see all the Citie both on the Hill, and on the Sea side. Then you must take heed that you goe not right to the Towne, for you shall run upon certaine shelves of sand, that lie right before the Towne all along to a small Iland called the Iland of Saint Bent, this Iland lieth a quarter of a mile from the Iland of Bragalion, and Eastward of this Iland of Saint Bent, standeth a great Rocke, you may saile betweene the Rocke and the Iland, and assoone as you have entred, betweene them you may anchor hard by the Iland, and then you shall see a Church standing upon a Hill which is called Saint Bent, then you need not feare to goe right before the Towne, within a Caleever shot of the shore from the Towne, you shal see on the North-east shore a towne of Canibals, called Saint Lorenzo, which is in peace with the Portugals, and within

Iland of Brigalion.

Iland of Saint Bent.

the Bay you shall finde many Rivers and Sugar-mils, where there is great profit to be made.

[IV. vi. 1241.] *The River called Warativa.*

Warativa lieth three leagues from the River of January, you may know it by two Ilands that lie right before the mouth of the aforesaid River. At the mouth of the River likewise standeth a high Hill, and on either side both on the South-west and North-east is low Land, in this place you cannot enter with any ship; but you may anchor betweene the Ilands, and send your Boats ashore. If you goe up, you shall find good store of Potatoe Roots, Plantons, great store of Oranges and Lemmons, and many other kind of fruits, which are very good to releeve sicke men. If you will fish with your Net, heere you shall kill all kinde of good fishes, but alwayes bee sure to keepe good watch, for the Portugals are very neere you.

Certaine Ilands called by the Illa grande; Great Iland.

From the River of Warativa for the space of foure leagues is all sandy low Land, you shall see a high Hill which the Indians call Marambayapuam, that is in our Language, the end of Warre; right over against this point you shall see a great Iland at the comming in of this Harbour, you need not feare, for hard by the shore, you shall have twentie fathome water. When you are in the mouth of this Harbour right before, you shall see a white Rocke, which will lie full West from you: you must leave the Iland Southward from you, then shall you descrie another great Iland called Epeoya; at a point of this Iland that lieth full West, towards the firme Land, you shall see two small Ilands, and when you are right against those two Ilands you shall see a faire Bay, where you may anchor at pleasure to come into this Bay, you must enter between those two Ilands that I have spoken of. I doe describe this Harbour unto you above many good Harbours that you may find, because you may depart from hence with any wind, for the mouth of Marambaya lieth South-east from you, when you are in this Harbour, then you have another going out that lieth North-east from you,

from this Port where you shall anchor called Epeoya. If you want victuals for your ships, you may take your Boat or your Pinnasse, and goe out betweene the two Ilands that you entred, and when you are betweene those Ilands you shall see a flat broad Iland, which will lye flat South-west from you; this Iland the Indians called Sapeawera; that is, the morning, and this is the Iland that I was driven upon, when I runne away to Master Hawkins, as I have told you in the discourse of my troubles, you must come with your Boat to this Iland, and you must be sure to passe betweene the West shore and the Iland; and assoone as you have passed the point of this Iland, you shall see three Hils of red Earth one hard by another. You must leave one of them West from you, then may you land your men at pleasure, when you have landed, you must goe through a little Copps, for the space of a Harquebusse shot, then shall you come into a faire Lawne, where you shall find great store of Cattle, and a house or two that standeth upon a Hill where you shall have alwayes good store of Cassavi meale, if you will have Rootes and Plantons upon the Iland where you anchor there are good store, but there is an Iland called the Long Iland, where you shall have of all these things in abundance. To know this Iland, row with your Boate to the Iland of Epeoya that lieth full South from your ship, and then you shall see a long Iland hard by the firme Land, which is this whereof wee speake, and because you shall bee sure not to misse it, be attentive. When you come neere the shore, beholding a Rocke that lieth a quarter of a mile from the shore, upon which Rocke standeth a Crosse, this is the place where a Portugall called Manuell Antones dwelleth, but now there is no bodie, but a kinde of Canibals that come and goe, therefore be sure alwaies in those parts to keepe good watch and be carefull; if you can speake their language you may have many things. From this Iland Southwards you shall see two small Ilands halfe a league from you, these

Ilands are called Amambuquavo, right against them lieth a faire River, where you shall have alwaies great store of fish, and by the River side you shall see the Mandioca plainly, and many other Roots very good to refresh your companie. Southward from this place some two leagues you shall see a faire Bay called Parateey there dwelleth a kind of Canibals called Vaunasses, of them you may buy skins of divers wilde beasts, and sometimes they have good store of Amber, which they call Pira ponia ergaty.

The Iland of S. Sebastian.

Saint Sebastian lieth some three leagues from Great Iland, It is a long and a faire Iland, you may anchor betweene it and the shore. After you have entred at the North point of this Iland, you shall see a great white Rocke, right over against this Rocke, you shall see a point of the firme Land runne into the Sea, and right before this point lie three Rockes, where commonly you shall see Indians shooting fishes with their Bowes and Arrowes, if you goe with your Boate to that point, you shall see a great Bay called by the Indians Jequere-quere. There likewise standeth a great Towne of Canibals, such as those that dwell at Great Iland, halfe a league from Saint Sebastians standeth a small Iland right into the Sea, called by the Indians Uraritan, and by the Portugals Alquatrasses, heere you shall finde great store of Sea-foules and Seales, Alegators that live on the Land called by the Indians Fisewasou. Right over against the South point of the Iland of Saint Sebastian standeth a great white Rocke called by the Portugals Paidemilio, that is, the life of Ginnie Wheate; then shall you see an Iland hard by the shoare called by the Indians Boysouconga, that is, the Whales head, this Iland standeth in the mouth of Pertioqua, which is, the River that goeth to Saint Vincents, as you goe to this place after you have passed the Iland, you shall see North-east from you certaine houses where there dwell a kind of Canibals called Caiioses, there you may have good store of Cattle, Orenges, Lemmons, and many kinds of Roots and Fruits.

A.D. 1601. [IV. vi. 1242.]

Right against this Towne of Canibals called Cariihos, standeth the Towne of Saint Vincents called by the Indians Warapiumama; as you goe farther up the River you shall see a small Iland Southward, where you shall see a Sugar-mill of the Captaines of Santos called Jeronimo Letou, where our Gentlemen were slaine. Farther up the River, you shall see a Castle stand at the foote of the Hill; then you come to the Towne of Santos, which standeth hard by the water side. Right behind the Towne of Santos standeth a Hill wher Brascubas had a house, from the top of this Hill did John Davies make a Plate of the Countrey. Now the Portugals have found Mynes of silver in this place.

The description of S. Vincents & Santos.

The third Parieva is a good Harbor for ships, and here are great store of Canibals called Cariihos, which very lately are inleagued with the Portugals, you may buy of them great store of Pepper and Ginger, very rich Furres, and Cotton-wooll, and Waxe, this is the place that I came unto after I had beene taken by the Tamoyes within the Land. Here the Tamoyes were taken by the Portugals, and I was given againe to be my Masters slave, when 10000. of the Tamoyes were slaine, and 20000. of them parted among the Portugals for slaves.

The description of the third Parieva; now called by the Portugals Os patos, and by the Indians Uwason.

The mouth of the River of Plate is wide, and within it there are many Downes of sand, you must bee sure to keepe very neere the North shoare, till you shall see a high Mountayne white at the top; then must you saile Southward at least foure leagues, and shall you see another small Hill on the Northside, you must saile right with it; then shall you come into a faire Bay, where you must be sure to keepe still along the shoare, and after you have passed the Westerne point of this Bay, you shall have the River Maroer; then you need not feare any shallowes till you come before the Towne of Bonos Ayres. There the River runneth full Southward, and along the River side from Bonos Ayres is a small Village built by the Spaniards of Lime and stone that

The description of the River of Plate.

they brought from Brasill, for all the Countrey is sandie: the Indians doe make their houses all covered with earth. Here are great store of wilde Horses and Cattle, sheepe and Goats, but for silver and gold, there is none but that which commeth from Cordiva and Potasin. Here likewise the Indians have great store of Wheate, twentie leagues within Land lyeth a Province called Tocoman, now it is a Bishopricke, this Countrey is the division of Brasill, and all the Provinces of Nova Hispania. Here the Indians have Wheate and Cassavi, Apples, Peares, Nuts, and all other fruites of Spaine, likewise they have all the fruites of Brasill. But after you travell Southward of this Countrey, you shall not find any thing that groweth in Brasill, nor any wild beasts, as Leopards, or Capivaras, Jawasenings, Cat of Mountaines, Aqueques, Warivas, Moroquies, Joboyas, Surucuons, Jararcas, Boyaeva, Boyseninga, Boybeva. Brasill is full of all these wilde and dangerous beasts, and divers others; But the Provinces of Peru are cleere of them, except it bee some chance. From Tocoman to Saint Iago is eightie leagues, and you shall travell it as you doe by Sea with a Compasse, for the Countrey is all sand, and as the wind bloweth, so shall you have the Mountaynes of sand, to day on one side of you, to morrow on the other, in this passage you shall passe through many Rivers, which to your thinking are not above a foote deepe, but if you have not good guides and great experience, your waggons and horses will quickly be cast away in them, and at an instant be covered with quicke sand. After you have passed this Countrey, you shall come to Saint Iago, then till you come to Potosin, you shall travell through great Mountaines and Valleyes, and all the way as you goe, you shall have great Townes of Indians, who are all in peace with the Spaniards, you shall have five hundred of these Indians by the way as you travell readie with Nets to carrie you, tyed on a Cane from Towne to Towne, for a fish-hooke or a few beads of glasse, or any such trifle; and there

Note.

Beasts of Brasil.

Travell by Compasse on sands.

is no travelling in the World so easie as this, for you may lye, or sit, and play on a Gitterne all the way if you will, for so the Spaniards doe; you shall passe by many Mynes of Gold and traffique with the Indians for Gold, and divers kinds of precious Stones, but not in that plentie as you shall at Potasin, by reason that there the Mynes are open and wrought on, and those betweene Santiago and Potossin are not. At Potossin there is no want of any thing, although the Countrey of it selfe bee very barren, but by reason of the great traffique that they have from Lyma, and all the Townes of the South Sea; they have alwayes provision enough, for from those Townes, they bring Oyle and Wine in great Jarres of earth upon great sheepe, which are called sheepe of five quarters, for their tailes have almost as much as a quarter. To tell the particulars of the Mynes, would bee a new Storie, only this: they find the Oare like blacke Lead, then they grinde it in Ingines, then they wash it through fine Sieves in paved Cisternes that are made for the purpose; the Moores are all naked as long as they worke, because he shall not hide any precious stone. The Spaniards here are all very rich, and in truth as gallant fellowes as can be. The Francisco Friers carrie a great sway in this Countrey, by reason that they were the first that preached in this part of India.

[IV. vi. 1243.]

Chap. VIII.

Relations of Master Thomas Turner, who lived the best part of two yeeres in Brasill, &c. which I received of him in conference touching his Travels.

Saint Michaels.

IN Saint Michael one of the Açores, they ascend up in a forenoones journey unto a hill into a Chappell, wherein they need a fire in Summer for the cold: there being a little off three Springs, the one whereof casteth up waters in a continual boyling with a terrible noise, and of great heate, the second of heate intolerable, which in short time scaldeth any living thing to death, the ground also hote to stand on: but the water calme. The third is warme, and a fit Bathe. In these Ilands in Caves bee found men buried before the Conquest, whole, &c. Brasilian Indians are Canibals, and not for revenge only, but for food also devoure mans flesh. The Portugals make not slaves of them, nor can enjoyne them worke, by reason of a commission to the contrarie obtained by the Jesuites: neither doe they winne of them ought but by faire meanes. They are most excellent Archers, goe starke naked, the womens haire long and blacke, harsh as a Horse-taile. He did see up the River of Plate, one twelve foot high, and report was of higher in that Countrey. Their Weapons are two massie bowles at the two ends of a string cast, &c. He saw also men there with the hinder parts of their heads, not round but flat, (and a little before this Relation, about Anno 1610. he said that at London he had seene carried to the Court a thigh bone of a man a yard and a halfe in length.)

Brasill.

Jesuits Savages friends.

Giants.

Flat heads.

Strange Kine.

Their beasts in Brasill are great Apes with beards and Mustachioes. Kine like unto ours of both sexes, but living in the waters and resorting to land to feed. Having no Udders, nor hornes, long legs, harmelesse, lesse

somewhat then ours, their flesh like beefe, but eaten in the name of fish.

Tigres like Grey-hounds spotted like Ounces exceeding swift, the force of whose paw at a blow killeth his prey. Their beast by some called Hay, which yet he saith, eateth leaves of trees and not Aire only: the lovely prettie Segouin. The Serpent Cobrus: whereof he saw one almost as bigge as himselfe, twentie foot long, killed by their Indian boy, of colour like an Adder. Of whom they report (and a Father gave him instance of the proofe) that watching his prey, that is whatsoever commeth by, it windeth about and getteth the taile into the fundament drawing the guts after it: and so preyeth on the same, devouring all, till that it be not able for fulnesse to stirre, but rotteth as it lyeth, the flesh quite away, the head and bones remaining, in which the life continuing recovereth at last his former state. One was thus found in the rottennesse, and being bound for proofe by the Portugals, with a withe to a Tree, at their returne was so found repaired. The beast that baggeth up her young ones, &c. (as in others Relations, heere therefore omitted.)

See before in Oviedo.

Strange Serpent.

The Indian is a fish in the Sea, and a Foxe in the Woods, and without them a Christian is neither for pleasure or profit fit for life or living.

Out of Angola is said to bee yeerely shipped eight and twenty thousand* slaves and there was a Rebellion of slaves against their Masters, tenne thousand making a head and barracadoing themselves, but by the Portugals and Indians chased, and one or two thousand reduced. One thousand belonged to one man, who is said to have tenne thousand slaves, Eighteene Ingenios, &c. his name is John de Paüs, exiled out of Portugall, and heere prospering to this incredibilitie of wealth.

There are Apples called Ananas, pleasant in colour and exceedingly in taste, and holesome, but eating Iron as Aqua fortis.

Brasill is full of Mines, if the King would suffer the digging them.

**This number may perhaps seeme incredible and justly: yet hee tels the report, which in some one yeere after some great battle, may also be probable: but the general report is of divers thousands shipped thence yeerly: the Portugals making their gaine by the Negroes foolish and spightfull wars upon each other.*

Chap. IX.

The taking of Saint Vincent and Puerto Bello, by Captaine William Parker of Plimmouth, the seventh of February 1601.

IN the beginning of November 1601. I departed from Plymmouth with two ships, one Pinnasse and two shallops in quarters toward the West Indies. My chiefe ship wherein I went my selfe as Admirall was named the Prudence, of an hundred tuns, wherein I had an hundred and thirtie tall men, the second was the Pearle, a small ship of sixtie tunnes, wherein went as my Vice-admirall Master Robert Rawlin, accompanied with sixtie lustie fellowes, my Pinnasse of twentie tuns was manned with eighteene men. In this Consort were Master Edward Giles, and Philip Ward Gentlemen Captaines by Land, with Captaine Antonie Fugars, Captaine Loriman, Captaine Ashley, and divers other Gentlemen of much towardlinesse and valour as they made good proofe in the successe of this Voyage. In our passing by the Cape of Saint Vincent in Spaine, commonly called the South Cape, I was encountred with such a terrible Ternado or gust of winde that my Pinnasse with fifteene of our men, to our great griefe was utterly cast away, wee being not able with the uttermost of our endeavours to save above three of the rest. From thence I shaped my course to the Iles of Cape Verde, and immediately upon my arrivall there, I set upon one of them called Saint Vincent, with an hundred men, and tooke the Iland and the Towne thereof, which was a prettie place, the spoile whereof I gave to my Souldiers, which after they had pillaged it, set the same on fire.

[IV. vi. 1244.]

Pinnasses lost in a Ternado.

Iles of Cape Verde.

The Ile and Towne of S. Vincent taken.

The Rancheria in Cubagua, with divers prisoners taken and ransomed.

Hence we haled over to the Coast of Tierra firma, and arrived first at the Ile of Margarita, and comming to the Rancheria or fishing of Pearles in the small Iland of

Cubagua, we found the Governour of Cumana there with a company of Souldiers: neverthelesse we made bold to land, and in our landing we received a great fight wherein divers of our men on both sides were wounded; but in the end I tooke the place with divers of the stoutest of our Enemies Prisoners, and thirteene Periaguaes and Canoes, which are Barkes and Boats of the Countrey: for ransome of all which I received five hundred pounds in Pearle. This done I proceeded on my journey, sayling directly for Cape de la Vela, and there meeting with a Portugall shippe of two hundred and fiftie tuns laden with three hundred and seventie Negros, brought from Congo or Angola, and going to Cartagena with little resistance I tooke the same. And sayling along with my prize Westward, not able to double the Iles, called Las Cabeças, I was driven farre downe to the Southward into the Gulfe of Acle, in Spanish called Eusenada de Acle, where we landed all our Portugals and Negros, keeping only the Captaine which afterward paid me five hundred pounds for his owne and their ransomes. Within a while after we stood Westward with our shippes, and went into the Iles called the Cabeças, where I embarked an hundred and fiftie of my men in two small Pinnasses and two fine shallops, and went for the Iles de Bastimentos, and landing there upon the said Ilands which are peopled and very fruitfull, I tooke sixe or seven Negroes for guides, and so presently with our Pinnasses and Boates entred the mouth of the River of Porto bello, the seventh of Februarie about two of the clocke after midnight, the Moone shining very brightly.

A great ship with 370. Negros taken.

Las Cabizas.

They take sixe or seven people of the Iles of Bastimentos.

R. of Puerto bello.

At our first entrance into the Haven, which is above twelve score over, and very deepe at the mouth and farre upward, we were halled by the strong and stately Castle of Saint Philip, having thirtie five great pieces of Brazen Ordnance and fiftie Souldiers in the same, to know whence we were: wee having aboord us such as could speake Spanish excellent well, answered that we were of Cartagena: then they commanded us to anchor, which we did

The great Castle of S. Philippe, with 25. pieces of brasse, and 50. Souldiers.

accordingly. About one houre afterwards with my two shallops which lay close by my Pinnasses, and some thirtie of my principall men, I went up the River having some of the smaller Fort, called the Fort of Saint Iago, which is directly over against the great Castle of Saint Philip, running still on the shoare, and crying out on me to stay: but neglecting their out-cryes, I landed at the first Towne called Triana, where the alarme was presently given: which neverthelesse I set on fire, and marched over a little Brooke into the great rich Towne of Porto bello; and comming directly up to the Kings Treasure-house, which is very faire and large, we found a squadron of souldiers (whereof there are two hundred and fiftie alwayes belonging to the Towne and another company of the Inhabitants) with two brasse Pieces of field Ordnance well mounted on their carriages, which we presently possessed, and fiercely set upon the Souldiers.

The Towne Triana.

Porto bello.

At which alarme Captaine Antonie Fugars, and Captaine George Lawriman of Ratcliffe, came up with my two Pinnasses with an hundred and twentie men to my rescue, which was very hardly laid unto. At this house at our first comming into the Towne, my Lieutenant Samuel Barnet was shot on the side of his head, and through his eare, and Captaine Giles comming to second him, was likewise shot over the brest and through his arme. In this meane space Pedro Melendes the Governour of the Towne, had gathered sixtie Souldiers together, and was comming toward a certaine bridge to encounter me, I having not then above eight or nine men with mee to withstand them: but God did prosper our proceedings mightily. For the first two shot that went from us, shot Melendes through his Target, and went through both his armes: and the other shot hurt the Corporall of the field. Whereupon they all retired to the house, which they made good untill it was almost day. Against whom I sent Captaine Ward with some Souldiers, who entred the house, killing divers of them, and wounded Melendes in eight places more: himselfe being

Pedro Melendes.

shot through both his thighes in entring, and some of his men hurt: but in the end he tooke Melendes Prisoner, and became Master of the house.

Melendes the Governour taken prisoner.

My selfe with others went to the Kings house, wherein were many of the Souldiers, who would not come to any composition, but stoutly defended the same against Captaine Giles and our Lieutenant Samuel Barnet: who in the end slue divers of them and hurt many others, taking the Kings Scrivano prisoner. This fight endured for the space of foure or five hours. The fight being ended, and we being Masters of the Kings Treasure-house and all the Towne, and having the Governour Melendes, and the Scrivano with many others of the chiefest my Prisoners, except the Alcalde which fled out of the Towne with a chaine of Gold about his necke. Such Treasure as was found in the Kings house to the value of some nine or ten thousand Duckets, I reserved to my selfe, which was nothing to that which wee did expect (that being the receite at one time of the yeere of all the Treasure that commeth from Peru and Chile, amounting at least to five or sixe Millions of Duckets) and had I come but seven dayes sooner, I had taken heere an hundred and twentie thousand Duckets which were newly laden in two Frigats for Cartagena. The rest of the spoile of the Towne, which came to no small value in Money, Plate, and Merchandize, I gave wholy to my Souldiers: which being done, I disposed my Corpses du guard in divers places, for keeping the Towne all that day: and at the end of the streete leading towards Panama on the South Sea, being full of all Artificers, we made a barricado, where Captaine Giles stood with another Corps du guard being divers times assaulted by the enemy, whom still hee valiantly repulsed and put to the worse.

[IV. vi. 1245.]

Pedro Melendes the chiefe Governour of the Towne being my Prisoner, in regard that he had valiantly carried himselfe in making resistance untill he had tenne or eleven wounds upon him, I did not only at length dismisse without any peny for his ransome, but also caused my Chirur-

Brave spirit & liberall minde of Captaine Parker.

gion very carefully to dresse and trimme his wounds: using him and his farre otherwise then Pedro Melendes his great Uncle used John Ribault, Laudoniere, and the French Nation in Florida, whom they most cruelly murdered and massacred as many as they could lay any hands upon.

Porto bello described.

Thus being Master for one whole day of the stately and new builded Towne of Porto bello, which had two goodly Churches in it fully finished, and sixe or seven faire streets, whereof two were full of all necessarie Artificers, and of Merchants, with three small Forts on the Townes sides, besides the great Fort of Saint Philip on the other, when I might have speedily have consumed it all with fire, I willingly abstained from the same: knowing that though I could have done the King of Spaine exceeding great hurt, and have undone a number of the Inhabitants, yet the good that I should have done my selfe, and mine thereby should have beene very small in comparison of their damage. Only certaine out houses wherein their Negros dwelt, I caused to be burned to amaze and put them in feare: I also tooke two Frigats of theirs which roade far up within the River, the one of them having in her three pieces of Ordnance, the which I likewise tooke and brought away from thence with me, with the which Ordnance we beate upon the enemy marching unto us from the Wester Fort.

He abstaineth from setting the Towne of Porto bello on fire.

Two Frigats taken and brought away.

Their departure.

The day being spent, at the beginning of the night I embarked my men, enriched with the chiefe spoile of the Towne, and set saile to depart with my owne two Pinnasses and two shallops and the foresaid two Spanish Frigats which I had wonne: but in going out I was shot in at the elbow, and out at the wrist with a Musket shot which came from the Wester shoare, whereof there were many shot over us: besides eight and twentie great shot from the chiefe and Easter Fort, which did endanger us often. But God so wrought for us, that we safely got forth againe contrarie to all our enemies expectation, who made full account to sinke us in going forth. Being

safely come forth wee rode with our Pinnasses, and shallops behind a small Iland which lay betwixt us and the Wester most Fort of Saint Iago, untill my Vice-admirall Captaine Rawlins brought two ships thither, which rode somewhat to the Eastward of the Castile of Saint Philip, under the Rocke where Sir Francis Drake his Coffin was throwne over-boord, all the while that we were busied in gaining, sacking, and possessing the Towne. Our whole fleet beeing assembled together in the place aforesaid, I set the Kings Scrivano, and the rest of my prisoners on shore, suffering them to depart without paying any kind of ransome.

Sir Fr. Drakes buriall.

And the next day being the ninth of February, I set saile and stood off to Sea, leaving the goodly Haven and beautifull Towne of Porto bello, which standeth in ten degrees of Northerly latitude: and directed my course backe againe toward Cartagena, and about twelve leagues to the Eastward thereof, I came into a good Bay called Sambo, where I watered and staied some twelve or thirteene daies, and riding there tooke certaine Frigats which were bound for Cartagena. Whereupon the Governour Don Pedro de Coronna, armed out two Gallies and a Brigandine, with some two or three Frigats, with a purpose to assault us; but beeing better advised they would never come neere us. When he heard that I had taken Porto bello, one of the chiefest places of the West Indies, with so small forces, he pulled his beard, and sware that he would give his Mules lade of silver, but to have a fight of mee and my companie. From this Bay of Sambo wee stood over for the Iland of Jamaica, and so doubled the Cape of Saint Antonio, beeing the most Westerly part of Cuba, and disimboked through the Gulfe of Bahama, the last of March 1602. and came with good weather to the Iles of the Açores, where victualling my Vice-admirall and two Pinnasses out of mine owne ship for two moneths, and leaving them at Sea to take some farther purchase, with mine owne ship I tooke my course for Plimmouth, and arrived there in safetie the sixt of May 1602.

Sambo.

Virtus in hoste laudanda.

[IV. vi. 1246.]

Chap. X.

Certaine Notes of a Voyage made by mee David Middleton into the West Indies with Captaine Michael Geare, An. Dom. 1601.

Grand Canarie.

THe five and twentieth day of May, wee set saile from the Lyzard, and the tenth day of June we fell with the Grand Canarie: the Towne standeth on the North-east point of the Iland, and the Road is one league to the Northward of it. That night we stood of South South-west. And the five and twentieth day of June we were in the latitude of twentie two degrees thirtie minutes.

Punta delaraya.

The sixe and twentieth day of June wee came in companie of seven saile of Hollanders that were bound for the West Indies, to Punta delaraya to lode Salt, and the seven and twentieth day we lost sight of them.

S. Vincents.

The second day of Julie we fell with Saint Vincent. When you came from Saint Vincent to the Testogos, you must make the way South-west by West, or else you shall not fetch it, for the Current sets North and by West from them.

Boinara.

Being to leeward from Caracus, two leagues we stood over North North-west, the wind being at East North-east, we fell twelve leagues to the Eastward of Boinara, beeing the twelfth of Julie. If you stand over from Boinara to Qurasao, minded to goe to the Southward of the Iland, you must stand South and by West, or else you cannot get about, because there is a Current that sets North-west, and may set you upon the Iland.

The three and twentieth day of Julie wee anchored to the Westward of Qurasao, and there the Land lies North and South.

Aruba.

Seven men killed.

The nine and twentieth of Julie we landed upon Aruba, for to get fresh water, and there we had seven men slaine by the Indians of the Iland: and we rid with our ship in

five fathomes water, halfe a mile from the shoare. One point of the Land bare North, the other South-east and by South, and there is an high Hill in the middle of the Iland, and that bare East and by South. Betwixt Coque and the Maine the course is East and West.

The shoale of Puntall lieth two leagues off: the best of the Channell betwixt that Point, and Coque is in eight, nine and ten fathomes. *Puntal.*

From Bracheo to the Parretaes is five leagues course West and by South. *Bracheo.*

From the Parretaes to Cape Caldera is twentie five leagues course North-west and by West, and betwixt the Parretaes and the Maine, you shall have foure, five, six and seven fathoms water. *Cape Caldera.*

The Road of Morecapana lieth betwixt the Maine and Boracheo, within the Ilands. *Morecapana.*

The eight day of August we set saile from Aruba, and we stood over South for the Maine, the wind being at East and by South, wee fell with Mecola, being nine leagues from Aruba. Saint Ann is an high Hill upon the Maine neere unto Mecola. *M. S. Ann.*

The seven and twentieth day of August we came to anchor at Portete, that is to the Eastward of Cape La vela, foure leagues. The Cape bare West a little to the Southwards, at the going to Portete. And on your Larboord side going into Portete, there is a round Hill: being in the offing it sheweth verie blacke. The going into this Harbour is verie narrow, but within it is a verie broad Sound, and two thousand saile of ships may ride there in verie good ground, and you may ride from five fathomes to twentie, but wee ridde in three, a little within the point, on our Larboord side going in. *Portete.*

The eighteenth of January wee parted from our Man of Warre at Cape Saint Anthony, and set saile for England, in a Prize, a ship of some one hundred and fortie tunnes, laden with Campeche Wood and Hides, the Master of the Prize was William Goobreath: and from Cape Saint Anthony we stood off North-west and by North. *Cape S. Antony.*

Organes. The nine and twentieth day at noone, we had sight of the Westermost Land of the Organes, being East South-east from us, and then we stood North-east, and the twentieth day we were in latitude 23. degrees 15. minutes, the winde being at East North-east, we stood off North, and from the twentieth day to the one and twentieth day wee made our way West and by North, and this day we were in latitude 23. degrees 20. minutes, then we stood to the Eastward.

Cuba. The two and twentieth day, we were North-west and by North, from the Crowne in Cuba, fourteene leagues, then we stood to the North-ward: these fourteene leagues we turned up and downe with the winde Easterly. The three and twentieth day, wee were in latitude of 24. degrees no minutes, the wind being at East North-east, and we lay North with the stemme, and this night we came in twelve fathomes, being then in latitude of 24. degrees 35. minutes, the winde being at East and by South we stood to the Southward. The five and twen-

Cobey. tieth day, wee fell with Cobey twelve leagues to the Eastward of the Havana, and this day about foure of the clocke in the afternoone, we had the Pan of the Mantanças South-east, and by South from us some sixe leagues, the winde being at East, and we stood North

[IV. vi. 1247.] North-east three Watches, and brought the Pan upon the Matanzas South of us: the winde being at East North-east, we stood to the Northward, for so we made the ships way. The seven and twentieth day at foure of the clocke in the afternoone, wee fell with the South-east

Martyrs. part of the Martyrs: then wee stood off South-east and by South three watches with a low saile, and so cast about, and stood North-east and by North three watches, and then observed, and found the ship to bee in the latitude of 24. degrees and 55 minuts, being then South-west and

Cape of Florida. by South of the Cape of Florida about three leagues: the winde being at South-east and by East, we stood off South and by West three watches, and then cast about, and stood North-east two watches, and then observed,

and found the ship to be in 25. degrees 36. minutes being the nine and twentieth day of Januarie, 1602. and then two watches North and by East, and foure North North-east: and the thirtieth day at noone wee had the Cape Canaveral West and by North from us sixe and twentie leagues: by supposition being now in latitude 28. degrees 14. minutes, the winde being at South, wee stood North-east and by East into the Sea. The eighteenth day of March at noone (being Thursday) wee fell with Silley, *Silley.* and wee were South from it three leagues or ten miles, the winde being at West South-west, wee stood for the Lizzard, and the twentieth day of this moneth we came to winde being at anchor in Dartmouth, this was my first voyage which I have to the West Indies.

Chap. XI.

The description of the Ile of Trinidad, the rich Countrie of Guiana, and the mightie River of Orenoco, written by Francis Sparrey left there by Sir Walter Raleigh, 1595. and in the end taken by the Spaniards and sent prisoner into Spaine, and after long captivitie got into England by great sute. 1602.

The description of the Ile of Trinidad.

Orta la Spaniola lyeth North-east. The Spaniards name themselves Conquerabians. Anaperima is the name of the River, which goeth to Corona the Spanish Towne. The North part is very mountainous. The Indians of Trinidad have foure names. 1. Those of Parico are called Jaios. 2. Those of Punta, Carao Aruacas. 3. Those of Curiadan are called Salvages. 4. Those betweene Punta Carao, and Punta de la Galera, Nepeios. But those which are servants to the Spaniards, name themselves Carinapagotos. The chiefest of the Indians,

I meane the Kings and Lords of the Ilands in times past, named themselves Acarewanas, but now Captaines.

The description of Guiana, and of the great River Orenoco.

GUiana beareth directly East from Peru, and lyeth almost under the Equinoctiall Line. The entrance *The River of Capuri.* to the River Orenoco through the River Capuri at the mouth at a full Sea hath nine foot water, and at the ebbe but five foot. The water floweth but a small time, but increaseth much; and the ebbe goeth but slowly: for *The Gulfe of Guanipa.* it continueth sixe houres. In the bottome of the Gulfe of Guanipa there is the River of Amana, which leadeth *The River Amana.* into Orenoco also. In this River, which wee named the *Orenoco.* River of the Red Crosse, wee tooke an old Tivitivan for our Pilot to Orenoco.

The River of Orenoco or Barequan hath nine mouthes, which lye on the North-side of the mayne land: but I could heare but of seven mouthes upon the South-side. So that betweene Ilands and broken Lands it hath some sixteene mouthes in all. The Ilands are somewhat bigge, so as I can hardly ghesse how many leagues it is from the North-side to the South-side. At the entrance of this *Tivitivas.* River are two great Lords Tivitivans, which hold warre one with the other continually: The one Nation are called the Tivitivans of Pallamos, and the other of Hororotomaca. He that entreth the River of Amana from Curiapan, cannot possibly returne the same way hee came, by reason of the Easterly windes and the great *The River Macurio.* Currents, but must of force goe in a River within the Land, which is called Macurio.

To goe from the Ile of Trinidad to the great River Orenoco the River of Amana beareth South: But parting from that River by a branch which beareth to the West *Toparimaca a Governour.* we entred Orenoco. Toparimaca is the chiefe Governour under Topiawari, of the entrance of the Eastermost part of the River Orenoco. The Towne of this Governour *Arwacan.* is called Arwacan. These are friends to the Carapanans,

A.D. 1602.

Tivitivans, and all Nations, the Caribes excepted. Carapana lyeth in the Province of Emeria: and the Eastermost part of Dorado is called Emeria.

Carapana lyeth in the Province of Emeria.

Assapana is the first Iland in Orenoco: it is but small. The second Iland is called Iwana. There is another entrance into Orenoco, which I discovered not: but the Indians name it Arraroopana. Europa is a River which commeth into Orenoco; but the head of it I know not. In the middest of Orenoco there is a pretie bigge Iland, which is somewhat mountainous; and the name of it is Ocawita. One Putima commandeth under Topiawari, in the confines of Morrequito, which lyeth in the Province of Arromaia. The Iland of Putapaima is farre up within the River of Orenoco, and standeth right against the high Mountaine, called Oecope. Over this Mountaine lye the Playnes of Samia. Through these Playnes you may goe to Cumana, or to the Caracas; which are at least one hundred and twentie leagues just North. In these Playnes are foure Nations, which are held for great men. The Samias, the Assawais, the Wikeries, and the Arroras. These Nations are something blacke.

[IV. vi. 1248.]

Assapana Iland.
Iwana Iland.
Arraroopana.
Europa River.
Ocawita Iland.
Morrequito.
Arromaia.
Putapaima Iland.
Oecope.
The Playnes of Samia.
Cumana.

On the left side of this River Orenoco are two small Ilands, a small distance the one from the other. The one is called Aroami, the other Aio. In the morning before the Sunne bee high the winde is still Easterly in this place. Manoripano lyeth in the middle of Orenoco. Aromaio is the name of Morrequito. Orenoco reacheth to the Mountaines of Wacarimoc, which is to the East in the Province of Emeria, or Carapana. The Vallies are called Amariocapana, and the people by that name also. Upon this River Orenoco there is a pleasant River for many kindes of victuals, which is called Caroli, and the people Cassipagotos.

Aroami Iland.
Aio Iland.
Manoripano.
Aromai.
The River Caroli.
Cassipagotos.

This Countrie of Morrequito lyeth in some five or sixe degrees to the North of the Equinoctiall Line. At the Point of the River Caroli is the small Iland called Caiama. The Inhabitants of this Iland Caiama are enemies to the Epuremi. Here is a very great fall of Land water.

Morrequito.
Caiama Iland.
Epuremi.
Great Fall.

Canuri. Canuri lyeth in the Province of Morrequito. The Governour is called Wanuretona.

Store of gold among the Epuremians. The Epuremians are richest in gold onely. These people called Epuremi have many enemies, but three especially which are very strong: which are these; the Cassipagotos, Eparigotos, and Arawagotos. Hee that will passe the Mountaines of Curaa shall finde store of gold; which is farre to the West.

Cassipagotos. Eparigotos. Arawagotos. Store of gold beyond the Mountaines of Curaa. Store of gold. River Arui. River Cassipa. River Atoica. River Caora. River Casnero. Amapaia. The Rivers Cari, Limo, Paoo, Caturi, Voari, Capuri. The Province of Amapaia. Bad water. The River Arui runneth continually North, and so to the River Cassipa, and from thence into Orenoco: neere unto the River Arui are two Rivers, the one is called Atoica, the other Caera: and also one branch which is called Caora. To the Westward of Caroli is a fourth River, which is called Casnero: it falleth into Orenoco on the side of Amapaia.

The first River that falleth into Orenoco from the North, is called Cari. Beyond it on the same side is the River Limo: to the West of it is the River Paoo: and beyond that are the Rivers Caturi, and Voari; and another called Capuri, which is dangerous to enter. To the Westward of Capuri in the Province of Amapaia, is most vile, unwholsome, and bad water to drinke: it is of a bad tawnie colour; it hath killed many a man, both Indians and others. They say this water commeth from Anebas.

Guicar. Goavar. Papemena. On the North part of Peru is a way to enter into Orenoco, as I have heard by the Indians. The first place whereby they are to passe, is called Guicar: the second Goavar, and so to the River of Papemena; which is the River that runneth toward the Iland of the Amazones.

The Iland of Amazones. The Iland Athul. Neere unto the Iland of the Amazones is the famous Iland of Athul.

River Ubra. The River Ubra, bearing to the West of Carthagena, beareth to the Southward of the Iland of the Amazones. This River Ubra, if you stand to the South-west, leadeth

Eregoodawe. to a part of Aromaiio, which is called Eregoodawe. This Countrie of Eregoodawe is very Mountainous, and nothing fruitfull: it is inhabited by the Coman Ibes. They have

Ginny wheat but no store, and very little Cassavi: Venison, Hogs, and Conies they have in great abundance. The King or chiefe Governour of this Province or part of Aromaiio, which is called Eregoodawe, is one which beareth great sway in those parts, whose name is Oromona. But all are chiefly commanded by Tapuawary King of Morrequito. *Oromona. Tapiawary.*

In mine undertaking the discoverie of the North part of Orenoco, I was advertised by certaine Indian Pilots, that I should finde a perfect and readie way to goe to Peru. In which my travell, I fell, by reason of a great storme, into a River, which is called by the Indians Salma. *River Salma.* This River is not great: in three dayes I passed through this River, and entred into the River of Papemena. *Papemena a great River.* This River of Papemena is more in my judgement then five or sixe Leagues broad.

North North-west of this River is the Iland of the Amazones. But leaving that course, I came to the most sweete, pleasant, and temperate Iland which is called Athul. If I had had companie to my liking, I could have found in mine heart to have stayed there and spent my life. Athul is not rich in mettals: but some stones I found in the fresh-water Rivers: for there are great store of fresh-water Rivers; and no want neither of Fish, Tortoyses (which the Indians name Catsepames) Foules, nor other good things. It hath Wood great store, Fruites all the yeere in abundance, many good places to make a Towne if you will, Cotton, and Balsamum, Brasill, Lignum vitæ, Cypresses, and many other sweete trees. The earth of this Iland doth promise to the eye to be good, it is very sad, and much like to Oare, which I found in divers places. I cannot report of the goodnesse of the stones, because my knowledge in them is nothing. Athul is not inhabited by any. The Iland is small, and for feare of the Caribes, there is no body. *Athul, a most sweet & pleasant Iland.* [IV. vi. 1249.]

I returned from this good Iland Athul toward the River of Orenoco, because I found my labour was lost: For to finde the way to Peru that way was impossible. *He returneth from Athul.*

Papemena. And to make my journey the shorter, I returned by the River Papemena, but left the River of Salma cleane, and came my directest way to Orenoco: which mine

Limo. Indian Pilots held to bee through the River of Limo;

Orenoco. and so I came into the River of Orenoco. Then I went from Orenoco, and held my course altogether Westerly: because I found the West most rich; although it was most dangerous to travaile thither, I meane farre into the Countrie, by reason of the Epuremi, which live continually in armes and hold warres against many Nations, but against three Nations especially. These are, as I wrote before, the Cassipagotos, the Eparigotos, and the Arawagotos. My desire was to goe to Curaa; and from Orenoco I first entred into

Cosnero River. the River of Cosnero, and so coasted to Amapaia, where

Amapaia. is the bad tawnie water, which before I mentioned: from

Paoo River. thence I went to the River Paoo; and within sixe weekes after I departed out of the River of Orenoco I came to the rich Countrie of Curaa.

The rich countrie of Curaa six weekes travell from Orenoco. The Countrie of Curaa is in the Province of Guiana, or Manoa, where are the mynes of white stone; in which

Manoa. mynes is much naturall and fine gold, which the Indians

Gold in abundance. call Callicurii. The gold in this place, I say in Manoa, or Guiana, runneth betweene the stones like veines; of which gold I had some store: but now the Spaniard is

Gold in grains found in Rivers. the better for it. In Curaa is also gold in small graines, which lye in the sands in the little Rivers or Brookes. I alwayes tooke those graines for the finest gold. In

Crocodiles in the River and worse on land, keepers of gold. these Rivers where gold lyeth, are many Aligattos or Crocodiles. I heard by the Nation of the Tivitivans,

Tulahe. that a place called Tulahe, had many good things in it:

Bad pearles. but I found it nothing so. Some bad fresh-water pearles I found there: which were nothing round, Orient, nor very great. I brought of them with me to the

Topasses. Spaniards; and they said they were no Pearles, but Topasses.

Camalaha. Women Faire and yet no fair women. Camalaha is a place where they sell Women at certaine times, in the manner of a Faire. And there you shall

buy colours, such as the Salvages paint themselves with. In this Faire, which is called Camalaha, which is to the South of Orenoco, I bought eight young Women, the eldest whereof I thinke never saw eighteene yeeres, for one red-hafted knife which in England cost mee one halfe-peny. I gave these Women away to certaine Salvages which were my friends, at the request of Warituc the Kings Daughter of Murrequito.

Eight women for a halfe-penny knife.

Tar or Taroo is an Iland, which is to the South South-West of Orenoco. To which place I went, because they said there was never any that inhabited in this Iland, but that it was in the manner of a bayting place for the Caribes, when they had stollen people, which they meant to eate. One Captaine Caramatoii was my guide to this place: whither we went somewhat strong, with intent, if wee could finde any Caribes on this Iland, to kill them; but wee found none. Many houses wee found there covered with straw, which wee set on fire. And there I found close by the water side, going about the Iland, which was but small, many stones of divers colours.

Tar or Taroo, an Iland.

To the West of this River and Iland, which is called Tar or Taroo, is a River, which is called Habuc: There are about this River in most places eight, ten, seventeene, and thirtie fathomes water. This River of Habuc commeth from the Sea. The entrance of this River at the mouth is barred; but at a full Sea you shall have fourteene and fifteene foot water; but in the Channell in which the Canoas enter, which is but narrow; there is more then sixe fathomes: but I doubt that ships cannot enter there. This River Habuc is the best and surest harbour that I could finde for our ships, and freest from the danger of the enemie; and is not full eight dayes journey from Orenoco.

Habuc a River.

Habuc scarce eight dayes journey from Orenoco.

The River Europa lyeth to the East of Orenoco as you come from Trinidad: you may, as I certainly know, going some twentie leagues in the River of great Amana, discover the great and high Mountaine which is called Oecopa: being there you shall plainly see the Playnes or

Europa River.

Oecopa Mountaine.

Downes of Samia; through which Playnes you may safely march over the Land within ten or twelve leagues of Cumana, or to the Caracas.

Santo Domingo. From Orenoco also it is very easie to goe to the Towne of Santo Domingo, which beareth North North-west directly: but you must passe of force the River Amapaia, leaving the Iland called Amazones South: and beare your course as neere as you can North-west, or North North-west. By this course you shall passe and escape the force and danger of the Towne, and land some sixe dayes journey from Santo Domingo.

Amapaia River.

Amazones Iland.

Wiaumli River. The River Wiaumli is to the North of Orenoco. To goe into this River, which is little worth, you may goe in the Land till you come to another small River, which is called Maccah: directing your course South, you shall within two dayes, if your Canoa bee good, enter the River of Wiaumli. The Land taketh the name of the River. The Governours name is Woripur Worrok Halaha. Carrabouca is in the firme Land of the great Iland, called Murrequito: it is the common trade to goe to the rich Guiana or Manoa.

Maccah River.

Woripur.

Carrabouca.

Guiana or Manoa.

[IV. vi. 1250.] *Drano River.* Drano is a faire River, but it is dangerous to goe farre in it, by reason it lyeth due South-east from Orenoco: and the Southermost part of the Moores of Anebas is very low, so that the tanie waters issue in great abundance into this River of Drano. The danger for entring this River is nothing, but the doubt is onely of the bad water, and most terrible dewes which fall from the Moores, which are unhealthfull, and kill the Indians daily; for that continually when they travell they lie in the open aire.

Anebas Moores.

Unhealthfull dewes.

Emeria. The Eastermost part of Dorado is called Emeria. There is a small River, which lyeth farre East in Emeria, and beareth North North-west. Through this River called Capurisol is a sure, a perfect, and most safe way to goe to Peru: but the journey will aske eight or ten weekes to finish it. Through these Rivers of force wee must passe with Canoas or Ship-boats, or such like: for there is alway very little water.

The River of Capurisol lyeth in eight degrees and two terces to the North of the Equinoctiall Line. But the North starre keepeth his degree and altitude 11. degrees and two terces. In this River is still a fine small brise of winde, which lightly bloweth at West: but at noone you shall hardly finde any winde. *Capurisol River.*

Chap. XII.

Captaine Charles Leigh his voyage to Guiana and plantation there.

THe one and twentieth of March, 1604. Captaine Charles Leigh in the Olive Plant, a proper Barke of some fiftie Tunnes accompanied with six and fortie men and boyes, departed from Wolwich with intention to discover and inhabit some part of the Countrie of Guiana, where he had beene in a former voyage, they stayed in the Downes untill the eight and twentieth of the said moneth, and passing thence they touched in the Ile of Mogador on the coast of Barbarie in the moneth of Aprill, where we stayed about some five dayes, and watered on the mayne land in despite of the rebell Moores, which would have had money for our watering. *Canoa of water.* Thence with prosperous winde coasting the Iles of Cape Verde, we passed over to the West Indies, and upon the tenth of May comming in change of water, which shewed thicke and white, by the next day we were in fresh water, and the next day following about five in the morning wee saw two Ilands in the mouth of the River of Amazones, making account that we were fortie leagues up the River, and came to an anchor in three fathoms under them, which wee found low land covered with high Trees. *River of Amazones.* Then the Captaine with some eight of the best men of the ship went toward the shoare, and finding many Indians comming toward them they returned aboard, and found the ship almost aground, but sounding the

Bay brought their ship into the Channell which they found very narrow.

Within awhile after foure Indians in a small Canoa shewed themselves unto us, to whom we sent our Boat with some of our commodities, as Hatchets, Knives, Glasses, Beades, they had nothing but Maiz and small blue-headed Parrots, for which we gave them some of our triffles. Not long after another Canoa comming out, our Boat clapt betweene them and the shoare to take some of them, to learne the state of the River by them, but they freed themselves all save one youth, which was brought aboard, which next day after escaped leaping into the Sea twelve leagues as we judged from land. Thus we tooke our leave of the River of Amazones, and having uncertaine shoaldings all the way in our way, about ten a clocke in the night wee strooke upon a sand before we could let fall our anchor, where wee beat off a piece of our false keele, before wee could get off. Being gotten off, wee came to an anchor in foure fathom and a halfe water, and rode there untill the next morning, where wee descryed the land sixe leagues from us with the entrance of a River.

River Wiapogo.

The two and twentieth of May, wee arrived in the River of Wiapogo, in the latitude of three degrees and a halfe to the North of the Line, where wee found the people readie to give us the best entertainment they could, bringing us Hony, Pines, Plantons, Potatoes, Cassavi (whereof they make their bread and wine) Fish of many sorts, Hennes, Conies, Hogs, and such like. This day he tooke an oath of all his people to be true to him as long as he abode in the Countrie. Then after divers conferences with the chiefe Indians, and namely with two of their Countrie, which had beene before in England, and could speake some English, he found them very willing to have him and his people abide in their Countrie: who pretending want of many necessaries, whereof indeed he stood in need, and especially of victuals, hee went up the River in his Boat with some fourteene

men to take perfect view of a fit place to inhabit in, and to sound the depth of the River as they went. At his returne he caused his ship to be brought up hard unto the falls of the River: but after they had stayed there *The Falls.* one day, finding sundrie inconveniences, they came backe againe to their first road; with a determination to plant and seate themselves upon the first Mount or high [IV. vi. ground, at the entrance of the North side of the River. 1251.] But the Jayos and Sapayos seeing him and his company come downe the River againe, entreated him earnestly to stay among them, offering him their owne dwelling Houses and Gardens alreadie planted to their hands, whereof he accepted: to wit, of two Houses and of as many Gardens as they thought convenient to serve his turne, with condition that he should ayde and defend them against their enemies the Caribes and others. Hereupon they made a great Feast, desiring our Captaine to bee at it, and they demand of their generalitie of the staying of our men in the Countrey or no. Whereunto they gave their free consent, and desired him withall to send into England, for men to teach them to pray. *They desire to learne religion.* This done, the next day he brought all his furniture on shoare, and bestowed it in the aforesaid houses. And for the better assurance of the performance of the Salvages promise, he demanded pledges of them to be sent into England: whereunto they willingly condescended: which were in number five, whereof two were of good account. Hee retayned thirty five Englishmen and Boyes with him, sending the rest home in June, with the five Salvages which were plentifully furnished with their Country victuals, with Letters to the right Worshipfull Sir Olave Leigh his brother, of his successe and desire to supply his wants, which he most kindly twice supplied to his great charge within short time after.

The Caribes in eight warlike Canowes came to surprize *Caribes.* them as farre as the Mount Comaribo: whereof the Indians being advertised by our fishers, desired Captaine Leigh to aide them: which he did with some foure

and twentie of his men in eight Canowes. But the battell being begun after they had heard the sound of our Trumpet and Musket, they fled to Sea-ward, our Canowes chasing them: but the enemy being swifter escaped with casting of one of their Canowes which are able to carry twentie men and victuals for ten dayes, which Canowe they brought home.

A Canowe taken.

Within a sennight after our Captaines returne, hee made a Voyage in an Indian Canowe having Indians to rowe him, accompanied only with Thomas Richardson, his Refiner of Metals, and John Burt his Chirurgion 90. miles by water up the River of Aracawa, to a Nation called the Maurauvas, where he traded for Tabacco and Cotton yarne, and Cotton-wooll. There he left his Chirurgian being sicke, and with his Refiner and three Indians (whereof one William was his Interpretour) went up to a Nation called Marraias the space of thirtie miles, where they passed thorough a goodly Plaine foure miles broad of much stonie ground, wherein they saw Deere. At length meeting with the people, they were kindly entertayned and fed with such as they had; as dryed Tygres flesh, dried Hogges flesh, and small fish. Then after some discourse, they enquired for Gold shewing a Ring. An old man spake unto him and pointed up into the Countrey, and the Captaine asking the Interpreter what he said, he told him that he said there was no such that way. The Captaine perceiving the falshood of his Interpretor would goe no further, and so returned home, where he found us for the most part sicke, and the Indians not so kind unto us as they had promised: which he much marvelled and grieved at.

R. Aracawa.

Within three dayes after his returne, his shipwright Richard Haward died before hee could make an end of his shallop. And in September our Captaine himselfe began to droope, partly of griefe to see the weake estate of his people, and the ill performance of the Indians promises: yet neverthelesse he ceased not to take order for the Indians bringing in of victuals and such Mer-

chandize as could be gotten, as Waxe, fine white long Feathers, Flaxe, Tabacco, Parrots, Monkeyes, greene and blacke, Cotton-yarne and Cotton-wooll, sweet Gummes, red Pepper, Urapo, and Apriepo woods, Spleene stones, matiate stones, Roots and Berries, which we thought to be medicinable, Anato a Berrie or Cod, such as the Indians paint themselves red withall mingled with Oyle, Urapo which is the heavie wood whereof they make their Swords and Bowes, Apriepo, a wood that the Frenchmen and Hollanders fetch away, a wood which they call Ayard, which they kill fish withall. *The Commodities of the Countrey.*

The fishers beate this wood with another piece of wood, till it shiver into flakes, which smelleth exceeding strong like Garlicke, wherewith in sundry places of the creekes going in according to the depth of the water, they beate it up and downe often in the River, which the fish tasting, are intoxicated, and so distempered with all, that they flote and tumble upon the upper part of the water, and then with Bats and Poles they knocke them on the heads. Their bread they make of Cassavia, a white Roble commonly a span long, and almost so thicke, which the women grate in an earthen panne against certaine grates of stone, and grate three or foure busshels in a day: The juyce thereof they crush out most carefully beeing ranke poyson raw, in a hose of withe, which they hang up upon an hooke, and afterward with a weightie logge which they hang at the other end they squeeze out the water into an earthen pan or piece of a Gourd, and then seethe the same juice with their red Pepper whereby it becommeth holesome, and if they will have it sweete, they will seethe it but ordinary, if they will have it sowre, they will seethe it extraordinarily, and use it in manner of sawce, and when they be sicke they eat the same and bread only. The women also make drinke of this Cassava bread, which in their Language they call Arepapa, by baking of it blacke, dry, and thinne, then chewing it in their mouthes, they put it into earthen pots narrow in the bottome and broad *Strange fishing.* *Cassavi.* *The juice.*

above, contayning some a Firkin, some a Kilderkin, some a Barrell, set in a small hole in the ground, with fire about them. Being well sod, they put it out into great Jarres of Earth with narrow neckes, and there it will worke a day and a night, and keepe it foure or five dayes till it be stale, and then gathering together an hundred and more, they give themselves to piping, dancing and drinking. They make drinke also of Cassava unchewed, which is small and ordinary in their houses. They use also to make drinke of Potatos which they paire and stampe in a Morter being sod, then putting water to it, drinke it.

[IV. vi. 1252.]

Sicknesse. Before and after the sicknesse of our Captaine, many of our men fell sicke, some of Agues, some of Fluxes, some of giddinesse in their heads, whereby they would often fall downe: which grew chiefly of the excessive heate of the Sunne in the day, and of the extreame dampe of the earth, which would so moysten our Hamackas, or Cotton beds, wherein wee lay a yard from the ground, that we were faine to imitate the Indians in making fires on both sides under them. And for all that we could doe, some nine of our company were dead before our ships arrivall. Besides we were mightily vexed with a kinde of Worme, which at first was like to a Flea, and would creepe into the feet especially, and under the nayles, and would exceedingly torment us, the time it was in, and more in the pulling out with a Pinne or Needle, if they were few. But one of our men having his feete over-growne with them, for want of hose and shooes, was faine to submit himselfe to the Indians cure, who tying one of his legges first with his feete upward, powred hot melted Waxe which is blacke upon it, and letting it lye upon it till it was thoroughly cold, they forcibly pulled it off; and therewithall the Wormes came out sticking in the same, seven or eight hundred in number. This man was named John Nettleton a Dier of London, which afterward was drowned.

The cause.

The remedie.

Niguas little. Wormes, great torture.

Terrible cure.

A.D. 1604.

In the middest of all these extremities our Captaines Interpretor which hee had threatned for his false demeanour in his Voyage to the Marraias before mentioned, gave counsell to his Master named Anaccauri, an ancient Captaine among them, to make a motion among the Indians at their next meeting to say, it is the best way for us now to make an end of them while they are sicke either by starving or otherwise. For when the ship commeth, hee will kill us for keeping him without victuals now. This motion being made at their meeting, which was in Carisava his house, and among his and Martins kinred, (which then remayned pledges for our mens safetie in England) their wives hearing the Interpretors Master Anaccauri broaching this matter ranne furiously upon him and tare his clothes such as hee wore from him, and mightily beate him, the other of their kindred, keeping those Indians off from the women, which would have taken his part.

Trecherie of a Savage.

Some of our owne men lying at the next house where this was done, inquired of an Indian which owed this Anaccauri a grudge, what the cause was of the said tumult: who imparted the whole truth unto them. Our men comming suddenly to the Captaine, acquainted him with the whole matter: who suddenly bethought himselfe and sent for all his men that were neere him; and for Eperiago and Pluainma an Indian that had beene in England: which were two of the chiefest, and caused him to send for his trayterous Interpretor, which came bringing Hens, drinke and bread: Assoone as he came, shewing what hee had heard, requiring them to declare what wrong he had done them. Who answered, none. Then said he, this fellow, meaning the Interpretor, hath sought my life; and therewith commanded his men to bind him hand and foot, which done, he dismissed them, desiring them to returne the next morning. In the meane time he caused his Prisoner to send for a Canowe to fetch three of his men, which were up in the River, who immediately did so. Now having all his men

together, hee caused them to have all their Furniture readie: appointing one William Blake to see the same diligently fulfilled, the watch carefully to be kept in the night, and two to ward at the doores all day with their Furniture, to take the Indians weapons out of their hands at their comming in at the doore.

This being ordayned, the Indians came the next day, to whome the Captaine said, In regard that I have beene so carefull to punish the wrongs done unto you, I would have you readie to revenge the wrongs done unto mee, who seemed very unwilling to doe any farther Justice, esteeming his binding a sufficient punishment. At the which the Captaine beeing very much vexed, commanded the two foresaid Indian Captaines to depart, charging them to send him in, fish and other victuals for his company. In the meane time he and the chiefe of his men, consulting what course to take with the Malefactor, they thought it best that hee should lye so bound untill the next day being the third of his bondage, and to send for the chiefe of the Indians, and upon confession of his fault, and craving pardon thereof, to be dismissed before them.

Captaine Charles Leighs Letter to Sir Olave Leigh his Brother.

MOst loving Brother, I did write unto you from Muggador, where I stayed untill the nineteenth of Aprill, and on the fourteenth of May I had first sight [IV. vi. 1253.] of Guiana, in the mouth of the River Amazones, The two and twentieth, I arrived (praysed be God) in safetie in the River Caroleigh, heretofore called Wyapoco, and the same day, I tooke possession of the Countrey in sight of the Indians. The Indians which doe inhabit this River are about one thousand five hundred men, women, and children, and they are of three Nations, viz. Yaioas, Arwarkas, and Sapayoas, which beeing chased from other Rivers, by the Caribes have combined themselves together in this place for their better defence, and are now at

deadly warres with the Caribes. After that I had stored my selfe with Bread and Roots sufficient untill the Earth with Gods providence might yeeld me supply, I did then send for the chiefe Captaine of the Yayoas aboord, whom with gifts and good usage, I easily entreated to stay aboord my ship untill such time as by his meanes I was provided with all kind of Plants, which their Gardens doe affoord, yet all this while he knew not my purpose. The day before I purposed to make my intent knowne, there came another chiefe Captaine of the Yayoas aboord to dine with me, who together with the former after Dinner desired to speake with me, whereupon I sent for an Indian who had beene in England, to bee Interpreter, and tooke them into my Cabbin. The two Captaines told a long Storie of the wrongs the Caribes had done them, how they had driven them from their ancient dwellings in other Rivers, killed many of their friends, carried their women and children away Captives, and hurt many of their men, and thereupon they called one of their men to shew me how he was lately hurt in three places with their Arrowes, to conclude, they told me, how they purposed the next Moone to goe against the Caribes, with twentie Canoas, and earnestly entreated me if I stayed so long to goe with them to their Warres. Upon this good occasion, I told them that I purposed to stay in the Countrey, seven or eight moneths, to seeke out and make triall of Mynes. And in the meane time that I purposed to build Houses ashoare at the head of the River, and there to plant Gardens, that my men might have victuals of their owne labours, which done, I would build a shallop, and send twentie men in her with them to fight against the Caribes, withall this they seemed wonderfull well content, and thereupon they promised Indians to helpe mee to build and to plant, and the chiefe Captaine promised himselfe to goe up with me. The next day being the third of May, I set sayle from the mouth of Caroleigh, and cast Anchor in a Bay under Mount Oliphe, where I purposed

to plant, and make my habitation: but my men discomforted with the sight of the Woodes which they were to fell, grew generally discontented, and omitted no practices to overthrow the Voyage, being suborned under hand, by my unfaithfull Servant, the Master, his lewd consorts he brought with him, being the only publike maintayners of the mutenie. How I have beene troubled with him and his consorts, (who intending spoyle and purchase in the West Indies) have from the beginning sought the overthrow of this Voyage, this Bearer can certifie you at large. And undoubtedly hee made full account with his headstrong companions at such a time to have commanded the ship at his pleasure. To conclude, amongst other their practices, they so consumed the victuals which should have mayntained us untill the earth had yeelded supply as that in sixe dayes, our Potatoes which should have lasted us two monethes, were wholly spent hereupon being farre distant from the Indians, who inhabit at the mouth of the River, fortie miles from the falls, and it being very doubtfull, how wee should bee furnished with victuals from them in our extremitie, I gave consent that the ship should returne to the mouth of the River, with this condition: that after I had refurnished them with victuals and other things sufficient that then they should plant upon Mount Huntlay, two leagues to the West of Caroleigh: which being neere the Indians, and betweene them and their enemies they would be readie and willing to furnish us with victuals, upon any extremitie, to which condition they generally consented, that place being first motioned by some of them. The shippe being returned, they had then brought mutinie to such a head, as that to my face, they stood in defiance of the Voyage, and told me plainly they would not stay doe what I would or could, I urged them with their promise to plant on Mount Huntly, one of them who seemed most forward of all men to yeeld to that motion: answered that he promised in policie, to draw me from Mount Oliphe. But in the end it

pleased God, what by faire meanes and what by foule, I brought them all to consent to stay one whole yeere, thorow all extremities, if it were possible to make a full triall both of people and Countrey, and to plant upon Mount Huntley, according to their promise. This agreed upon, I went ashoare to the Indians, to provide victuals, and other necessaries for our Plantation, who being exceeding glad of my returne; offered me to choose the best of their houses and gardens, to dwell amongst them. For they were very unwilling that I should goe to any other place, to conclude, judging their offers by many likelihoods, to be without deceit, I resolved to abide with them upon this condition: that they should send foure principall Indians for England as pledges, for our saftie with them whereunto they willingly condescended, and if I would, I might have twentie. For they make daily suite to me to goe for England. Beeing in conference with an assembly of two or three hundred, purposely met to crave my abode amongst them, and demanding of them vowes and protestations according to the custome of all people, for the more securitie of our peace and amity: their answere was that they knew not how to make vowes and protestations, and therefore generally they desired (sundry of their Captaines speaking it together, with a low and humble voice) that I would bring them men to teach them to pray. Which motion of theirs, proceeding from themselves and in that humble manner, strooke me I assure you into an admiration of joy, to thinke that it hath pleased Almightie God after so many dangers heretofore, and troubles in the Voyage, to preserve me to be a meanes to this simple-hearted people of the knowledge of Christ. Undoubtedly, it was the wonderfull worke of Gods Spirit in them, whereat all Christian hearts ought to rejoice. And I am perswaded, the like instance hath never beene before by any people in the World: I beseech Almightie God to give a blessed end to this hopefull beginning.

The foureteenth of June, concluding with the Indians [IV. vi. 1254.]

upon sundry conditions, I purchased of them the same day for a few Hatchets, Houses and Gardens planted with Cassava, and Potatoes sufficient for all my company: the scituation of our Houses is in the pleasantest and most fruitfull place of all their habitations. And because it is a small Village of six or seven houses; and the first place of our setled aboade I have named it Principium: the Hill on which it standeth being part of the Mountaine on the West side of the entrance of the River, I have named Mount Howard, to honour the remembrance of my Lord Admirall, of whom heretofore I have received many favours: on the East side of the entrance of Caro Leigh, lieth the River Olivoleighe heretofore called Arrikowarye: and on the West side of Mount Howard runneth the River Jotrameleighe, by the Indians called Wanarie. The commodities which this Countrie doth yeelde, and through industrie will abound in, are these; Sugar Canes, Cotten and fine Flaxe; also it would yeelde great store of long Pepper, if there might be vent for it in England: here is sundry sorts of Gummes, of Woods, and of Dies, which I hope will prove good commodities, of all which I have sent you samples by Master Huntlie, especially one sort of Gumme, which I am perswaded will prove very rich. Also I have sent unto you a peece of a Stone taken out of a Manvate or Sea Cowe. I am given to understand that a little thereof beaten into powder, and drunke in Wine or Ale, will in few houres cure any man that is troubled with the Stone, they say it dissolveth it instantly. I doubt not but to get a dosen of them before this time twelve moneths: my refiner hath made triall of sundry Minerals, but cannot yet finde any Mettals. At my arrivall here I found a Dutch Shippe, and sithence here hath arrived another, they buye up all the Flaxe they can get, and pay so deere that I can get none; they have not gotten so little I thinke as ten tunnes of Flaxe within these two moneths.

I doubt not but I shall be able to returne a Shippe

laden with Flaxe and other commodities the next yeare; the Flaxe yeeldeth a wonderfull encrease, and will grow any where, but especially in low moorish grounds: the Indians report that the Roote yeeldeth increase every moneth, and everie yeelde may be some foure ounces, by this accompt an acre of ground planted with these rootes, and distant three foote a sunder, will yeelde 17280.li. everie yeare, which amounteth at sixe pence the pound to 432.li. I doubt this will not prove answerable to their reports, but I verily beleeve it will yeelde halfe the encrease they speake of. The Dutch men have reported that it is worth in Holland but six pence the pound, but they confesse that Holland will vent 500.tunne thereof. Some of the Duch men have reported that it is worth in Holland sixeteene pence the pound, which I rather beleeve, for my Wevers tell me that they will warrant it to dresse exceeding well, and then it must neede be excellent fine grounds for any stuffe; for Cotten here is little, not worth the speaking of, yet the Countrie will yeelde abundance, and in sixe weekes the seede will yeelde Cotten, and it beareth continually and plentifully. I pray you sir send me more Weavers, for I know not how to get any thing spunne for them, for the women here are put to that extreame labour, that they have no time to spinne, for they onely fetch water, cut wood to burne, and bring it home upon their backes, they gather all their rootes, and bring them out of their Gardens, they make all their Bread which is verie laboursome, they dresse all the victuals, make all the drinke, attend upon the men while they are at meate, and besides, they dresse up their houses in their kinde, and nurse their owne children: so as they are alwayes toiled with labour, and have little or no time to spinne. For Sugar Canes the world doth not yeelde better soyle for their encrease, and whereas in Barbarie it is fifteene or sixteene moneths before they come to perfection, here they grow up in ten moneths. And in Barbarie they are planted onely in two Vallies, where they are watered every weeke, but

here they grow upon the Mountaines, and never watered but with raine onely. A few yeares I doubt not will afford plentie of Sugars, if wee shall have meanes to make them. My loose commodities, as Hatchets, Beades, Knives, Looking-glasses, &c. are almost all gone; a great part in buying of victuals, but the most part to stoppe the mouthes of my Mutinors and monstrous Sailours; to whom also I have promised two third parts of my Iron.

Now for the prosecuting of this voyage, in such sort as that we be not prevented by the Spaniard nor any other Nation; I would entreate you with as much speede as possibly you can to send me a supply of one hundred men at least, to abide here, all labouring men and Gardners, for such are the fittest here for a time, with a few Carpenters; and with them three or foure good peeces of Ordnance with shot and powder; also fiftie Calivers for the men that stay here: if you can send these men in two Shippes, I doubt not but to lade one of them backe in three moneths after arrivall, and the other which I wish may be the Olive plant, I would keepe here and fit her for a Frigot to keepe and command the River. I have written to my brother John Leighe to deliver unto you such monies as he hath received of Gifford, who I hope hath ere this time paid his debts. I hope you shall get store of voluntarie men to ease the charge of the Voyage, and looke what you shall disburse in my behalfe for the accomplishment of the Voyage, I will, God willing, see you honestly paid with advantage; or else if it please you to put it in adventure, it shall be accomplished in any sort to your owne desire. As I doubt not of your love and forwardnesse, especially in so good an action so also I make no question, but this Countrie will in few years yeelde you satisfaction beyond your expectation. If my wife have not alreadie attained her suite of the Kings Majestie, I hope she will the sooner speede upon this newes, which if she doe, my desire is, that all shall be imployed upon these proceedings; and to that effect I have written to her. I have written a Letter to the

Kings Majestie; another to the Lords of the Counsell, and one to my Lord Admirall.

The bearer hereof, Captaine Huntlie is the worthiest yong Gentleman that ever went to Sea, upon any dangerous enterprize, he was never dismaid, neither with extreame dangers at Sea, nor with all the Mutinies aboord, which had beene able to have discouraged an old experienced Souldier; besides, I found him alwaies a most true, faithfull, and loyall friend, and therefore I pray accompt him for a right honest man. I have made him my Lieftenant generall of these Countries during life, and therefore I pray let him returne chiefe commander in the first supply. I would pray you also to procure to come with him some honest and discreete men whom I might relie upon as trustie friends, and use as companions both for advise and societie, for I am now very uncomfortably matched, having no worldly strength to trust upon but my selfe onely. I have sent unto you foure Indians, principall men in their Countrie, which were delivered unto me as pledges of our safeties here, and they are to returne again the first, but I thinke some of them will be more willing to stay longer. The English man which was left here by Captain Lea, *Captaine Lea.* is dead, I pray you procure Sir Walter Rawleighes Indian or my Lord Admirals, for I want an Interpreter exceedingly, here is but one, and he understandeth but little to any purpose. I pray forget not to send Preachers, sober and discreete men, and such as are well perswaded of the Church government in England, &c. From Principium, or Mount Howard this second of July 1604. [IV. vi. 1255.]

Chap. XIII.

A true Relation of the traiterous massacre of the most part of threescore and seven English men, set on land out of a Ship of Sir Oliph Leagh, bound for Guiana, in Santa Lucia an Iland of the West Indie, the three and twentieth of August, written by John Nicol.

Ir Oliph Leagh, a worshipfull Knight of Kent, sending a supply of good numbers of men in a Ship called the Oliph blossome to his brother Master Charles Leigh, which was planted in the River of Wiapogo, within three degrees and an halfe Northward of the Equinoctiall line in the West Indies, which departed from Wolwich the foureteenth of Aprill 1605, under the conduct of Captaine Cataline, and Captaine Nicholas Sainct John; I beeing desirous to see the world, consorted my selfe with that company. But by contrary windes and unknowne currents of the Sea, and the unskilfulnesse of our Master Richard Chambers, wee were put to leeward of our port, without any hope of recovering the same in any due time: And being not victualled, as it seemed for above foure or five moneths, after consultation had, we were faine to touch first at the Isle of Barbudos, and then at Santa Luzia in the West Indies. Where fearing to perish at Sea for hunger before we should be able being so many aboord to reach England; Captaine Nicolas Saint John, with the rest of the passengers, which purposed to have staied with Master Charles Leagh at Wiopogo in Guiana, resolved to stay and take their fortune in the aforesaid fruitfull Iland.

Saint Barbudos. Sancta Lucia.

Captaine Nich. Saint John staieth at Saint Lucia with 67. men.

Thus sixtie seven of us at our owne seeking were left on shore in the aforesaid Iland of Santa Luzia the three and twentieth of August 1605. with our Swords, Muskets, and Powder, and one Falcon, and one barill of Biscuit

onely for all our food. The next day our Ship departed from us with some discontentment, because we had seased upon her Boate to serve our turnes. After our Shippe was departed from us, we lived very peaceably, daily trading with the Indians for victuals; which were Cassavi, Potatos, Plantans, Pinas, Popayes, Pompions, Calabassus, Tobacco, Pappies, Mammeyes, all very pleasant to eate. Also they brought unto us Hens and Guls, and some Pelicanes, Woodcocks, and Snipes: we our selves did kill with our Peeces many of them likewise. And every night we sent out sixe upon the sands to seeke for Tortoyses, whereof we never missed night without one or two, and many times three, which was the greatest sustenance we found; for they are very large and great. I have often taken out of one of them to the number of seven hundred eggs. Also the Indians had great store of Roan linnen cloathes, Serges, and other Stuffes, and Spanish Wollen cloath: and jarres of Oyle which they tooke and saved at Sea with their Periaguas. For three Spanish Shippes had beene there cast away a little before our arrivall, if we had had a Pinnesse there we could have laden her with many good commodities, which they had hid in their houses in the woods. All which we could have bought for Hatchets, Knives, Beades, Thimbles, Fishhookes, and other such trifles. *Tortoises.*

Thus for the space of five or sixe weekes wee went not much abroad; till our Captaine seeing certaine foure square Plates, which the Indians ware on the small of their armes, asked Browne, a Gold finder, his opinion, what he thought of them? who told him, that three parts thereof was Gold. And asking the Indians where they got them, they pointed unto an high Mountaine on the North-west part of the Iland. This caused Captaine Nicholas Saint John, and John Rogers, who was our interpreter for the Spanish tongue, with as many of our chiefe men as could well goe in the Boate upon a Munday to goe thither, promising his brother *Shew of Gold.*

Alexander Sainct John, Master Garret, and Master Tench whom he left to governe the rest at home, to returne the next Saturday. The Indians for three dayes after did not come unto us with victuals, for they perceived when the Boate went, and as we thinke, they were then at the slaughter of our men at the Mountayne. Upon Thursday morning we killed two Tortoyses on the sands: where wee found a great company of the Indians gathered together, for what purpose we knew not: And lest wee should suspect them of any bad intent towards us, they willingly offered themselves to bring home our Tortoyses, which they tooke into their Periaguas, and brought them to our Houses.

[IV. vi. 1256.]

The Captaine and his men slaine.

Indian treacherie.

All that forenoone wee kept good watch: for there were very many that came both by Sea and Land to the number of two or three hundred; and divers of them were very merrie with us, drinking of Tabacco and Aquavitæ, until ten of the clocke, and then they departed all save one which was a Captaine of the Ile of Saint Vincent, called Augramert, and an old man which was his Father: who promised us, if wee would goe to their houses, that wee should have any thing that they had. For the day before I had beene at their houses with other two of my fellowes to have bought victuals: yet they would not part with any, no not for any commoditie that wee had: and yet they had more store of victuals than ever I saw them have before. But wee perceived afterward, that it was provided for them, that came to take their parts against us, whom they kept secret in the Woods. So we three returned, and travelled farre into the Iland, and passed through sixe or seven Gardens very full of Cassabe, Potatoes, and many other rootes and fruits, and by the way saw many tall trees of so huge bignesse, that wee three could not at twice fathome one of them about; and they were so hard, that wee could not cut them with our Knives, and the Barke of them was white like Ash. Then we returned to our Sconce againe.

Faire gardens.

Great Trees of hard wood.

Upon Thursday after dinner, Master Alexander Saint Johns, Master Francis Kettleby the elder, Master William Tench, my selfe, and divers others, to the number of eighteene, went with Augramert and his father, having neither Bowe nor Arrow, onely his father had a Brasill sword. They went thus meanly armed lest wee should suspect them. Augramert also promised Master Alexander Saint John, that he should see his wife, and we should have Hamaccos, which are Indian beds of net- *Hamaca beds.* worke made of cotton yarne to lye in. So we travelled along the Sands very securely, young Saint John going a little space before playing and jesting with the Indian Captain, till they came within sight of their houses, where in the woods they had placed an ambush of three hundred *Treacherous ambush.* Caribes: when suddenly Augramert tooke hold of his Rapier with the one hand and of his Poniard with the other, and the old man his father with his Brasill sword strooke him downe to the ground. Then out of the woods came the Arrowes so thicke about our eares, that wee had not the time to put our matches in our cocks. And many of our companie had their match to light, which gave a great encouragement unto the enemie; insomuch that we discharged not sixe peeces against them, which caused divers of our companie to flie into the Sea up to their necks, and some along the sands as amazed, seeing such a huge companie against so small a number; untill young Saint John recovering againe, encouraged us to make a stand at a point of Land which went cornerwise into the Sea.

But all was in vaine: for before wee could make our peeces readie, there came another companie on the back of us, and filled our bodies full with arrowes: and then wee betooke us to our swords and so runne through them: but still they encreased out of the woods, shooting their arrowes in great abundance, not daring to come neere us untill they saw us fall; and then with their great Brasill swords they strooke out our mens braines. I my selfe being all this time running with young Saint

John, and Master Kettleby, who behaved themselves most gallantly, having at the least one hundred arrowes apiece before they fell, came at the last into the entrance of a narrow path, where five of my fellowes were gotten before I came, and thinking to have passed through, there was another ambush who killed them all. I onely with three arrowes in me, by running into the wood and swimming over a standing Lake escaped home, giving them warning before they came to assault them: and upon my comming they all came in sight upon the Sands, whom we soone sent away by shooting off our great Peece, so they came not in three dayes after.

Upon Monday there came to the number of thirteene or fourteene hundreth both by Sea and Land, and there beset us round, wee having nothing but our Chists to defend us from their arrowes: thus for the space of seven or eight dayes we fought with them, and of nineteene men which were left of all our companie, twelve were sore wounded with their arrowes. And the first day at twelve a clock they shot fire in their arrowes and burned our houses, thinking then to have entred in upon us, but with our Falcon wee drove them backe with most horrible cryes. After that our houses were burned, and all our Chists which before were our Fort, wee fortified our selves with the remnants of the stakes and thatch which we had saved from burning, setting them in the ground slopewise, covering it with sand and earth, which saved us ever after from their arrowes.

The next day after they all departed in their Periaguas. And the Lord seeing what neede wee had of food, contrarie to our expectation, mooved the hearts of our very enemies to bring us food. For when all the rest were out of sight, one returned very well provided of victuall, and three or foure comming out of their Piragua with asmuch as they were able to carry of Cassavi, Potatoes, and Plantans, cryed unto us to exchange with them, first holding up their bowes and arrowes, and after laying them on the ground againe in signe of peace.

[IV. vi. 1257.]

Which wee perceiving, sent out three likewise to bargaine without weapons, with Knives and Beades, and other trifles: which traffick being done, they departed and we returned, giving praise to God, for this miraculous feeding of us. For we had no meanes of our selves to get any food: for they had bereft us of our Net, with which we had wont to catch as much fish of many sorts as would suffice us for a whole day. Thus they continued daily for the space of seven dayes; and then our victuals began to faile againe, which caused us to hold out a flagge of truce: which they perceiving, came in peaceable manner unto us.

Then one Francis Brace, which could speake French, made them understand that our desire was to give them all that we had, if they would let us have a Piragua to carry us away. Which one Captaine Antonie willingly consented unto (contrarie to the will of his brother Augramert, Captaine of Saint Vincent) and the next day brought it, drawing it on shoare within the compasse of our Fort; for which we gave them Hatchets, Knives, and Beades, untill they were contented: and to please them the more, we gave them every one a Shovell or a Spade, wherewith they were fully contented, and so departed. Then with all speede we went all to worke, some upon the Saile, which we made of very good Roan-cloth, and some to make the Mast; and every one did labour all he could to be readie against night. For Captaine Antonie, which was Captaine of Santa Lucia, told us, that his brother Augramert would come the next day from Saint Vincent with twelve Periaguas all laden with arrowes; whose words we alwayes found true.

Thus on a thursday, the sixe and twentieth of September, at one of the clocke after midnight, having amongst us all but one Barrico of fresh water to drinke, and one small Firkin of Rice, we embarked our selves being nineteene in the whole number, not one having skill in the Mariners art, and without Carde or Compasse

Blind hungrie voyage.

to direct us: wee sayled by the Sunne in the day-time, and by the Starres in the night, going alwayes betwixt South-west and by West. The victuals that wee had were not sufficient to serve that companie for three dayes. For wee had not above twentie Biscuits, three Cassavi cakes, a dosen Plantans, and some thirtie Potatoes, and some foure or five gallons of water, and a little barrell halfe full of Rice. And as it pleased the Lord he had saved it untill this our great necessitie, for the preservation of our lives: for all our other victuall was gone in two dayes, and our water in three dayes. And then Master Garret gave to every two of us a pottage dish of his Rice twice a day, which wee washed in salt water and so eate it raw. Thus we continued at Sea seeking for Land, for the space of

A storme.

ten dayes, where wee endured one great tempest, although to our great perill, looking alwayes when wee should be drenched. The raine which then fell, was unto us in the middest of our danger a great comfort: for we saved it with great joy, and dranke it, thanking God for that good refreshing; who likewise did send the very Fowles of the aire to feed us. For being wearie of their flight they would rest them upon the side of our Boat, so that we tooke them and dryed them in the Sunne with a little gun-powder, and eate them. Our Boats brimme was so neere the water, that every wave came over it, readie to sinke us, but that foure of us continually did lade the water forth by courses.

Thomas Morgan dyeth.

Now, on the tenth day one Thomas Morgan dyed, not being able to live of that small allowance, and at noone we threw him over board. Within an houre after it pleased God to glad us (who were likewise readie to

Land.

follow our fellow) with a joyfull sight of Land, unto the neerest part whereof we made as fast as we could.

But the winde being calme we were benighted before we could come to it. And so wanting the light of the day, we were upon the shoare before wee were

Boat split.

aware, and there split our Boat to the middest, and

all our men were turned out save my selfe, which held the helme, thinking the next wave would set her off againe, not knowing her to be split. But the breach was so great that it turned me under, putting me in great danger to be grinded to pieces with her weight lying upon me against the great Rocks; yet at the last wee all recovered our selves, some sitting upon the Rocks, others on the rootes of great Trees, thinking there to save our selves untill the morning. William Picks, and my selfe, went and haled the Boat on shoare, which was split to the very middest, and so farre with our Swords we cut off, and put in an head in the middest, and fastened it with our Daggers, Knives, and Bodkins; stopping all the leakes with our shirts, and sent five of our companie over to the mayne land; which were Miles Pet, William Picks, Francis Brace, William Kettleby, and William Butcher. They haled their Boat foure or five dayes along the shoare, crossing divers Rivers with their Boat, being sometimes pursued by Alligatos or Crocodiles, and Sharkes.

God pittying their poore estate, guided them to a place, where they found a great earthen Jarre full of wheat flower set in a little Cave, which they boyled in the Jarre with fresh water, and satisfied their hungrie appetites, with thanks unto God for the same. And within two dayes after they met with three Spaniards, with halfe a dosen Indians and Negroes, travelling from Caracas to Coro, driving Horses and Mules laden with merchandise: who seeing their weaknesse for want of victuals, unloded their Horses to feede on the grasse, while they refreshed our hungrie men with plentie of their good cheere, and shewed themselves very courteous suffering them to ride, and went themselves on foot two or three dayes, till they came to a Towne of civill Indians, called Tocoya, where they stayed to refresh them, for they were very weake. And there they let the Spaniards know in what miserable case they left us in a desolate Iland; where we endured the greatest

Three Spaniards.

[IV. vi. 1258.]

Miserable famine.

miserie, that ever men did with life. For wee continued fifteene dayes having no kinde of meat but Wilks, salt Water, and Tabacco; which did nothing at all nourish us, yet neverthelesse it tooke away the desire of hunger, and saved us from eating one another. In those fifteene dayes five of our companie pined to death, because they could not take Tabacco; John Parkins, Edward Greene, Thomas Stubbes, Andrew Swash, and an old man called John. By noting two or three of our men to die, we knew by those tokens when we drew neere our death: which were these, first they would swell very bigge, and shortly after fall to the very bones, and wanting strength to hold up their heads, they would fall downe, and droope into their bosomes, and in twelve houres after yeeld up the Ghost.

Use of Tabacco.

Five died in the Iland.

At the fifteene dayes end, Francis Brace having more strength then the rest, guided the three Spaniards with sixe Indians to the Iland where we were, and they brought victuals with them: which when we had eaten had almost killed us, by reason of the weaknesse of our stomacks, being so farre spent that we could not digest it, although we fed thereof very sparingly. The next day they carried us to the mayne land, where wee had horses brought us to carry us: and the goods wee had they tooke all to the King of Spaines use, and so conveyed us to Tocoya; where wee which were weake remayned fifteene dayes, and those which were strong went with the three Spaniards to Coro, which is some fiftie leagues from Tocoya: and at the fifteene dayes end, one of the Spaniards, whose name was Sennor Coraiaval, came for us with horses, who shewed himselfe as carefull of us, as if we had beene his owne Countrimen and friends, and brought us to Coro to our fellowes: where we were brought before the Governour; and by a Flemming which could speake a little English, which had beene a prisoner there sixteene yeeres, we were examined of the cause of our comming thither; who excused us very well. For hee knew, that if we had confessed whether

Food almost kils aswell as penurie.

Tocoya.

Coro.

Kind Spaniards.

Good Flemming.

we were determined to goe, they would have either put us to death, or condemned us to the Gallies. But he told them, that we never purposed to come thither, but were by misfortune and tempest of winde and weather driven on that Coast, and told them of all the dangers which we had endured, which drave them into such great admiration, that some said, verily wee were Devils and not Men: others, that we deserved to bee canonized, but that wee were Lutherans.

All the chiefe Sennors of the Towne beeing there, every man was desirous to take one of us. After we were devided among them, they did not use us like prisoners, but were as carefull of us as of their owne children, not suffering us to want any thing necessarie for the procuring of our healths. My lot fell out to bee entertained by one whose name was Senior Francisco Lopez: and being extreamely sicke of a Calenture, or hot Fever, one Captaine Peroso which had married his daughter having good skill in Phisicke, came daily to my Chamber, and there let me bloud, dieted me, and purged me, giving his owne Wife in charge, not to let me want any thing that was there to be had. Thus by the will of God, and their tender care over us, wee recovered our healths and strengths againe; only two dyed there, which were Thomas Fletcher, and Fulke Jones a shoomaker. In Coro eleven of us remayned alive (being all that were left of sixtie seven, which were put on shore in the Iland of Santa Luzia) for the space of five moneths, every day going to one another when wee pleased: and wee rid often into the Countrey, where the Indians tooke great delight in our company. For against our comming, they would provide all kind of delicious fruits: which were in most abundance in that Countrey, and would kill Deere and wild Hogs for us; and would bring us Apes, Monkeyes, Parrots, and any thing that they thought wee delighted in.

Spanish gentlenesse.

Two more die.

The Countrey about Coro doth yeeld abundance of Sugar, Honey, Ginger, and Pitch. Also they have very

Commodities of the Countrey.

good Wheate growing there: but the bread is for the most part made of Maiz, whereof they have great plentie, for they reape it three times in one yeere. This Maiz they do mingle with the juyce of the Sugar-cane, which maketh an excellent kinde of bread, and it will keepe like Bisket. Also they make their drinke of this Maiz and of Potatoes; which is very sweet and strong: for the Indians will be quickly drunke with it. While we were there, a Spaniard rode to a Farme of his in the Countrey with his brother, where he had many Indians dwelling to make Tabacco. One of his chiefe Indians, which used to be familiar with him, tooke up a new Hatchet, which his Master had brought him, asking him what it cost, and suddenly clove his head therewith: which his brother perceiving ranne for his Rapier; but the Indian women had stolne it away before; and so they killed him also with their Bowes and Arrowes, and three or foure Negroes, which seemed to resist them, and thereupon flied to the Mountaines, gathering a great company unto him, promising them, that if they would aide him against the Spaniards in Coro, he would give them the Spaniards wives and daughters in marriage. But before they put this conspiracie in practice, Captaine Peroso by a Policie tooke him feasting among his fellowe and women, and tooke thirtie with him, and brought them all to Coro; where they were to suffer death with great torments, to terrifie the rest. And of some they cut off the thumbes, and cut the sinewes of their two fore-fingers, whereby they wanted the benefit of shooting.

Drinke made of Maiz.

The treason of the Indians.

[IV. vi. 1259.]

Our entertainment there was such, that we could not desire to part from them to come into our owne Countrey without offending them. For a Frigat being readie at Coro to goe for Carthagena, foure of us made intreatie for passage, which were Philip Glastocke, Richard Garret, William Picks, and my selfe, (John Nicols) for all the rest were in the Countrey upon pleasure, some in one place, and some in another. And when the ship was readie to

depart, they perswaded the Governour not to let us goe. For they told him that there were many ships of Holland upon the Coast; and that if we went all in the Frigate, we would betray it unto them, causing the Fathers of their Churches to tell us, That if we would stay, wee should be as themselves, and they would willingly bestow both their daughters and their goods upon us. Yet notwithstanding all their allurements, our desire was for our owne Countrey; and so three of us procured meanes for to goe, and William Picks was stayed, by meanes his Master told the Governour, that foure were to many to venter in the Frigat. Thus we departed from Coro about the twentieth of Aprill, leaving all those with whom wee dwelt very sorrowfull for our departure: who gave us great store of provision for our Voyage. They were very loth to let us go to Carthagena, for feare we should be put into the Gallies: And the Governour of Coro himselfe, wrote unto the chiefe men of Carthagena in our commendation, as to Don Pedro de Barres, who was his Sonne in Law; but it tooke small effect. By the way wee touched at Santa Marta, and watered there.

Within three dayes after we arrived at Carthagena, we were committed to Prison by the Teniente, for the Governour was dead not three dayes before we came in. Yet we brought our Letter from Coro, from one Sennor Gasper Sanchio Contador, or in our behalfe to one Sennor Antonio Cambero, who prooved a speciall good friend unto us. For we had not beene an houre in Prison, but hee came to us and comforted us, and bade us not to feare, for wee should not want any thing. So he went to the Teniente, and proffered three of his Negroes to set us at libertie, and if we made an escape, he should have those Negroes for his owne use. (The worst of those Negroes was worth three hundred Duckets.) But hee would not, neither would he allow us any victuals. But this Cambero sent us every day at noone one very good meales meate. Also there were three Englishmen, who served as Mariners in one of the King of Spaines

Gallions which carrie his Treasure: which after that they were at Sea were by forcible tempest driven back againe to Carthagena, in great danger to be sunk: for she had twelve foot water in her. Some escaped to Havana, and five of the richest ships were sunke on the shoalds betwixt Carthagena and Havana. These three Englishmen did allow us twelve pence a day so long as wee remayned in Prison. Every Saturday, the Teniente with his Alcaldies doe sit in judgement within the Prison where the Teniente commanded that we should be sent to the Gallies. Then one Alcaldie, who was alwayes found to bee a favourer of Englishmen, whose name was Sennor Francisco Lopez de Moralis, called for our Examination: which when hee had perused, hee told him, that hee could not with Justice commit us. Who answered againe, Then let them remayne in Prison untill the Gallions come from Spaine, for the treasure.

Within two moneths after a Deputie Governour was chosen: unto whom we framed a Petition; which was delivered by John Frendgam; whose answere was to him, that if wee could procure any Spaniards to bayle us for our forth comming, we should be at libertie. Which Sennor Francisco Lopez and Antonie Cambero no sooner heard, but they entred into bond of a thousand Duckets for our forth comming. And at our delivery, the Teniente told us, that although by order of Law, they could justly have put us to death; yet seeing God had so miraculously saved us, and that we had endured so many miseries to save our lives, and that we came to them for succour and reliefe, they were content to set us at libertie. So Francisco Lopez brought a discharge from the Governour to the Jaylour for our delivery out of Prison, and brought us all three to his owne house: where was provided for every one of us a severall bed: For the Countrey is so hot, that we cannot lie but one in a bed. Our entertainment was very great, and all our services in plate, with great varietie of meates, and of all the most delicious Indian fruits: and yet he thought we

never fared well enough, without hee sent us one extraordinary dish or other from his owne table. Also many Gallants resorted to his house to play at Cards, who would bee very liberall unto us at their winning, and would give us sixe or seven pieces of Eight at a time.

There we continued untill the Gallions were readie to goe for Spaine with the treasure: then hee procured us passage every one in a severall ship.* And the day before wee embarked which was about the first of August, there came two more of our company from Coro, which were Miles Pet, and Richard Ferne, who were both placed with Philip Glastocke, in the shippe called Saint Bartholomew, Richard Garret went in the ship called La Madre de Dios, and my selfe in the Santa Cruz. So we were a moneth in sayling to Havana, where wee stayed another moneth to trimme the ships. The Governour there was Don Pedro de Valdes, Prisoner in England 1588. So we lived all on shoare with eighteene pence a day for our diet, and about the end of September departed, leaving that shippe, wherein Philip Glastocke, Miles Pet, and Richard Ferne were, with another ship called the Saint Vincent for want of provision of bread.

*The cause why Francisco Lopez did use us so kindly was because Sir Fr. Drake when he tooke Cartagena did save all his fathers goods and his life withall.

We shot the channell of Florida, in eight dayes against the winde, and came along by the Ile of Bermuda, and were nine weekes in sayling betweene Havana and the Coast of Spaine. The tempests and stormes which we had, were wonderfull great. Insomuch that all the fleete were dispersed, and not above two ships did hold company together. Which put them in great feare lest they should have met with the Hollanders; who might with three good ships have taken all their treasure with small adoe for every little Caravell did put them in feare, thinking her to be a man of Warre. [IV. vi. 1260.]

Upon the second day of Februarie 1606. Master Barwicke landed safely, thanked bee God, at Downes in Kent, and gave me money to bring me to London.

[Chap. XIIII.

Chap. XIIII.

The Relation of Master John Wilson of Wansteed in Essex, one of the last ten that returned into England from Wiapoco in Guiana 1606.

Captaine Charles Leigh and his Brother Sir Olave Leigh, did furnish to Sea the good ship called the Phenix with Commodities for the Countrey of Guiana; and necessaries for the Voyage, with fiftie persons to inhabit Wiapoco, of sundry Trades who directing their course towards Wiapoco, on the Coast of Guiana, which the Spaniards call the River of Canoas, arrived on the twentieth of May following, where he found a ship of Amsterdam, trading with the Indians. They perswaded the Indians, that our Nation came to inhabit among them, only to oppresse them as the Spaniards doe in other parts of the Indies, which the Indians themselves confessed unto Captaine Leigh notwithstanding they offered our Nation no unkindnesse, but used them in all the kind manner they could. For they provided whatsoever our Company wanted which they could get them. In somuch the Gentleman was like to have done right wel, if it had not happened that his Company had not mutined, which did partly arise because of the climate, which is much hotter then ours. And for that they were unprovided of victuals or other necessaries, therefore constrained to live in such manner as the Indians themselves doe; for that they did see at their landing only Mountaynes and Hils covered with Woods. And for that the most part of them had beene housholders in England, not accustomed unto such a strange Countrey or Nation, nor such a diet; for which causes they were so much discontented, that they cried to their Captaine, home, home. Thus the Captaine and his whole company was discontented, and also the Master of his ship called Martin Prinx, who shipped himselfe shortly after their

They arrive at Wiapoco.

Causes of their mutinie.

arrivall into the Amsterdamer, which they found there, whereupon the Captaine placed his Mate Richard Pets of Weymouth, to bee Master of the Phenix, furnishing him with such victuals as the Countrey affoorded, as Cassavi for their bread, and Potatoe Roots, with fish, water, and such provision as they had of their owne aboord, appointing Edward Huntly to be their Captaine, to goe for England, who departed from Wiapoco about the first of July 1605. by whom Captaine Leigh advertised his Brother Sir Olave Leigh.

Second voiage of the Phenix.

After whose arrivall Sir Olave Leigh, hee withall speed furnished the aforesaid ship, called the Phenix to Sea, with Commodities for the Countrey and other necessaries, with thirtie men of sundry Trades, appointing the aforenamed Richard Pets to be Master, and Edward Huntly to bee Captaine, they departed from Woollage, on the towards Wiapoco, who arrived at their Port on the fifteenth of January following, who expected with the rest of their company aboord, to have found the Generall and his company on Land, to have beene in farre better case then they were, for that they found them for the most part extreame sicke, and some of them dead: and presently after their arrivall three or foure men of them died, and the Generall himselfe was very weake and much changed, which partly proceeded by reason of their great want of victuals, for that the Pidians could not at all times provide them that they wanted. And chiefly for that the company were perswaded that the ship would never have returned unto them againe, which plainly appeared amongst them, for that at the arrivall of our ship, some of them which had not in three monethes time beene a stones cast from their houses, came aboord of us, a mile and more from their houses in weake estate, which caused very much discontent amongst our fresh water Souldiers aboord, and they were the more discontented, because they could not advertize them of any commodities the Country yeelded which would afoord them present benefit, insomuch that they wished themselves in England again. During which

Captain Leighs weaknesse.

Dejected minds.

parley, our Generall came not aboord of us, for that he was at his house called Mount Howard, a mile and more up into the Land, which stood on a hil very pleasantly situated, but according to the Country manner, by reason that their enemies should not wel find their houses nor suddenly assault them, have there fore very rough passages unto them, invironed all with Mountaines, Woods, and Hils. Wherefore the Generall sent one Sidney Harrington unto Captaine Huntly, M. Tederington Preacher and to the Master of the ship to land their company in Possession Bay, a place which the Indians gave unto our Generall, and therefore by him so named.

Mount Howard.

[IV. vi. 1261.]

Possession Bay.

At whose landing according unto the Generall his Commission, they were all sworne unto certaine Articles, as that they should acknowledge Captaine Charles Leigh to bee their chiefe Generall of Guiana, under King James our King of Great Britaine, and that they should not be hurtful unto the said Generall his proceedings, but to ayde and assist him to their uttermost powers. Which being effected, our Generall came unto us, and after kinde salutations, having taken order for our Lodgings, for that time hee departed from us. The Indians in like manner after their Countrey fashons kindly entertained us, and after further conference had with our Generall, hee related at large unto us what had happened unto him and his company in their absence; that by reason of his company their discontent and sicknesse, they had not travelled up into the mayne Land; and therfore of his owne knowledge hee could not certifie them of any other commoditie the Countrey did yeeld, then such as hee knew of before their departure, but the Indians had informed them, that there was up in the Mayne very rich commodities, as also Gold, and silver, and especially in the River of Caliane, where the Caribes inhabit, who are enemies unto our Indians of Wiapoco, and so called by them. Upon which information our Generall thought it would have beene best to have peaceably traded with the Caribes: But our company misliked

Gold & silver. R. Caliane.

A.D. 1606.

thereof, insomuch that the Generall altered his determination, and agreed to joyne with their friend Indians against the Caribes their enemies. Whereof having advertized the chiefest of them, they most kindly embraced their offer presently made eight of their Canoas in a readinesse, furnishing them with Bread and Drinke, and Victuals, which for the most part are Crabbes and Fish, with some hundred of themselves all naked in their Canoas, whome our Generall accompanied with some eight and thirtie of our company, leaving the rest to keepe our Shippe and Houses, shipping the most part of them in a Pinnasse that was built by one named Howard, the Keele whereof hee made of a Canoa, which prooved a very fitting Pinnasse for those parts and Rivers. This Pinnasse after our Generals death the Indians did break a pieces because they thought wee would have stolne away from them in her unto the Spaniards. And the rest of our company were placed in their Canoas, all of us furnished with our Caleevers: and so wee departed on our Journey and Voyage on the sixe and twentieth of February, on which day at night wee came to a place which wee named Mount Huntly, where wee lodged in the Woods that night, our Generall commanding us to keepe a good watch; which wee need not to have done, for the Indians themselves were very watchfull, and wonderfull carefull of our Caleevers, and for to keepe our Powder drie, after we had beene acquainted with them, and very diligent for to please us.

Expedition against the Caribes.

Mount Huntly.

The next day at night we came to a place called the Cov, and there wee lodged, and the next day following we came into the River of Wia; and there we found two or three of the Caribes Canoas, but all their men were runne up into the Woodes, and from thence our Generall went up farther into the River, where wee burned certaine of their houses, not finding any people in them. From whence our Generall purposed to have gone farther into the River of Caliane. But the Indians did advertize him, that there was an English ship there, whom the Generall

Cov.

R. Wia.

English ship.

knew to bee one Johnson of Plimmouth, that had beene some fourteene dayes before at Wiapoco, and came thither in the way of Trade. But our Generall would not suffer him so to doe, for that he would not hinder himselfe and his company, which our Generall at that time called to minde, and therefore thought it not good to proceed in the River, because hee doubted that there would have risen contention betwixt his company and Johnsons, and for that hee also misdoubted wee should have wanted Bread and Drinke if hee should have proceeded in his journey, and therefore returned to Wiapoco, where we arrived all, except one Canoa. About the fourteenth day of March.

Our Generall sent with foure of our Nation named Blake, Owen Goldwell, William Crandall, and Henry Powell, with commodities up into the Countrey, some thirtie leagues to a place called Urake to the Inhabitants there named Arwakes, to trade with them. And after our journey by reason of such Raine and foule weather as wee had in the same, most of our company fell sicke, and for that they had no comfortable drinkes, nor any comforts that sicke persons doe want, divers of them died of the Fluxe; which the Indians (as also the Disease called the Calenture) know right well for to cure, yet concealed it from our Generall. But unto us after his death they did reveale, which sicknesse amongst the company caused no small griefe unto our Generall, and chiefly to see such wants amongst them; wherefore hee resolved with himselfe to goe for England, which hee acquainted the company with, promising them to returne as speedily as hee could with provision.

Urake.

Arwakes.

Mortalitie.

Presently after he had shipped his provision, and such Commodities as hee had gathered together in the Countrey, and was in a readinesse to depart for England, he sickned of the Fluxe, and died aboord his ship, and was by Captaine Huntly secretly buried on the Land, the twentieth of March, whose death was so secretly kept by the Captaine, and the Master of the ship, that most of the company knew not thereof. The reason was, because there was

The Captains sicknesse and death.

[IV. vi. 1262.]

provision too little for them which were shipped, and others of the company, if they had knowne thereof, would have pressed to have come with them. Wherefore Captaine Huntly with Master Tederington our Preacher and others set saile from Wiapoco towards England, on the second of Aprill 1605. promising a ship to returne unto us within seven moneths, God not hindering their intents, which had happened, for Sir Olave Leigh to his great charge had provided a great Fly-boat of the burthen of one hundred and seventy tunnes furnished for to have come for Wiapoco, as I have heard since my being here in London, before Captaine Huntly his arrivall in England, but it pleased God that she never came to Wiapoco, so that we had no comfort of her, being in number, left at Captaine Huntlies departure out of the Countrey thirtie five persons, of whom one named Richard Sacksie was by Captaine Leigh in his life time, appointed to bee chiefe amongst us, who shipped himselfe into a ship of Middleborough, who came into the River about the first of May 1605. and fourteene more of our company with him, and more that Zealander would have carried if Sacksie would have suffered him, such was his kindnesse towards our Nation. Hee gave unto us such wine and other comforts as he had, unto our great reliefes. His comming unto us to Wiapoco, was to have sold unto our Generall Negroes, whose kindnesse we did requite in helping him to such commodities as wee had, and did get the Indians to provide Cassavi and Guinea Wheate for bread, with Potato Roots for his Negroes to eat, who departed on the one and twentieth of May (after he had bin some three weekes in the River of Wiapoco) for Point de Ray, where he shipped of our company into his Countrimens ships, some in one ship and some into others for Holland, of which ships we heard that some of them were taken by the Spaniards, and they were cast over-boord with the Hollanders.

M. Tederington.

35. persons lost.

15. depart.

Kindnesse of a Dutchman.

The same day the Hollander departed, which was the one and twentieth of May, came unto us a French ship

French ship.

of Saint Mallors, who dealt very kindly with us, wherefore wee did suffer him to trade with the Indians, who did remayne there some two moneths, unto whom many strange Indians did bring their commodities, and at his departure hee shipped ten of our men; hee tooke Powder, and other commodities of us which we had, for their passage into France, leaving tenne of us behind him, of which two died before the ship was out of ken of us, Nicholas Wilkins and Andrew Underhill. But within some fourteene dayes after, two of those foure which our Generall had sent to trade unto Urake, came unto us not expecting ever to have seene them; the other two were drowned by the way. These two named Owen Goldwell, and William Candall, which came to us, reported they had beene some fortie miles up into the Land, in a very plaine pleasant Countrey, and brought commodities hereafter written of.

Ten more depart.

Two returne out of the Countrey to them.

About the middle of July, our number of ten were all in good health, spending our time in planting of Carow called Flaxe, whereof we planted about twentie English Acres of Land, and some Tabacco, observing the manners and conditions of the people, the nature of the Land and what commodities it yeeldeth, and what commodities of ours are in most request with them. About the third of October, the Indians did request us for to accompany them in their warres against the Caribes, whereunto wee willingly did agree. They provided seven Canoas furnishing them with men, and bread and drinke, and their victuals (for the most part Crabs, and fish of divers sorts, which they take every day fresh and fresh as they travell in the Rivers.) We went into the River of Caliane, which is some thirtie leagues from Wiapoco, where wee rowed up and downe, but we could not find any of the Caribes in the River, we perswaded them to land which they did, and marched up some two miles unto the Caribes houses, as wee marched to their houses, the Caribes came to the water side where our Canoas did lye, but finding my selfe there with my Caliver, they had

They plant Flaze, &c.

no great desire to come very neere unto us; and so after wee had burned some of their houses, and killed divers of them, our company returned to our Canoas, having lost one of the Indian Captaines named Macato, others of the Indians were shot with three of our company, whom they healed as they did themselves, with a leafe, very speedily. *Surgerie.*

They are armed in their warres with naked skins, and their Artillery are Bowes and Arrowes, their Weapons woodden Swords and Bucklers. They choose their Captaines at their drunken Feasts; he is placed in the middest of the whole company, holding his hands on his head. After they have made an Oration unto him to be valiant, and not to be treacherous unto them, with such like speeches: they whip him with a Whip which maketh the bloud spring out of his bodie at every stroke, and he never once mooveth thereat. By these meanes they try his patience and courage. After we had shipped our selves into our Canoas, wee rowed up and downe the river of Caliane, some eight or ten dayes, which wee noted for to be a very faire River and navigable. It runneth divers wayes from the mayne Land; and great store of such commodities hereafter specified, which the Countrey yeeldeth is to be had in the said River. We returned unto our houses at Wiapoco, about the first of November. In this Journey we were kindly used of our consorts our Indians, and highly respected of them for our service which we did. *Indian Armes.* *Mad choice of a patient Captaine.* *R. Caliane searched.*

After a few dayes rest at Wiapoco, the Indians advertised us of three Ships which were in the River of Amasons, and that one of them would come unto us to the River of Wiapoco some two moneths after, which proved to be true, but by what meanes they knew it I could not imagine, except it were by their divels meanes, which they call their Peyar, with whom the men have often conference, and it will answere them, but the women never that I could perceive; when the men will conferre with their Peyar, they suffer not a *Three ships in R. of Amazons.* [IV. vi. 1263.] *Peyar-divining.*

childe to be in the house; and when any of them are sicke, they know by him whether they shall live or dye; if he saith they shall dye, they will give the sicke person no physicke; but if he say that he shall live, then they will give him any thing they have for his comfort. After our company was advertised of a Shippes comming unto us, we went with the Indians in their Canoas, some into the River of Wiapoco, and some into the River of Arocow, to make away such commodities as we had left which were not many, reserving some of them to give to our Indians for our victuals, although their kindnesse towards us was such, that if we had not had any commodities, they would not have suffered us to have wanted. In which our journey we noted the River of Aracow to be a very pleasant River, and yeeldeth such commodities as other Rivers doe; also the River of Wiapoco is a very faire River, and navigable, which entreth the maine more then fortie miles. And at the end thereof there is a very great fall of water which commeth over great hils and mountaines; some of our company were on the tops of them, for some moneths in the yeare the Mountaines are drie, and we were informed that on the other side of those great hils, there is a River which is inhabited with many Indians, and hath the like commodities that Wiapoco hath, and that there is Gold in that place, which the Indians calleth Carocorce, but we never went to see the same River, by reason we had very small store of commodities.

River of Arocow.

Fall.

At our returne to Wyapoco we gave to the Indians for their paines, and providing of us victuals in our journey an Axe, for which they would have travelled with us two or three moneths time if occasion had required. And for an Axe they found us victuals two moneths time at our houses, as Bread, and Drinke, and Crabbes, and Fish, and all such kinde of flesh as they killed for themselves, for the same price: but if we desired any Hennes or Cockes of them, then we were

to have given them some small trifles, as Beades; so likewise if they brought us in our travell to any of their friend Indians houses, we must doe the like as at our departure, to give them some trifles, as Knives and Beades. So that we lived very good cheape.

Three Nations. There are of the Indians three sorts which inhabit at Wyapoco with whom wee were, whose houses be scituated as neere the Rivers mouth as they well may be, they are named the Yayes, the Arwalkes, and the Suppayes. *The Yayes.* The Yayes are a people very proud, and use much flouting and mocking of others, much given unto dansing, and are full of merriment, very ingenious, and very kinde of nature. *The Arwakes.* The Arwackes are a people of better carriage, and did use our company with better respect then the Yayes. These two kinde of Indians come out of the West, wherefore they doe know all those Coasts, and they hate the Spaniards as deadly as they doe the Caribes. *Suppayes.* The Suppayes are a people more craftie in their dealings, for they will not part with any thing, but will have commodities for commodities. They are not many of them, and wee could not learne from whence they are come. *Nakednesse.* The men and women goe all naked, without any coverture at all; they are very well limmed and proportioned of body. *Men and women how they live.* They never company together all the day time, but as the women doe bring them their victuals, they doe eate usually every day; they have doores at each end of their houses, the men remaine at the one end of the house, & the women at the other. The women are very neate in making of their Bread, which they call Aripo, and their drinke Passhe: they make their Bread and Drinke of a roote which they call Cassavi, which maketh good Bread, and very strong drink, very pleasant to drinke after one is used to it.

Their houses. Their houses are built after the manner of our barnes in England, but much longer, for we have measured some of them which were one hundred and fiftie paces long, and some twenty paces broad, one hundred persons

keepe together in one of those houses; they are most artificially builded and thetched, so that no raine commeth into them: although in Aprill, May, and June, and most of July very extreame raine doth fall there. Also *Faire earthen Pots.* they make Pots of earth, which shew as if they were guilded, and some of them will hold thirtie or fortie gallons of liquor, they are very faire to behold, and *Baskets.* very sweete to keepe any thing in. They make Baskets of divers sorts most artificially, and their beds which *Hamakes.* they call Hamakes; they are some of them made of Cotten wooll, and some of barkes of trees, they use to lye in them hanging. They have a great delight to *Painting.* paint themselves both men and women, and especially when they goe to any Feast.

Childebirth. The women against their day of travell in childe bearth, make for that time a roome apart in the house whereunto they goe all alone, and are delivered without any helpe at all; and presently after the childe is borne, she calleth for her husband, and delivereth him the childe, who presently washeth it in a pot of water, and painteth it with sundry colours, which seemed very strange unto me, that I did not heare the women, once so much as to groane, or to make any moane at all in all her *Funerals.* time of her travell: if any one of them dieth they doe use to make great moane for them some ten or twelve daies together after his death or longer, according as the partie was beloved in his life time.

Beasts of those parts. And touching such kinde of Beasts as are in the woods as well about Wiapoco as in other places of the Countrie. There are great store of Deere, Hares and Conies, Hogges and many Monkies great and small, blacke and greene, which sorts are called Marmosites, and great [IV. vi. 1264.] red ones as bigge as Baboones (those the Indians doe kill and eate) and there are Leopards, and Porcupines, and Lyons; for in one place we did see a Lyon which the Indians had killed; they brought all their boyes they had, and did lay them on the Lyons backe, and with a whip did give every of them three lashes,

wherefore they did so we could not learne, but imagined it was because they should remember the place where the Lyon was killed: also there are great store of Otters, and a beast which is called an Aligator, he hath a cod that smelleth like the Muske cod.

Fowles.

Of Foules I have seene Cockes, Hennes, Duckes, and Geese; Partridges, Wood-doves, Herneshaws, Shovellers, and a foule of a crimson colour, called Passeray Flemingo, & great store of white foules, which the Indians call Wakcrouses, & great store of Parrats, and Parrakeits, which flye there in sholes like Starlings here in England: also there is a Parrat there as bigge as a great Hen, blew and red, very beautifull to behold, and multitudes of foules of other sorts, and Hawkes of divers sorts in the woods and Rivers.

Fishes and fishing as before.

And of fish there are great abundance of all sorts both of fresh water fish, and Sea fish, and Crabbes great store; and the Indians take their fish with a kinde of wood which they beate against some stone or other tree, untill one end thereof be all bruised, and putting that into the River, presently the fish become drunke, and run themselves on the shoare, and swim above water, as our Haddockes doe in England.

Fruites.

There are store of good Rootes and Plants with Fruites, as the Pina and Plantine, Potatoes, Nappoyes, and a fruite called of the Indians Poppoyes, it is bigger then an Apple and very pleasant to eate, and sundry sorts of Plums, and other sorts of fruites whereof they make drinke very pleasant to be drunke.

Dying woods & other commodities of the Countrie.

There are these commodities at Wiapocco, and in other places of the Countrie where I have travelled, Woods of blacke, red and yellow colours, Tobacco, Guinie pepper, Cotten wooll, Carrow (of us called Flaxe) Anoto, Berries which dye a very faire Stammell colour, Spignard, whereof a precious Oyle may be made, Gummes of divers sorts, Bee-waxe, Feathers of the best sorts, such as Ladies doe weare in their hats, and other Feathers abundance. There grow naturally in many places Sugar

Canes, and great abundance of Carow of it selfe, called of us Flaxe, and of the Spaniard Pero. Also they make Oyle which they paint themselves with of a kinde of Nut bigger then a Chestnut, whereof are great abundance growing; and the Manety stone is to be had in the Aracores Countrie, and in no other place of the Indies that I have heard of. These things I noted, but if so we had expected certainely for to have had a Ship of our owne Nation to have come unto us, I my selfe, and the rest of us should have beene encouraged to have observed more then I have done. Neither had we any store of commodities to trade up in the Maine, as the two Hollanders hath which are there, and were left there at our comming from thence by John Sims, Master of a Ship called the Hope of Amsterdam, of the burthen of one hundred tuns Fraughted by the Merchants of Amsterdam, and by their Charter partie was bound to lye in the River of Wiapoco, and of Caliane six moneths time, which he did, for he lay with us at Wyapoco from the twentieth of December unto the twentieth of May following, trading with the Indians, and sought most after the Manite stone and Carow, which we call Flaxe. They furnished there two Factors very well with Commodities which they left at Wyapoco. They dealt very kindely with us, for he shipped all our whole company, which were nine of us.

Their returne.

Taking our leaves of the Indians (who were as unwilling to part from our companies, as we were willing to goe into our owne Countrie, saying unto us, that if any of us ever came to them againe to trade with them; No other Nation should trade there but we. And after they knew of our departure; whilest we remained amongst them, they brought their children unto us for to name after our great mens names of England, which we did. They had often speech of Sir Walter Rawleigh, and one came farre out of the Maine from Orenogue to enquire of us of him, saying he promised to have returned to them before that time.

Sir Walter Rawleigh.

A.D. 1606.

After we had provided our necessaries, and such commodities as we had, and had given the Indians great charge of the Hollanders Factors, we shipped our selves and departed from Wiapoco on the last of May 1606. And from thence we went into the River of Caliane, where our Master John Sims traded some thirtie dayes with the Caribes, and other of the Indians. This Sims was Masters mate of the Holland Shippe which Captaine Lee found in the River of Wiapoco at his first arrivall there: also he was Master of the Ship which the Indians advertised us was in the River of Amazons, and according to their saying, God be thanked he came to us to our Comforts.

After his departure out of the River of Caliane, he sailed unto Trinidado, where the Spaniards entertained him and his companie very kindely, for they gave them Tobacco for all such commodities as they had, and suffered them to lade Pitch which goeth out of the ground there, for that our Master durst not goe to Point de Ree to lade Sault there as he determined, because hee heard that the Spaniard did lye there with their men of warre, and had taken certaine Holland Shippes, and had flung over boord all the men that were in them: our Master tooke his course from Trinidado to Amsterdam, where he arrived on the of and were in number of us eight besides my selfe, named Owen Gouldwell, Robert Gardner, William Crandall, Robert Becke, Richard Pren, William Frier, Gilbert Browne, and Richard Bonecke. Since my being here I understand that one of our company which we left at Vlishinge, named William Crandall is gone in a Shippe of Holland for Wyapoco, which voyage they would have hired my selfe and others to have gone with them, by reason we have the Indians languages: such is the diligence of that Nation, unto whom I wish well for the great kindnesse they shewed my selfe and others of our Nation.

Trinidado.

Fountaine of Pitch.

[IV. vi. 1265.]

[Chap. XV.

Chap. XV.

Part of a Treatise written by Master William Turner, Sonne to Doctor Turner of London a Phisitian, touching the former Voyage.

**The large journall of their voiage to this place, is for brevity omitted, as also their course homewards.*

THe foureteenth of August,* about two in the afternoone, we had sight of the Barbados, which bore of us South South-west. The Land hath two points bearing East and West one from another; and from the middle of it, it riseth like Tenerife, and is tenne leagues broad, and is barbarous without any inhabitants, having great store of Hogges, Piggeons, and Parrats. We bore for the Westermost part of this Iland, and so wee steered away West North-west, and North-west and by West amongst for Saint Lucia.

The fifteenth day, being thursday, we had sight of Saint Lucia, bearing West North-west of us. This Iland of Saint Lucia is a very fertile Ile, bearing many sorts of fruites, as Plantons, Potatoes, Pinos,* Guanos, Pompins, Cassado, and many other fruites. It hath also great store of Cotten wooll, and Tobacco, but their Tobacco is not very good. It hath also many wilde Beasts in it, as Tygars, Guanes, Alagartos, and other Beasts, which time would not permit us to see. It hath also great store of Pigeons, Parrats, Pellicans, Cats, and Dogges. The people goe naked, having very long haire, and are very honest, kinde hearted people. In this Iland wee set our passengers ashoare, and furnished them with all things necessary that our distressed Shippe could afford them. But they like treacherous idle disposed people, not regarding our kindenesse, nor pittying our necessitie, betraied our Boate from us one morning as wee went ashoare, my selfe and three or foure other Gentlemen being in her; and then they detained three Saylers which were drawing in the Boate keeping them for their owne

**The vertue of the Guanos a thing worthy the noting, for their nature is, if one eat a ripe one, it sets one a scouring, and eate a greene one, it will stay a scouring. Probatum.*

use, and afterward sent us aboord in a Canoa, which we were faine to buy of them for Knives. The Master and the Captaine seeing this their treacherous dealing, and being out of all hope to get their Boate againe, about thursday in the evening, being the three and twentieth of August, gave them a Peece of Ordnance with intent to beate downe their houses. We had no sooner let flye at them, but presently they shot at us againe, the bullet whereof came betweene our maine Mast and our Poope, but it hurt no body. So that night we waied, and went to a Baye some two leagues to leeward of this roade where we first ankored. In this Bay there are halfe a dosen of Indian houses very pleasantly scituated upon the top of a hill, with a fresh water River at the foote of the same hill; and in this Baye we had very good trafficke of linnen cloath, and many pleasant fruites, for our Hatchets and Knives. After we had roade here some sixe houres, we might plainly discerne our Boate under saile, whereupon we presently fitted our small shot, hoping that their intent was to come aboord, and betray our Shippe, but they tacked in, and rowed alongst the shoare, till they came to the very Bay where we roade, and there they stopped, and we were in good hope to recover our Boate againe, but they tarried there trading for their commodities in the face of our Ordnance: whereupon we seeing their daring boldnesse to be so great that they presumed to trafficke in our owne Boate before our noses, and to goe about as it were to stop us from trafficke; we let flye at them sixe peeces of Ordnance, and a vallie of small shot; but what harme we did amongst them, we know not, for they rowed away, and got out of sight of us. We tearmed the Baye where we put these men a shoare Rogues Baye, & the Cape we called Cape Knave, and the River, River of Rascols.

En quo discordia Cives Perduxit miseros.

Roagues Bay. Cape Knave. River of Rascals.

This very same day being the foure and twentieth of August, we waied anchor, and steered away South South-east, and South-east and by South amongst for Saint Vincents. And upon Saturday, the five and twentieth

Saint Vincents. day, in the afternoone we arrived at the Iland of Saint Vincents, where we came within a Ships length very nigh the shoare, which put us all in great feare, for if God had not sent us a gale from the shoare, we had runne a ground, and we had had all our throates cut by the Indians of that Iland. So that night we tried it off at Sea with our fore-top-saile, and fore-saile, intending next day, being Sunday, to stand it in againe for the shoare (because we had good hope of good trafficke there.) But the current had driven us so farre off at Sea by the next morning, and the winde blew so vehemently from the shoare, that we could by no meanes fetch the land; whereupon being foure leagues from the shoare of Saint Vincents, we steered away South South-west, and South-

Testigoes. west and by South amongst for the Testigoes. And the next morning being monday, we had sight of the

Granados. Granados, bearing of us South east, but we could not

[IV. vi. 1266.] fetch the Testigos. The nine and twentieth being Wednesday morning, we had sight of five small Rocks, which bore of us West and by North some five leagues off: wee had also sight of the Iland of Blanco, whereby wee found

Current. that the Current had set us, and doth set to the North-east, and therefore your best course to goe from the Granados to the Testigos, is to steere away South-west.

Margarita. The first of September being Friday morning wee had sight of Margarita, and at night wee cast anchor at the Westermost Point of this Iland, called Point Macanao. The second day the next morning wee went ashoare with our Canoa, to see if wee could meete with any Spaniards, with whom wee might bargaine for some Beeves. But wee could neither see Spaniards, Beeves, nor fresh-water, onely we found the dung of Beeves. In this Iland of Margarita also there are great store of Pelicans. This morning wee weighed; and as soone as wee had doubled the Point of Macanao, we had sight of the Rangeria, which is as it were a little towne, contayning in it some fortie or fiftie houses. Here wee did not land because wee saw no people, but stood it away South South-east

and South and by East amongst for the Burdones. About mid-night wee came close aboard the shoare by an Iland, called Febacco, and then wee sounded, and had ground at fortie fathome.

The third day being Monday morning, wee were becalmed, some three leagues off from the mayne. About twelve at noone the same day, wee had sight of Point de Ray. The winde and breeses blew so strongly of the shoare, that we could not come to anchor that night to the Burdones. These Burdones are no Towne, nor hath any houses, but belongeth to the Towne of Comana.

The fourth day being Wednesday, at foure in the afternoone, wee came to an anchor at the Burdones; so that wee were three dayes in getting to the shoare, being in sight of it all the while. About twelve at mid-night the same day, wee put out our sayne-Net into the Sea for to catch some fish. And about foure in the morning wee found a great Sword-fish shut into the Net, which *Sword-fish.* was fourteene foot long, and he had a sword some three foot long. The sword is square, and blunt at the end, having great prickles upon each side, of the bignesse of a wilde Bores tuske. We sent our Canoa ashoare here, to parley with them having a flagge of truce. The Governour of Comana perceiving our Canoa comming ashoare, sent a Molato to parley with our men, who saluted them very kindly, inquiring of us, what newes in England, and whether the Constable of Spaine were gone home into Spaine or no; we told him he was gone into Spaine, before we set out of England: we asked of him what newes in Comana of any English men, and when any had beene here; hee told them about a moneth agoe, and that one of them had like to have beene taken by a French Pirat, if a Flemming had not tooke his part. This night there came foure Spaniards aboard our ship from a Carvell which was at an anchor halfe a league from us. These Spaniards burged with us some Tabacco, and told us, that Captaine Lee had a Towne built for himselfe, and that the Pinnasse had beene here a moneth ago.

The seventh of September in the afternoone, there came the Aide of Master Eldreds to an anchor in the road where we rode, and then we welcommed them with a shot, and they gave us three for one: after these our salutations, the Captaine of the Aide, called Squire, came aboard us, and told us, that Sir Oliph Lee his Pinnasse was come home, before they set out of England, and that Captaine Lee dyed in the Pinnasse comming into England: others of his companie said, that they heard he was betrayed, and killed in his Hamaca in Wiapoco. He also told us, that he had left some thirtie men behind him which were in great miserie and extremitie, both for lacke of health and scarcitie of victuals.

Cap. Leighs death.

The nineteenth of September, Captaine Squire weighed, and left us going for Comonagota. The Spaniards dare not trucke with us for any thing, but when that they steale aboard in the night; for if that they should be espyed they should be hanged: Cloth of Tissue and Gold, cloth of Silver, Velvet, Sattins, Silkes, fine woollen cloth and linnen, as Cambrick, Lawne, Holland; new Trunkes, Pistols, Fowling peeces, and Muskets, are very good commodities to truck with the Spaniards, and all other places in the Indies. I noted one thing amongst many things, concerning the nature of that climate of Comana. It is monstrous hot all the day long till it be noone, and then there blowes a coole breese: and at noone you shall alwayes have thundering and lightning without any raine for the most part. The towne of Comana stands two miles from the Sea-side, and cannot be seene by reason of the trees which cover the sight of it, but you may see the Governours house, for it stands upon the top of a Hill, looking over the trees, which cover the towne.

Comana.

The eight and twentieth of September being Saturday, wee espyed seven saile of Flemmings bound for Ponitra. The thirtieth day being Monday, we weighed for Loyntra; and wee steered away North and North and by West for Ponitra from Camana; and about sixe of the clocke in the morning we arrived there safely.

Seven saile of Hollanders.

A.D. 1606.

The fourteenth of October, Captaine Catlin and two other Gentlemen, went out of our ship upon some discontentments, misliking of the Master of our ships usage towards them, and had their passage in two Hollanders, that were riding at Ponitra. The five and twentieth, about eight a clocke at night wee weighed at Ponitra, having two Flemmish ships our consorts with us. On the thirtieth we had sight of the Westermost end of Porto Rico, called Cape Roxo, and of a little Iland some foure leagues off, called Echro. Here we stayed till Friday and Saturday, hoping for to have gotten the shoare for fresh water, and Oranges; but we had no winde at all to serve our turnes. About Saturday at noone, there came unto us a Flemmish boat with a dozen men in it; these men told us, that upon Sunday the seven and twentieth day of this moneth, there came nineteene saile of Spaniards, and that they had taken all the ships which we left behinde us, in number ten, saving two ships of Captaine Mogerownes, which scaped by their swift sayling, and that they themselves being ashoare with their Boat made an escape from Ponitra, and so came to us at Porto Rico, which is one hundred and threescore leagues, where wee refreshed our selves with fresh water and Oranges. [IV. vi. 1267.]

The ninth of November being Saturday, wee disembogued from Porto Rico. The two and twentieth of December we saw Flores, one of the Ilands of the Asores.

Chap. XVI.

A Relation of a voyage to Guiana performed by Robert Harcourt of Stanton Harcourt in the Countie of Oxford Esquire. To Prince Charles.

23. March, 1608. IN the yeere of our Lord 1608. and the 23. of March, when I had furnished my selfe with one ship of fourscore tunnes, called the Rose; a Pinnasse of sixe and thirtie tunnes, called the Patience; and a Shallop of nine tunnes, called the Lilly, which I built at Dartmouth; and had finished my other businesse there, and prepared all things in readinesse to begin my voyage, the winde reasonably serving, I then imbarked my companie, as followeth.

The Rose. In the Rose, I was accompanied with Captaine Edward Fisher, Captaine Edward Harvey, Master Edward Gifford, and my Cousin Thomas Harcourt: and besides them, I had of Gentlemen and others one and thirtie Land-men, two Indians, and three and twentie Mariners and Saylers.

The Patience. In the Patience, my brother Captaine Michael Harcourt, had with him of Gentlemen and others twentie Land-men,

The Lilly. and eleven Mariners and Saylers. In the Lilly, Jasper Lilly the Master, had one Land-man, and two Saylers: so that my just number (too great for so few ships of no greater burden) was in all fourscore and seventeene,

Land-men sixtie. whereof threescore were Land-men. Being thus imbarked, wee set saile from the Rainge at Dartmouth

They set saile the 23. of March. the said three and twentieth of March; but the winde altering upon a sudden, put us backe againe that evening; and about two of the clocke the next morning (it comming better for us) we weighed anchor, and put to Sea: the evening following we lost sight of the Lizzard, and steered away for the Canaries.

They arrive at Alegranza. The seventh day of Aprill we fell with Alegranza and Lancerote, two Ilands of the Canaries: we stood in with

Alegranza and came to anchor on the South-west side thereof; that evening and the next day I landed my companie to exercise their limmes on shoare: in this Iland wee found no Inhabitants, nor fresh water, neither fruitfull Tree, Plant, Herbe, Grasse, nor any thing growing that was good, onely an abundance of unwholsome Sea-fowle, which after one meale were unsavourie and distastefull, and a few wilde Capritos, or wilde Goats, which the craggy Rocks defended from our hands, and hungrie mouthes.

The eighth of Aprill we departed from Alegranza, and directed our course for Tenerife, another of the Ilands. *Tenerife.* The eleventh day I sent the Pinnasse, and the Shallop to water at the Calmes, and there to attend my comming; but with my ship I held my course for Orotavo, a Towne on the other side of the Iland, in hope to get some wine amongst the Merchants there; but not being able (by reason of a contrarie winde) to double Punta de Nega, wee altered our course from Wine to Water. And the twelfth day wee passed by Santa Cruz, and watered that evening at the Calmes.

This watering place is very convenient for all such as passe by those Ilands, and is thus to bee found; there is a woodden Crosse neere unto it, the high Pike of Tenerife beareth due North from it. There is also a ledge of Rocks to the Eastward of the landing place, which is a short Sandie Bay. When you are landed, you shall finde the place about fortie or fiftie yards from the Sea side. *An excellent watering place.*

Then we stood on our course for the River of Wiapoco in Guiana, having a prosperous winde, faire weather, and a smooth Sea. The ninth day of May, wee fell into the Current of the great and famous River of Amazones, which putteth out into the Sea such a violent and mightie streame of fresh water, that being thirtie leagues from land, we drunke thereof, and found it as fresh and good as in a Spring or Poole. *The River of Amazones. Fresh water in the Sea 30. leagues from land.*

This River for the great and wonderfull breadth (con-

Joseph Acosta. Hieron. Girava. Tarraconensis. tayning at the mouth neere sixtie leagues) is rightly termed by Josephus Acosta the Empresse and Queene of all Flouds, and by Hieronymus Girava Tarraconensis: it is said to bee the greatest not onely of all India, but also of the whole world; and for the greatnesse, is called of many the Sweet Sea. It riseth and floweth from the Mountaines of Peru, and draweth out her streames in many windings and turnings under the Equinoctiall, for the space of one thousand and five hundred leagues and more: although from her Fountaines and Springs unto the Sea it is but sixe hundred. When we entred into the aforesaid Current, we sounded, and had fortie foure fathome water, sandie sounding. The tenth day the colour of the water changed, and became muddie, whitish, and thicke; then we sounded againe at noone, and had thirtie fathome; and seventeene at foure in the afternoone. The eleventh day at eight of the clocke in the morning wee made land, the uttermost Point thereof bearing West from us, and came to anchor in five fathom water.

[IV. vi. 1268.]

The eleventh of May they made land in Guiana.

The Patience in danger of wrack.

At night the Patience putting in to neere the shoare, came to anchor in two fathome and a halfe water upon the floud which fell from her upon the ebbe, and left her drie upon the Oaze, and the next floud comming in, did so shake and beate her against the ground, that before shee could get off, her rudder was beaten away, and her ribs so rent and crased, that if Almightie God had not preserved her, shee had beene wrackt: but (God be thanked) with much adoe shee came off into deeper water, and mended her Rudder, as well as the time and place would afford means. Then we followed on our course, coasting along to the North North-west, the Land so trending. It is very shoale all along this Coast, the ground soft oaze, but no danger to be feared, keeping our ship in five fathom water.

Ilands called Carripapoory.

When we came to the latitude of two degrees and a halfe, wee anchored in a goodly Bay, by certaine Ilands, called Carripapoory, I did at that time forbeare to make

particular discoverie of this Coast, intending (if God spare me life) to make a perfect discoverie of the famous River of Amazones, and of her severall branches, and Countries bordering upon it, and of all this tract of land from the Amazones, unto the River of Wiapoco, which contayneth many goodly Provinces, and Signiories, which are in this discourse, but briefly mentioned: For at this time I purposed onely to prosecute my first project, which hastened me unto another place.

The Bay of Wiapoco. Indian boats.

From hence I stood along the Coast, and the seventeenth of May, I came to anchor in the Bay of Wiopoco: where the Indians came off unto us in two or three Canoes, as well to learne of what Nation we were, as also to trade with us; who understanding that we were English men boldly came aboard us, one of them could speake our language well, and was knowne to some of my companie to be an Indian, that sometime had beene in England, and served Sir John Gilbert many yeeres: they brought with them such dainties as their Countrie yeeldeth; as Hens, Fish, Pinas, Platanaes, Potatoes, bread of Cassavi, and such like cates, which were heartily welcome to my hungrie companie: In recompence whereof, I gave them Knives, Beades, Jewes trumps, and such toyes, which well contented them. But when I had awhile entertayned them, and made known unto them the returne of the Indian, Martin, their Countriman, whom I brought with mee out of England, they seemed exceeding joyfull, supposing that he had beene dead, being above foure yeeres since he departed from them.

The Indian before mentioned to have served Sir John Gilbert (whose name was John) whilest he lived (for he is now dead, and dyed a Christian) was a great helpe unto us, because hee spake our language much better then either of those that I brought with mee, and was ever firme and faithfull to us, untill his death. By him I understood that their Towne was situate upon the East side of the Hill in the mouth of Wiapoco, and was called

A village called Caripo.

Caripo: that the Indian, Martin, was Lord thereof, and that in his absence his brother was chiefe. Moreover, hee certified mee that the principall Indian of that River was called Carasana (who by good fortune) was then at Caripo, and so having spent some time in other conference and friendly entertainment, they tooke their leave, and departed for that time. I sent one of my companie with them to give notice to Carasana, and the rest of the Indians of Caripo, that I had brought home their Countryman Martin, whom they all thought to bee dead, and another of their Nation also, who had kindred and friends amongst them: to desire him to come aboard my ship, and to bring with him the principall Indians of Caripo, that I might declare unto them the cause of my comming into their Countrie, and conferre with them of other matters intended for their good. The next day I came into the River of Wiapoco, and anchored over against the Sandy Bay.

A messenger sent to the Indians.

The Indians came aboard.

The day following the Indians came aboard as I had desired, and brought us good store of their Countrie provision: Carasana, and one or two more of them were attyred in old clothes, which they had gotten of certaine English men, who (by the direction of Sir Walter Raleigh) had traded there the yeere before; the rest were all naked, both men and women; and this I observed amongst them, that although the better sort of men (especially the Yaios) doe cover their privities, by wearing over them a little peece of cotton cloth, pretily woven after their manner; yet did I never see any of their women covered in any part, either above or beneath the waste, albeit they daily conversed amongst us, but were all (as the plaine proverb is) even starke belly naked.

The chief men of the Nation of the Yaios cover their privities.

The women generally goe all naked.

At their comming aboard my ship, first Carasana as the principall amongst them, and after him the rest, saluted and welcommed us after their rude manner. I used them with all curtesie, and entertayned them as well as the straight roome would give me leave, giving them good store of Aquavitae, which they love exceedingly: I presented to their view their two Countrimen, Martin the

Lord of their Towne, and Anthonie Canabre, who was a Christian, and had lived in England fourteene yeers, both which I had brought home unto them: when they beheld them, and after salutations, and some conference, knew to bee the same persons, whom they supposed had beene long since dead, they expressed much joy and contentment: and understanding (from their owne mouthes) how well I had used them, they seemed to be better pleased with our comming: and when their rude salutations to their new-come Countriman were ended, I tooke them apart, and thus declared the cause of my comming.

Their conference with the Indians. Sir W. Raleighs acts in these parts. See Hak. to. 3.

First, I brought to their remembrance the exploits performed by Sir Walter Raleigh in their Countrie, in the reigne of our late Soveraigne Queene Elizabeth, when (to free them from servitude) he most worthily vanquished the Spaniards at Trinidado: burned their Towne, tooke their Governour Don Anthonio de Berreo prisoner; delivered five of the Indian Kings imprisoned, and bound by the necke with collers of Iron; and with great labour and perill discovered the River of Orenoque, and the Countries adjoyning, as farre as the Province of Aromaya, the Countrie of Topiawary, and the River of Caroli beyond it. And that their Countrimen called the Orenoqueponi (who are the borderers of Orenoque) did then most willingly submit and render themselves under the subjection of the late Queene; all which they well remembred, and said, that Sir Walter Raleigh promised to have returned againe unto them long since.

The Orenoqueponi rendred themselves subjects to Queen Elizabeth.

Then I excused his not returning according to his promise, by reason of other imployments of great importance imposed upon him by the late Queene: shewing them moreover, that when he could not (for that cause) returne himselfe, hee sent Captaine Keymis to visit them, and to bring him true intelligence of their estate (supposing that hee had left no Spaniards behinde him at Trinidado of power to molest them) to the end that reliefe and aide might bee prepared for them,

Cap. Keymis his voyage to Guiana.

according to their necessities, and oppression of their enemies. Then I told them of the death of the late Queene, whereby that businesse of theirs was againe hindered.

Moreover, I declared unto them, that our gracious Soveraigne Lord King James, who now reigneth over us (being the onely right and lawfull Heire, and Successor, to the Crowne and Dignitie of the Realme of England, after the death of the late Queene) was throughout the whole Land proclaymed King of England; and so comming to reigne over us, hath beene ever since busied in ordering the State and affaires of the Kingdome, which being (by his great wisedome) setled in tranquillitie and peace, like a good, gracious, and worthy King, doth now permit his Subjects to travell abroad into forraine Countries, and Nations, to aide and assist all such as are unjustly molested by their enemies. Whereupon, I and the rest of these worthy Gentlemen my associates and friends, having intelligence by some that had beene followers of Captaine Charles Lee (who was a man well knowne amongst them, and heretofore had taken possession of their Countrie to his Majesties use, and was planted divers yeeres in Wiapoco, where hee lyeth buried) of the great variance and discord depending betweene them the allied Nations, the Yaios, the Arwaccas, Sappaios, and Paragontos; and their enemies the Charibes (all inhabiting betweene the Rivers of Amazones, and Dessequebe) have made a long and dangerous voyage into those parts, to appease their dissentions, and defend them against the Charibes, or other enemies that shall molest or oppresse them: and now being there arrived, doe intend to make search in those Countries for convenient places, where such of our Nation, as shall hereafter come to defend them, may be fitly seated to dwell amongst them; that if any of those Nations shall attempt at any time to disturbe the quiet living of their Neighbours, they may have store of English friends at hand and amongst them, that will not

Possession of the Countrie taken at Wiapoco, by Captaine Lee to his Majesties use.

spare their paines to appease their discords, nor their lives to defend them from harme.

When I had thus declared unto them the cause of my comming, they made this answere; that with our comming they were well pleased; but our number of men they thought too great, that they wanted meanes to provide us bread sufficient for them all, having but a small Towne, few Gardens, and slender provision for their owne companies, because since Captaine Lee his death, and his mens departure from them, they never made provision for any strangers.

I replyed, that albeit their Towne was small, and their Gardens few (for the grounds wherein they plant their Cassavi, whereof they make their bread, they call their Gardens) yet their Countrie was full of Inhabitants, and had store of Gardens to supply our wants of bread, and was plentifully stored with other provisions sufficient for a greater number, which I desired might bee weekely brought unto us, as neede required, for that I meant not to take it without recompence, but would give them for it such commodities as should well please them, which they wanted: as Axes, Hatchets, Knives, Beades, Looking-glasses, Jewes trumps, and such like things wherein they most delight.

The Indians go to counsell.

Then they desired to consult amongst themselves, which I permitted, and expected their answere above two houres, which time they spent in debating the matter after their manner, and drinking Aquavitae, and in the end desired my presence, and made me this answere.

Their answere.

That they were contented and well pleased we should live amongst them; that they would furnish us with houses to lodge in, and provide all necessaries for us in the best manner they could. But whereas I said our King would permit his people to live and abide amongst them, and defend them against their enemies: they answered, it was a thing they greatly desired, and had expected long, and now they made much doubt thereof, and said they were but words, having heretofore beene*

[IV. vi. 1270.]

**By Sir Walter Raleigh, and Captaine Lee.*

promised the like, but nothing performed. To resolve that doubt, and make good my speeches, I told them what I had spoken should certainely be performed, and to that end I would leave my brother in their Country, and some of my company with him, to dwell amongst them, untill a greater supply might be sent from England for their better defence. Then they seemed to give credit to my words: And so after much talke, and many complements to please the naked people, I gave to Carasana a Sword, and to the rest some other things, which pleased them well: and then after their manner taking their leave, they departed. The next day the Indian Martyn went ashoare, and seemed joyfull that he had againe recovered his owne home.

The Indian Martyn goeth ashoare.

The English take land.

The day following I tooke land, with my companies in armes and colours displayed, and went up unto the Towne, where I found all the women and children standing at their doores to behold us. The principall Indians came out unto me, and invited me into the Captaines house, which untill the returne of Martyn belonged unto his brother, as chiefe Lord in his absence: I went up with them and was friendly feasted with many kindes of their Countrie cates: when I had well eaten and refreshed my selfe, Martyn tooke me by the hand and said, that he had not any thing wherewith to requite my kindenesse towards him, in such manner as he desired; neither had he such delicate fare, and good lodging for us, as in England heretofore we had beene used unto: but humbly intreated me to accept of his house in good part for my selfe, and the Gentlemen of my company; and the rest should be lodged in other Indian houses adjoyning: and that such provision as the Country yeeldeth, should be provided for us. His speech was approved by the rest of the Indians present, who tooke me by the hand one after another, and after their manner bad me welcome. I gave them many thankes, and some rewards for their kinde entertainment; and then disposed my company in convenient lodgings: but yet I kept a continuall guard, as in time of warre.

The English feasted by the Indians.

The gratefull offer of Martyn.

When I had thus setled my company at this village, I went out to view the scituation of the place, and the advantages for defence thereof. It is a great rockie Mountaine, not accessable by reason of fast woods, and steepe rockes, but onely in certaine places, which are narrow footepaths, very steepe and easie to be defended: whereby we were lodged as in a Fort, and most conveniently in respect the harbour was so neere, for our Ships did ride at anchor underneath us, over against the foote of the hill.

The English setled at Caripo in Wiapoco.

The strength of the place.

Being thus arrived upon the Coast, I found the time of the yeare so unseasonable for our purpose, that (by reason of continuall raines) we were constrained to lye still and doe nothing for the space of three weekes, or a moneth; in which idle time I conferred with the Indians, sometime with one, sometime with another; and by helpe of my Indian Anthony Canabre, and the Indian John above mentioned (whom I used for my interpreters) I gathered from them as well as I could, the State of their Countrie; the manner of their government and living; how they stood with their neighbours in tearmes of peace, and warre; and of what power and strength they were. I inquired also of the seasons of the yeare in those parts: of their division, and account of times, and numbers; of the provisions of their Countrie for victuals, and other necessaries: and made a diligent inquiry of all the commodities their Country yeeldeth, and what things were of most estimation amongst them: all which I have briefely declared unto your Highnesse in this following discourse.

Continuall raines.

THis goodly Countrie, and spacious Empire, is on the North part bounded with the Sea, and the great River of Orenoque, wherein Sir Walter Raleigh performed his worthy and memorable discovery, on the East and South parts with the famous River of Amazones: and on the West part with the Mountaines of Peru.

The bounds and limits of Guiana.

The westermost branch of the River of Amazones that falleth into the Sea, is called Arrapoco: upon which River

Arrapoco a branch of Amazones.

are seated many goodly Signiories well deserving a particular discovery, which shall (by Gods permission) be performed hereafter. To the North of Arrapoco is the *Arrawary.* River of Arrawary, which is a goodly River, discovering a gallant Countrie. From Arrawary unto the River of Cassipurogh extendeth the Province of Arricary; containing the Signiories of Arrawary, Maicary, and Cooshebery; of which Anakyury is principall, who by Nation is a Yaio, and fled from the borders of Orenoque for feare of the Spaniards, to whom he is a mortall enemy. He hath seated himselfe in the province of Arricary, and now dwelleth at Morooga in the Signiory of Maicari. To the North North-west of which, there falleth into the Sea a River called Conawini, whereupon the Signiory of Cooshebery bordereth; whereof an Indian named Leonard Ragapo is Chiefe, under the subjection of Anaki-u-ry. This Indian is christened, and hath beene heretofore in England with Sir Walter Raleigh, to whom he beareth great affection: he can a little understand and speake our language, and loveth our Nation with all his heart. During my aboad at Wiapoco, having intelligence of him, and of his Country, and that certaine stones were found therein, supposed to be Diamonds: I sent my Cozen, Captaine Fisher to discover the same, and fetch some of those stones, to be resolved of the truth.

Maicary.
Anaky-u-ry chiefe of the Yaios.
Morooga.
Conewini.
Cooshebery.
Leonard Rapago Lord of Cooshebery.
[IV. vi. 1271.]

At his comming thither, Leonard entertained him with all kindenesse, not after the ordinary rude manner of the Indians, but in more civill fashion, and with much respect and love, he furnished him with guides to conduct him through the Country to the place where the Stones were found, being fifty miles Southward up into the Land: beyond which place there is an high Mountaine appearing in sight, called Cowob, and on the top thereof (as the Indians report) a great Lake or Poole, full of excellent fish of divers kindes. The Countrey was as pleasant and delightfull, as ever any man beheld; but the Stones not Diamonds: yet they were Topases, which being well cut, and set in Gold by a cunning workman, doe make as

A Mountaine called Cowob.
Topases in Cooshebery.

faire a shew, and give as good a lustre as any Diamond whatsoever: which yeelde good hopes of better to be found hereafter: For where the Topas is found on the Mountaines of Tenaseren, in the East Indies, the greatest store of Diamonds are also found.

When my kinsman returned, Captaine Leonard came with him to Wiapoco (being above an hundred miles from his owne Country) onely to visite me and my company; for the great love he did beare to Sir Walter Raleigh, and our Nation. I much marvelled to see him, for assuredly he is the bravest Indian of all those parts. After he had beene with me a day or two, he earnestly requested me to send some of my company into his Countrey, which he greatly commended for the wholesome ayre, and plenty of victuals, alleading that the place where then wee lived (by his owne experience) was very unhealthfull, that our men would there be subject to sickenesse and die: and for an instance he named Captaine Lee, and his company, who formerly were planted there, and almost all dyed by sicknesse in the same place: But he assured me that his own Country Cooshebery was of a good ayre, pleasant, and healthfull; that there they might have roome sufficient to build English houses in (for those were the words hee used) that thither they should be welcome and should want nothing. Much he perswaded to draw me to his desire, which by his importunity I granted, and accordingly performed it; finding his Country answerable to his report; being for the most part champian ground, naturally intermixt of plaine fields, fruitefull meadowes, and goodly woods, in such admirable order, as if they had beene planted artificially by handy labour. The fields appearing above the meadowes in pleasant and delightfull manner, presenting here and there unto the eye, from stately Mounts, most beautifull and lively prospects: the meadowes bordering on every side betweene the fields and woods, the woods growing in the lowest valleys betwixt the meadowes, and commonly are watered with sweete and pleasant fresh streames running

The quality of the Province of Cooshebery.

through them: which strange and rare mixture of Mounts, Valleyes, Meadowes, Fields, and Woods, afford as excellent and healthfull habitations as can be wished or desired, but is not greatly peopled.

Arracoory and Morrownia.

From the River of Cassipurogh N. Westward to the River of Arracow, and up further into the Land towards the West, and South-west, as farre as the River of Arwy (which falleth into Wiapoco above the overfalles) extend the Provinces of Arracoory, and Morownia, which also to the landward (by the relation of my Brother, Captaine Michael Harcourt, and Captaine Harvey, who have travelled and discovered those parts) are pleasant and delightfull plaine Countries, like unto Cooshebery. The Arracoory Countrie is well peopled, and their chiefe Captaine is called Ipero. Betwixt the Wiapocoories and Arracoories there is no hearty love and friendship, yet in outward shew they hold good quarter. In Morrownia, there is also store of people, which are friendly Indians.

An exceeding high Hill called Callipuny.

In that Province there is a very high Hill called Callipuny, fashioned like a Sugerloafe, or a Pyramis, which overvieweth and discovereth all the Territories adjoyning above an hundred miles.

Norrak.

Beyond the Country of Morrowni to the Southward bordering the River of Arwy, is the Province of Norrak: the people thereof are Charibes, and enemies both to the Morrowinnes, the inhabitants of Morrownia, and to the Wiapopoories; who are also under the subjection of

Anaki-u-ry.

Anaky-u-ry, the principall and greatest Lord, or Cassique of all the Yaios in those Provinces, bordering upon the Sea betwixt the Amazones, South-eastward, and Dessequebe North-westward.

Rivers falling into the Sea, betweene Amazones and Wiapoco.

From the River of Amazones to the Bay of Wiapoco, there fall into the Sea these Rivers following: Arrapoco (a branch of Amazones) Arrawary, Micary, Conawini, and Cassipuroph: In the Bay of Wiapooco to the East of the said River, there falleth into the Sea the River of Arracow;

Winary a creek.

and into Arracow falleth the River of Watts. To the North of Wiapoco there is a small creeke called Wianary,

which letteth into the Sea a dayes journey Westward up into the land: some take this creeke to be a River, but they doe erre in that opinion, it having neither Spring nor Fountaine from whence it falleth. To the North and North-west of the said creeke, there is a ridge of high Mountaines running towards the River of Apurwaca, the soile whereof is excellent and fertile for Tobacco, and beareth the best of all those parts; so are the Sugar-canes there growing the best and fairest that are found upon the Coast: and all the tract of Land betwixt the River of Wiapoco, and Apurwaca, is accounted the Province of Wiapocoory, containing the Signiories of Wiapoco, and Wianary. Beneath the overfals in Wiapoco (which are forty miles distant from the Sea) there is much people, both of Yaios, and Arwaccas: of the Yaios in this River Carasana is chiefe. Of the Arwaccas, Arriquona is principall. In Wianary there are few Indians, and Casurino is their chiefetaine.

The Province of Wiapocoory.

[IV. vi. 1272.]

Carasana.
Arriquona.
Casurino.

To the North-west of the Bay of Wiapoco, there fall into the Sea the River of Apurwaca, Cowo, Wio, and Caiane. Apurwaca is a goodly River, and well inhabited: Cowo is voide of inhabitants: Wio is a faire River and leadeth many dayes journey into the high land, and discovereth a fertile and hopefull Countrey. At Caiane there is an excellent harbour for shipping of any burden, which heretofore by Captaine Lawrence Keymis was called Port Howard: On the Starboord side, as you enter this harbour, there is an Iland of low land, called Muccumbro, scituate betwixt the River of Caiane and Meccoria, containing in circuit about sixteene leagues. In this Iland there are two hils, the one called Muccumbro, whereof the Iland taketh the name; the other called Cillicedemo: from these hils the greatest part of the Iland may be overviewed, which containeth many goodly Pastures and Meadowes intermixt with some Woods, and is full of Deere, both red and fallow.

Rivers falling into the Sea, to the North-west of Wiapoco.

Muccumbro an Iland.

On the Larboord side, as you enter Caiane there is another Iland of high Land, called Mattoory, in quantitie

Mattoory an Iland.

much like unto the first: this Iland for the commodious scituation, is of great effect for the defence of the harbour, affording naturally two such notable convenient places for the planting of Ordnance for that purpose, as no industry of art could devise better, or more availeable.

Arrawicary chiefe Captaine of the Caiane.

The Inhabitants of this Province of Caiane, are Charibes, their principall commander is called Arrawicary, who dwelleth at Cillicedemo before mentioned: we have found him trusty and faithfull to our Nation; but to our friend Leonard of Cooshebery, he is a mortall enemy.

Foure or five men placed at Caiane.

At this mans house I left foure or five of my company, thereby to hold amity and friendship with the Charibes, to learne their language, and to keepe peace betweene them and the Yaios, Arwaccas, and other Nations their allies. To the South-westward of these Provinces above mentioned towards the high land, there be many others which hereafter shall be more exactly described by a second discovery.

The manner of their government.

These Provinces & Signiories to the landward are not plentifully inhabited, the greatest numbers of people are seated neare unto the Rivers, & travell from place to place in Canoes. There is no setled government amongst them, onely they acknowledge a superiority, which they will obay as farre as they please. In every Province or Signiory there is a chiefe Cassique, or Captaine, commanding all: So likewise in every Towne and Village, they commonly chastise murder and adultery by death, which onely are the offences punished amongst them, and certaine persons are appointed by them to execute those punishments.

Murder and Adultery punished by death.

The Indians by nature jealous over their wives.

The Indians take wives, over whom they are extreame jealous, and expect great continencie in them; for if they take them in adultery, they presently cause their brains to be beaten out.

The Indians have many wives.

The better sort of persons have every one of them two or three wives, or more, the rest but one; accounting him that hath most wives, the greatest man. Their wives (especially the elder sort) are as servants unto them, for they make their bread and drinke, dresse their meate, serve them at

meales, and doe all the other businesse about the house.

These Provinces are peopled with divers Nations of severall languages, namely, Yaios, Arwaccas, Sappaios, Paragotos, and Charibes. The Charibes are the ancient inhabitants, and the other Nations are such as have beene chased away from Trinidado, and the borders of Orenoque. And forasmuch as they have united themselves in those parts, the Charibes have held them in continuall warres, but the Yaios and the other Nations their Allyes, are growne so strong, that they have constrained the Charibes of the Sea-coast to contract a peace with them, yet beare no hearty love the one Nation to the other: but with the Charibes inhabiting the in-land parts upon the Mountaines, they have as yet no peace at all; for they doe often times come downe upon them in great numbers, spoile and burne their houses, kill their men, and carry away their women, which is the greatest cause of warre and hatred amongst them; whereof our men have seene experience in Cooshebery, where happened an accident worth the observing, which I will here declare unto your Highnesse. The Indian Leonard Ragapo, before mentioned, is a Yaio, who finding the Countrey of Cooshebery slenderly inhabited, hath seized upon it for his owne Signiorie; and at his earnest request, I sent foure Gentlemen of my company to remaine there with him. The naturall inhabitants that dwell upon the uttermost bounds thereof, towards the South, and West, are Charibes, and enemies to him, and to his Nation: for while our men (unknowne to the Charibes) staied at Cooshebery, they assembled themselves together to the number of two hundred or more, and came down into his Signiorie, burned and spoiled houses, roasted one woman, tooke many prisoners, and intended to assault him also: which to prevent he armed about fiftie of his Indians, with their usuall weapons; which are Bowes and Arrowes, long Staves sharpened at the point, and with fire hardened: woodden Swords and Targets very artificially made of

Divers languages in Guiana.

The Charibes most ancient upon the Sea coast.

The Indians make war for their women.

The Charibes warre upon Leonard.

The usual weapons of the Indians.

Leonard desireth aide of the English.

wood, and painted with Beasts, and Birds: He requested also our men to aide and assist him with their Muskets, which I commanded them to doe, upon all such occasions offered. And so being all in readinesse, Leonard (as their captain) led them on to intercept his enemies; and as I have heard by Master Henry Baldwin (who then was present, and to observe the manner of their warres, gave him leave to command all) he bravely performed that exploit, in good order after their manner, and with great judgement and resolution. For in the Front, he first placed our foure Englishmen, by two in a ranke; next to them, two Indians armed with woodden Swords and Targets; then two Archers; and after them two men with sharpned staves, instead of Pikes: and in like manner ordered, and ranked all his Company. Being thus prepared, hee marched against the Charibs, who (neere at hand) were comming in the same order towards him; but when they approached, and (unexpected) perceived our English men amongst the Yaios, they were much amazed, and made a sudden stand; which Leonard perceiving, guessed rightly at the cause, and instantly did make good use of that advantage. Hee commanded his owne company to keepe their Station, himselfe with a Sword in his hand (which I had given him) and a Target of his owne fashion, went boldly towards them to parley with their Captaines. And having called them out, hee reproved them for comming (as enemies) into his Signiory, for burning and spoiling his houses, and his people: hee demanded satisfaction for the hurt done, and restitution of the prisoners taken, and warned them forthwith to depart out of his Signiory, and desist from warre: which if they refused to fulfill, he was there ready with his friends the Englishmen to fight with them, and revenge his wrongs: and said further, that if in the conflict any of the English men were slaine, or hurt; hee would then fetch all the rest from Wiapoco, and returne to burne their houses, and cut them all in pieces. Thus hee boldly spake with such a courage,

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The manner of ordering their men in the warres.

The Charibes amazed at the sight of the English.

Leonard speaketh to the Charibes.

shewing also our men unto them (who had their match in cocke ready to discharge) that hee strooke such a feare into them all, by reason of our mens presence that they presently agreed to peace, performed what conditions he required, and then departed home with all their company. Here may your Highnesse note the factions among the Indian Nations: the discipline and order they hold in warre: the feare the Charibes conceived at the sight of our English men, and the policy of the Indian Leonard, to take advantage by their feare, and make our men his Guard, and chiefe protection against them. These things in time will much availe us, being well observed, and rightly applied according to occasion. But to our former discourse.

The Charibes agree to peace for feare of the English.

The power and strength of these Countries (being so thinly peopled) is not very great to withstand the might of forraine enemies. The usuall weapons of the Indians, are before described, saving that their Arrowes are oft times poisoned. But since our trade and commerce with them, they have gotten a few good Swords, Muskets, Calivers, and some small quantity of shot and powder; and have learned to handle their Peeces very orderly, and some of them are good shot.

The season of the yeare in Guiana.

The Summer beginneth in August.

The winter beginneth in February.

The seasons of the yeare upon this coast, and in this climate are divers, for in the East parts of Guiana towards the Amazones, the dry weather, which we call their Summer beginneth in August; and the violent raines and tempestuous winde, which we count their winter, doe begin in February: But in the Westerne parts, towards Orenoque, the dry season beginneth in October, and the raines and windes in Aprill. There is little difference of heate and cold in this diversity of seasons being so neere the Equinoctiall, where the day and night are alwayes equall: for in those parts wee finde, that when the Sunne declineth furthest from them towards the Tropicke of Capricorne, the ayre is then clearest, and the season of the yeare most dry; as in the Easterne parts of Guiana in August, September,

October, November and December: and when the Sunne returneth towards the Tropicke of Cancer, then doe the raines begin, increase, and decrease, from February to July: but sometimes they begin to fall, and the Rivers to rise, swell, and overflow sooner or later by a moneth; and the yeare is sometimes more or lesse windie and wet, according to the disposition of the heavens, and of the Planets: and as the Sun approacheth, or declineth little, or much, even so the earth wanteth or aboundeth with water and moisture.

Their account of times and numbers.

They have no division or account of times or numbers; they onely reckon by the Moones, as one, two, three, foure, or five Moones: or by dayes in like manner. Their numbers they reckon thus, one, two, three, and so to ten: then they say ten and one, ten and two, ten and three, &c. And to shew their meaning more certainly, they will hold up one, two, three, or more of their fingers, expressing the numbers, still making signes as they speake, the better to declare their meaning: when they will reckon twenty, they will hold downe both their hands to their feete, shewing all their fingers and toes, and as the number is greater, so will they double the signe. When they appoint or promise any thing to be done by a time limited, they will deliver a little bundle of sticks equall to the number of dayes, or Moones, that they appoint, and will themselves keepe another bundle of the like number: and to observe their appointed time, they will every day, or Moone take away a sticke, and when they have taken away all, then they know that the time of their appointment is come, and will accordingly perform their promise.

Religion.

They use no sacrifice, nor religious worship to any thing.

As touching Religion, they have none amongst them, that I could perceive, more then a certaine observance of the Sunne and Moone, supposing them to be alive, but using no religious worship towards them, nor offer sacrifice to any thing; unlesse they use a superstition in their drinking feasts, by sacrificing Jarres of drink: for at the death of any of their Cassiques, Captaines, or great

[IV. vi. 1274.]

friends whom they esteeme, they will make a solemne feast (their chiefest provision being of their best and strongest drinke, which they call Parranow) which feast shall continue three or foure dayes, or as long as their liquor lasteth, spending their time in dancing, singing, and drinking excessively: in which vice they exceede all other Nations whatsoever, accounting him that will be drunke first, the bravest fellow: during this solemnitie of their drinking, some women being neerest of their kin unto the party dead, doth stand by and cry extreamely: thus their manner is untill their drinke be spent, and then the feast is ended. Whether they use any superstition in this custome I know not; time will reveale, and also reforme it. It is most certaine that their Peeaios (as they call them) Priests, or Southsayers, at some speciall times have conference with the Divell (the common deceiver of mankinde) whom they call Wattipa, and are by him deluded; yet notwithstanding their often conference with him, they feare and hate him much, and say that he is nought: and not without great reason, for hee will oftentimes (to their great terror) beate them blacke and blew. They beleeve that the good Indians when they dye, goe up, and will point towards the heavens, which they call Caupo; and that the bad Indians goe downe, pointing to the earth, which they call Soy. When any Cassique, Captaine, or chiefe man dieth amongst them, if he have a slave or prisoner taken from their enemies, they will kill him; and if he have none such, then will they kill one of his other servants, that he may have one to attend him in the other world.

The manner of their drinking feast at the death of their Captaines.

Their Peeaios or Priests have conference with the divel.

Their opinion of the dead.

At the death of a Cassique, they kill an Indian to serve him in the other world.

The qualitie of the Land in those Countries, is of divers kindes; by the Sea side the Land is low, where the heate would be most vehement, if it were not qualified and tempered by a fresh Easterly winde or Brieze, most forcibly blowing in the heate of the day: in many places this low land is very unhealthfull, and little inhabited, by reason of the over-flowing of the waters: but for the

The quality of the Land.

most part it hath goodly navigable Rivers, a fertile soyle, much people, and is a healthfull habitation. Upon the Mountaines there is a high land, where the ayre is coldest, in some places it is fruitfull, in others not: but generall is full of Minerals, and mines of mettals, and yeeldeth as many as any part either of the East, or West Indies, both of the best, and of the basest whereof, we shall (by Gods permission) give good testimony, to the benefit of our Countrey, and honour of our Nation in time convenient: and in most places upon the Mountaines there is sound and healthfull dwelling. There is also a middle sort of land, which is of a meane height, and is most temperate, healthfull, fertile, and most inhabited of all other; it aboundeth in Meadowes, Pastures, and pleasant streames of fresh water, in goodly woods, and most delightfull Plaines, for profit, pleasure, sport, and recreation: and also is not void of Minerals.

The provisions for victuals. The roote of Cassavi maketh their bread and drinke.

The provisions of this Countrey for victuals, are many: First, of the roote of a tree, called Cassavi, they make their Bread, in manner following; they grate the roote upon a stone, and presse out the juice thereof, which being rawe is poyson, but boiled with Guinea Pepper, whereof they have abundance, it maketh an excellent and wholesome sawce, then they drie the grated roote, and bake it upon a stone, as we bake our Oaten cakes in England. This bread is very excellent, much like, but farre better then our great Oaten cakes, a finger thicke, which are used in the Moorelands, and the Peake in Staffordshire and Darbyshire.

Maix, or Guinea wheat.

There is a kinde of great Wheat, called Maix, of some it is called Guinea Wheat, which graine is a singular provision in those Countries, and yeeldeth admirable increase, even a thousand or fifteene hundred for one, and many times much more. It maketh excellent meale, or flower for Bread; and very good Malt for Beere or Ale, and serveth well for sundry other necessary uses for the reliefe of man. Of the aforesaid Cassavi bread, and this Wheate the Indians make drinke, which they call

Their divers kinds of drinke.

Passiaw: it will not keepe long, but must be spent within foure or five dayes: they make another kinde of drinke of Cassavi, called Parranow, very good and strong, much like unto our best March beere in England, and that kinde of drinke will keepe ten dayes; many sorts they have which I have tasted, some strong, some small, some thicke, some thin, but all good, being well made, as commonly they were amongst the Yaios, and Arwaccas, which are the clenliest people of all those Nations.

An excellent drinke made of Cassavi.

There is great store of hony in the Country, and although it be wilde (being taken out of trees and buries in the earth) yet is it as good as any in the world; of which may be made an excellent drinke much used in Wales, called Meath. The hony and the waxe, are also good commodities for merchandise.

Store of hony.

There is no Vines in that Country, but the Soyle being rich and fertile, and the climate hot, if they were planted there, they would prosper exceedingly, and yeelde good Sackes, and Canary wines, which in those parts we finde to be very wholesome.

The soyle excellent for Vines.

Many other necessary provisions sufficient for the sustenance of man, doe there abound in plenty: Namely, Deere of all sorts, wilde Swine in great numbers, whereof there are two kindes, the one small, by the Indians called Pockiero, which hath the navile in the backe; the other is called Paingo, and is as faire and large as any we have in England. There be store of Hares, and Conies, but of a kinde far differing from ours: There be Tigers, Leopards, Ounces, Armadils, Maipuries, which are in taste like Beefe, & wil take salt: Baremoes or Ant-Beares, which taste like Mutton, & other small beasts of the same taste, coloured, like a Fawne, Elkes, Monkies, and Marmosites of divers sorts, both great and small: of these beasts there bee innumerable, and by experience we have found them all good meate. Many other kindes of beasts there are of sundry and strange shapes, which hereafter shall be figured in their true proportion according to the life with their names annexed.

Sundry kindes of Beasts in Guiana.

Swine which have the Navile in the back.

[IV. vi. 1275.]

Great variety of Fowles.

Of Fowles there bee divers kindes; namely, Wild-ducks, Widgins, Teales, Wild-geese, Herons of divers colours, Cranes, Storkes, Pheasants, Patridges, Doves, Stock-doves, Black-birds, Curlewes, Godwits, Woodcokes, Snites, Parrots of sundry sorts, many other kindes of great and small Birds of rare colours; besides great ravenous Fowles; and Hawkes of every kinde.

Divers kindes of fish.

Of fish the varietie is great, first of Sea fish, there is Sea-breame, Mullet, Soale, Scate, Thornebacke, the Sword-fish, Sturgeon, Seale, a fish like unto a Salmon, but as the Salmon is red, this is yellow; Shrimps, Lobsters, and Oysters, which hang upon the branches of Trees: There is a rare fish called Cassoorwa, which hath in each eye two sights, and as it swimmeth it beareth the lower sights within the water, and the other above: the ribs and back of this fish resemble those parts of a man, having the ribs round and the back flat, with a dent therein, as a man hath; it is somewhat bigger then a Smelt, but farre exceeding it for daintie meate; and many other sorts there be most excellent. Of fresh-water fish many kindes unknowne in these parts, but all exceeding good and daintie: And I dare be bold to say, that this Countrie may compare with any other of the world, for the great varietie of excellent fish both of the Sea, and fresh Waters. There is also a Sea-fish which usually commeth into the fresh waters, especially in the winter and wet season; it is of great esteeme amongst us, and we account it halfe flesh, for the bloud of it is warme; it commeth up into the shallow waters in the drowned lands, and feedeth upon grasse and weedes: the Indians name it Coiumero, and the Spaniards, Manati, but wee call it the Sea-cow; in taste it is like beefe, will take salt, and serve to victuall ships, as in our knowledge hath beene proved by our Countrimen: Of this fish may bee made an excellent oile for many purposes, the fat of it is good to frie either fish or flesh; the hide (as I have heard) will make good buffe: and being dried in the Sunne,

Oysters hang upon trees. A fish having foure eyes, and the ribs and backe like a man.

The Sea cow like beefe.

and kept from wet, will serve for Targets and Armour against the Indian arrowes: In the wet season the store of them are infinite; some of these hides were heretofore brought into England, by Sir Walter Rawleigh.

The severall kindes of fruits are many, the Pina, Platana, Potato, Medler, Plums of divers sorts, the Nuts of strange kindes. The excellency of the Pina I cannot expresse, for I dare boldly affirme that the world affoordeth not a more delicate fruit: In taste it is like Straw-berries, Claret-wine and Sugar. The Platana is also a very good fruit, and tasteth like an old Pippin. The Potato is well knowne. The Medler exceedeth in greatnesse. The Plums I cannot commend, for to eate much of them doth cause fluxes, which in those Countries are dangerous. The Nuts are good being moderately eaten.

Sundrie kindes of fruits.
Pina.
Platana.
Potato.
Medler.
Plummes.
Nuts.

HAving thus (most excellent Prince) declared the severall sorts of provisions for victuals and necessarie foodes, it remayneth that I now make mention of the varietie of commodities, found in the Countrie for the trade of merchandise, which in few yeeres, by our paines and industrie, may be brought to perfection, and so setled in those parts, that not onely the undertakers may receive reward for their indevours, but our Countrie also may grow rich, by trading for the fruits of our labours.

The varietie of commodities.

The first and principall commoditie of estimation, are the Sugar-canes, whereof in those parts there is great plentie; the soile is as fertill for them as in any other part of the world: They doe there grow to great bignesse in a short time; by orderly and fit planting of them, and by erecting convenient workes for the boyling and making of Sugars (which at the first will require some charge and expence) may be yeerly returned great benefit and wealth: the long experience of the Portugals and Spaniards, in Brasil, and the Iland of the Canaries; and of the Moores in Barbarie, may give us certaine assurance, and full satisfaction thereof.

Sugar Canes.

Cotton wooll. The Cotton wooll is a generall commoditie, beneficiall to our Merchants, and profitable to our Countrie, by making of Fustians, and serving for Bumbaste, and other uses: for making of Hamaccas, which are the Indian beds, most necessarie in those parts, and also a fine cotton cloth for clothing of the people. There is a *Naturall hemp or flaxe.* naturall Hempe or Flax of great use, almost as fine as silke as it may be used; we have now found out the best use of it; and for making of linnen cloth it is most excellent.

Divers commodities for Dyers. Annoto. There bee many rare and singular commodities for Dyers, of which sort there is a red berrie, called Annoto, which being rightly prepared by the Indians, dyeth a perfect and sure Orange-tawnie in silke; it hath beene sold in Holland for twelve shillings starling the pound, and is yet of a good price. There is another berrie that *A gum which dyeth a yellow in graine.* dyeth blue. There is also a gumme of a tree, whereof I have seene experience, that in cloth dyeth a sure and perfect yellow in graine. There bee leaves of certaine Trees, which being rightly prepared, doe die a deepe red. There is also a wood which dyeth a purple, and is of a good price; and another that dyeth yellow. There is yet another wood which dyeth a purple when [IV. vi. 1276.] the liquor is hot, and a crimson when the liquor is cold. Many other notable things there are (no doubt) not yet knowne unto us, which by our diligent labour and observation in time will be discovered and found.

Sweet gums. The sweet Gummes of inestimable value and strange operation in physicke and chirurgerie, are innumerable; there is yellow Amber, Gumma Lemnia, Colliman or Carriman, Barratta, and many more which I omit. The *The vertues of Colliman or Carriman.* Colliman hath beene proved by Master Walter Cary of Wictham in Buckinghamshire (a Gentleman of great judgement and practice in physicke) to be of speciall regard for many purposes: this gumme is black and brittle, much like in shew to common pitch; if you put a little of it upon burning coales, it filleth all the roome with a most sweet and pleasant savour. He further

reporteth of it, that certainly if you hold your head over the fume thereof three or foure times a day, it cureth the giddinesse of the head, and is also a most excellent comfort and remedie for a cold, moist, and rheumatike braine: it is also good against the resolution (or as the common sort call it) the dead palsie, whereof the giddinesse of the head is often a messenger, and the fore-teller of that most pernicious griefe. It is also of great use for the paine that many women have in the lower part of their backs: which is very common to such as have had children: for remedie whereof, it is to be melted in a pewter vessell with a gentle fire, then with a knife it must be spread lightly upon a piece of leather, and laid warme to the place grieved, untill it come off of it selfe. This plaister is also very good for aches, and doth greatly comfort and strengthen the sinewes. Thus much hath Master Cary written and reported of it, and hath proved by his owne experience. This gumme is also approved to bee an excellent remedie against the gowt; and of singular vertue in the cure of wounds.

The Colliman helpeth the gowt.

The Barratta is a most soveraigne Balsamum farre excelling all others yet knowne: which by the same Gentlemans experience is of admirable operation in the cure of greene wounds: and being burned upon coales, is of a sweet and odoriferous savour.

Barratta a rare Balsamum.

There bee many other sweet gummes of great use for perfumes; whereof one doth make a very rare perfume, much like unto the sent of sweete Margerum, very pleasant and delectable.

A perfume like sweet Margerum.

For physick there be also many excellent Drugs; namely, Spiknard, Cassia Fistula, Sene; and the earth yeeldeth Bole-Armoniack, and Terra-Lemnia, all which are knowne unto us. There be other Drugs and Simples also of strange and rare vertue, in these parts unknowne; of which sort there is a little greene Apple, by the Indians called in their language, The sleeping Apple; which in operation is so violent, that one little bit

Drugges and simples for physicke.

An apple which provoketh sleepe to death.

thereof doth cause a man to sleepe to death: the least drop of the juyce of it, will purge in vehement and excessive manner, as dangerously was proved by my cousin Unton Fisher, who first found it: for biting a little of it for a taste, and finding it to burne his mouth in some extremitie, did sodainly spit it out againe, but some small quantitie of the juyce (against his will) went downe into his stomack, which for two or three dayes space did provoke in him an extraordinarie sleepinesse, and purged him with sixtie seates. This Apple, for the purging vertue is so small a quantitie, is like to bee of good price, and great estimation in the practice of physick; for the learned Physicians doe well know how to correct the sleeping qualitie thereof wherein the danger resteth. There is a berrie in those parts very excellent against the bloudie-fluxe, by the Indians it is called Kellette. The juyce of the leafe called Uppee, cureth the wounds of the poysoned arrowes. The juyce of the leafe called Icari, is good against the head-ache. Many other Drugs and Simples are there found of singular properties both in physick and chirurgerie, which if they should be severally described according to their value and worthinesse, would containe a large Volume.

A berry curing the bloudie fluxe.

A leafe curing the wounds of the poysoned arrowes.

A leafe curing the head-ache.

Moreover, the Tree wherewith they take their fish, is not a little to be esteemed, but chiefly the great goodnesse of God therein is highly to bee praysed and admired, who amongst so many admirable things by him created, and planted in those parts, hath vouchsafed to bestow upon those barbarous people so great a benefit, and naturall helpe, for the present getting of their food and sustenance. These trees are commonly growing neere unto the places of their habitation for their present use: for when, at any time, they goe to fish, they take three or foure little sticks of this tree, and bruise them upon a stone, and then go into certain smal creeks by the Sea-shoare, which at a high water are usually full of very good fish of divers kindes, which come in with the tyde; and there they wade up and downe the water,

A wood that maketh fish drunke.

and betweene their hands rub those small bruised sticks therein, which are of such vertue, that they will cause the fish to turne up their bellies, and lye still above the water for a certaine time: In which space they presently take as many as they please, and lade them into their Canoes, and so with little labour returne home sufficiently provided.

There is also a red speckled wood in that Countrie, called Pira timinere, which is worth thirtie or fortie pounds a Tun: It is excellent for Joyners worke; as chaires, stooles, bed-steds, presses, cupboords, and for wainscot. There are divers kindes of stone of great use, and good price, as Jasper, Porphyrie, and the Spleene-stone.

There is yet another profitable commoditie to bee reaped in Guiana, and that is by Tabacco, which albeit *Tobacco.* some dislike, yet the generalitie of men in this Kingdome doth with great affection entertaine it. It is not only in request in this our Countrey of England, but also in Ireland, the Neatherlands, in all the Easterly [IV. vi. Countreyes, and Germany; and most of all amongst 1277.] the Turkes, and in Barbary. The price it holdeth is great, the benefit our Merchants gaine thereby is infinite, and the Kings rent for the Custome thereof is not a little. The Tabacco that was brought into this Kingdome in the yeare of our Lord 1610. was at the least worth *60000. worth of Tabacco in a yeere.* 60. thousand pounds: And since that time the store that yeerely hath come in, was little lesse. It is planted, gathered, seasoned, and made up fit for the Merchant in short time, and with easie labour. But when we first arrived in those parts, wee altogether wanted the true skill and knowledge how to order it, which now of late we happily have learned of the Spaniards themselves, whereby I dare presume to say, and hope to prove, within few moneths, (as others also of sound judgement, and great experience doe hold opinion) that onely this commoditie Tabacco; (so much sought after, and desired) will bring as great a benefite and profit to the under-

takers, as ever the Spaniards gained by the best and richest Silver Myne in all their Indies, considering the charge of both.

The commodities most esteemed by the Indians.

The things which the Indians desire from us by way of trade in exchange for the above named commodities, (whereby wee hold societie and commerce with them) are Axes, Hatchets, Bill-hookes, Knives, all kinde of Edge-tooles, Nailes, great Fish-hookes, Harping-irons, Jewes Trumps, Looking-glasses, blue, and white Beads, Christall Beades, Hats, Pinnes, Needles, Salt, Shirts, Bands, linnen and woollen Clothes, Swords, Muskets, Caleevers, Powder and Shot: but of these last mentioned, we are very sparing, and part not with many, unlesse upon great occasion, by way of gift to speciall persons.

When the raines ceased, which was in July, I beganne to travell abroad in search of those golden Mountaines, promised unto us before the beginning of our Voyage, (by one that undertooke to guide us to them) which filled my company so full of vaine expectation, and golden hopes, that their insatiable and covetous mindes (being wholy set thereon) could not bee satisfied with any thing but only Gold. Our guide that vainly made those great promises, beeing come unto the wished place to make performance, was then possessed with a shamelesse spirit of ignorance, for hee knew little, and could performe nothing. What other intelligences (of Mynes alreadie found) I had from other men in England, and from the Master of my ship, who had beene heretofore in those parts, I found them by experience false, and nothing true concerning Mynes, that was in England reported unto me.

Leaden minds, minde nothing but golden Mynes.

Disorders by mutiny.

Our greedie desire of Gold being thus made frustrate, divers unconstant persons of my unruly company began to murmure, to bee discontented, to kindle discords and dissentions, and to stir up mutinie, even almost to the confusion and ruine of us all: and were upon the point to shake off all obedience to their commanders; to abandon patience, peace, and unitie, and wilfully to

breake out into all mischiefe and wretched disorder, onely because they were deceived of their golden hopes and expectations: but with good words, and comfortable perswasions, I pacified them for the time, and made them acquainted with my better hopes conceived of the commodities above mentioned. I perswaded them in generall from idlenesse, to travell abroad, to search and seeke out amongst the Indians, what other novelties they could (though Gold were wanting) whereby we might hereafter benefit our selves; and still I employed them some one way, and some another, to occupie their minds by doing something, the better to prevent dissention, which commonly is bred of idlenesse, the slouthfull Mother of all filthy vices.

Good to bee doing somewhat to prevent the devil.

As I daily conversed amongst the Indians, it chanced one day, that one of them presented me with a halfe Moone of Metall, which held somewhat more then a third part Gold, the rest Copper: another also gave me a little Image of the same Metall; and of another I bought a plate of the same (which he called a spread Eagle) for an Axe. All which things they assured mee were made in the high Countrey of Guiana, which they said did abound with Images of Gold, by them called Carrecoory. These things I shewed to my company to settle their troubled minds, which gave much contentment to the greater part of them, and satisfied us all that there was Gold in Guiana. Shortly after that my Indian Anthony Canabre, brought me a piece of a Rocke, of white Sparre, whereof the high Countrey is full: And if the white Sparres of this kinde, which are the purest white of all others, (for every sort of Myne hath a Sparre, and for the most part white) be in a maine Rocke, they are certainly Mynes of Gold, or Silver, or of both. I made triall of a piece of Sparre, which the same Indian discovered unto mee, and I found that it held both Gold, and Silver, which (although it was in small quantitie) gave me satisfaction that there be richer Mynes in the Countrey to be found: but the best lie

The high Countrey of Guiana aboundeth with images of Gold.

The Rocks of the purest white Sparre are Mynes of gold or silver.

deeper in the earth, and wee had not time nor power to make search for them.

Many over-fals in Wiapoco.

I travelled up the River of Wiapoco, to view the over-fals, but the waters being high and strong, I could not passe them. In August when they are fallen, with some labour they may bee passed. This River hath very many over-falls, lying one a good distance beyond another, even to the head thereof. Above some of the first falls there dwelleth an Indian, called Comarian, who is an old man of a free disposition; by him I learned that a certaine distance above the first falls, the River Arwy falleth into Wiapoco: moreover that certaine dayes journey beyond him towards the high Land, upon the borders of Wiapoco, there is a Nation of Charibes having great eares of an extraordinarie bignesse, hard to bee beleeved, whom hee called Marashewaccas: amongst these people (as Comarian reporteth) there is an Idoll of stone, which they worship as their God; they have placed it in a house made of purpose for the greater honour of it, which they keepe very cleane and handsome. This Idoll is fashioned like a man sitting upon his heeles, holding open his knees, and resting his elbowes upon them, holding up his hands with the palmes forwards, looking upwards, and gaping with his mouth wide open. The meaning of this proportion hee could not declare, although he had beene many times amongst them, and hath often seene it. What other Nations were beyond these he did not know, having never travelled so farre, but he saith, they be Charibes, and also enemies unto them. It seemeth there bee many Nations of those great eared people: for in the River of Marrawini, I heard also the like, who dwell farre up towards the high Land, as hereafter you shall heare, and I suppose, by the trending of the Rivers of Wiapoco, and Marrawini, are all one people.

People having great eares; perhaps these [IV. vi. 1278.] *eares are made large by art, as divers East Indians use.*

The proportion of their Idoll.

Upon the fourteenth day of August I went unto a Mountaine, called Gomeribo, beeing the uttermost point of Land to the North-ward in the Bay of Wiapoco; I

found the soile of it most excellent for Tabacco, Maix, Cotton-trees, Annoto-trees, Vines, and for any other thing that should bee planted there. When I had taken good view of the place, and found it commodious for many purposes; then in the presence of Captaine Fisher, divers Gentlemen, and others of my company, and of the Indians also, I tooke possession of the Land, by Turfe and Twigge, in the behalfe of our Sovereigne Lord King James: I tooke the said possession of a part, in name of the whole Continent of Guiana, lying betwixt the Rivers of Amazones, and Orenoque, not beeing actually possessed, and inhabited by any other Christian Prince or State; wherewith the Indians seemed to be well content and pleased.

Possession taken for the King at Gomeribo.

In like manner my Brother Captaine Michael Harecourt, and Captaine Harvey, (whom I left as his associate, and he esteemed as an inward friend) in a notable journey, which (to their great honour) they performed, to discover the River of Arrawary, and the Countrey bordering upon it, (neere adjoyning to the River of Amazones) did take the like possession of the Land there, to his Majesties use.

The like possession taken at Arrawary.

The dangers and great difficulties which they in that attempt incountred, were memorable, and such, as hardly any of our Nation in such small canoes (being onely some-what longer, but not so broad as our Thames Wherries, and flat-bottomed) ever overcame the like. First the number of their owne attendants besides themselves, was onely one man, and a Boy: Their troope of Indians sixtie persons. Their journey by Sea unto the River of Arrawary was neere one hundred leagues: wherein (by the way) they met with many dreadfull plunges, by reason of a high going Sea, which breaketh upon the flats and shoalds; especially, at the next great Cape to the North of Arraway, which in respect of the danger they passed there, they named Point Perillous. Then their Discovery up the River, was fiftie leagues more: where they found a Nation of Indians, which

Point Perilous.

never had seene white men, or Christians before, and could not be drawne to any familiar commerce, or conversation, no not so much as with our Indians, because they were strangers to them, and of another Nation. The Discovery of this River is of great importance, and speciall note, affoording an entrance more behovefull for the searching and Discovery of the Inland parts of Guiana, then any other River yet knowne upon the Coast; for trending Westward up into the Land, it discovereth all the Countreyes and Nations to the Southward of Arricary, Cooshebery, Morrownia, and Norrack, which I have mentioned before.

A great argument of plentie in the Countrey.

Many weekes they spent in this Adventure, still taking up their Lodgings in the Woods at night. Provision of meate they wanted not, for fish were ever plenty, and at hand: and the Woods yeelded either Deere, Tigres, or Fowle: their greatest want was of bread and drinke, which onely defect did hinder (at that time) the accomplishment of that Discovery. For when the Indians perceived their bread to be neere spent, and their drinke to be corrupted, they could not be perswaded to proceed, having no meanes to supply their wants amongst the Arrawaries, the Indians of that River who would not freely trade with them upon this first acquaintance, but alwayes stood upon their guard, on the other side of the River, where they inhabited: yet desiring to obtaine some of our English commodities, and make triall of our Indians friendship, affoorded some small Trade for their present reliefe during their abode in that River: So that of force they were constrained to breake off their Discoverie, and hasten homeward.

But here their dangers ended not, for as they returned, arriving at certaine Ilands called Carripoory, and passing betweene them and the mayne Land; much against the wils of all the Indians, who knowing the danger of the place, and more respecting their safetie, then their owne (being themselves all expert Swimmers) would have disswaded them from that hazard: but they being

ignorant of the perill, would needs passe on, and at the last met with such a Boore (as the Seamen terme it) and violent encounter of two tydes comming in, which like two furious inraged Rammes, or Bulles rushed together, and oft retired backe, to returne againe, with greater violence, until the one by force had overborne the other: that if (next under God) the diligent care and paines of the Indians had not preserved them, they had been there destroyed, and swallowed up by that mercilesse Boore or breach of waters; which (God be thanked) they escaped, and returned home in safetie.

A dangerous Boore at Carripapoory.

When I had (as before) taken possession at Gomeribo, in presence of the said parties, I delivered the possession of that Mountaine to my Indian Anthony Canabre, To have, hold, possesse, and enjoy the same, to him, and to his Heires for ever, of our Sovereigne Lord King James, his Heires and Successors, as his subject; Yeelding and paying yeerely the tenth part of all Tabacco, Cotton-wooll, Annoto, and other commodities whatsoever, which should hereafter be either planted or growing within the said Mountaine, if it were demanded. The Indian most gladly received the possession upon these conditions, and for himselfe, and his posteritie, did promise to bee true Subjects unto the Kings Majestie: his Heires, and Successours: And to pay the duties imposed upon them: and so that businesse being finished, I returned againe to Wiapoco.

[IV. vi. 1279.]

Gomeribo delivered to an Indian as the Kings tenant.

Now (most worthy Prince) there came unto my knowledge, an inconvenience happened by the carelesse negligence of the Master of my ship, who had the charge of providing and laying in the provisions and victuals for the Voyage, which was the cause that I gained no present profit by it, but left off all my Discoveries in the first beginning. I had a purpose at that time to performe a businesse, which might have proved profitable, and honourable unto us, if I had beene able to have stayed the time, but it was not my chance to bee so fortunate: for the Master, his Mates, and the Steward

The only cause of losse by the voyage.

of my Ship, came unto me, and told mee plainly, that if I made any longer abode in that Countrey, I would never in those ships returne into England: or if I did adventure it, my selfe, and all my Company would starve at Sea for want of Beere, Syder, and Water, for all my Caske was spoyled, because it was not Iron-bound; the woodden hoopes flew off, by reason of the heate of the Climate; and our Beere, and Syder, (whereof wee had good store) did leake about the ship, that we could hardly save sufficient to releeve us, if wee made a longer stay upon the Coast; which was the Masters fault, having had a speciall charge to be carefull of that onely point. By this default, I was constrained to make a vertue of necessitie, and prepare my selfe for England, and leave my former purposes to be accomplished hereafter, which shall be done (God aiding me) in time convenient.

Cap. Michael Harcourt left Commander of the company.

Then disposing of my company, I appointed my Brother Captaine Michael Harecourt to remayne in the Countrey, as chiefe Commander in my absence, and to continue the possession on the Kings behalfe; I gave him directions to travell abroad, as (occasion served) to discover the Countrey, to spend sometime at Cooshebery, and sometime also in other places; but to make his chiefest residence at Wiapoco, (the only Rendevouz for shippes that trade upon that Coast) and there to plant good store of Maix, for our releife of bread and drinke, which is the chiefest thing to be respected in those parts; for other victuals wee need not take much care being alwayes easily provided. He performed his charge with great reputation, discovered many goodly Provinces, and spacious Countreyes; and worthily continued the possession full three yeeres compleate. I left with him for his assistance, Captaine Harvey, who hath nobly vowed his time and fortune to be employed in the prosecution of this honourable action. For his Lieutenant I appointed Master Edward Gifford, a valiant and worthy Gentleman; and I left also with him of Gentlemen and others, about twentie more, with all such necessaries as I could spare,

Possession continued 3. yeeres.

Twentie men left with Captaine Harcourt at Wiapoco.

and thought convenient for them: and so commending them to God, the eighteenth day of August I departed from Wiapoco, and the day following arrived at Caiane.

The Pinnasse received a leake at Caiane.

At my comming to Caiane my Pinnasse received a leake, which would have proved dangerous, if we had beene farre at Sea; whereby enforced to attend the stopping thereof, and new trimming of the Pinnasse; and unwilling to be idle in the meane space doing nothing, I left my ships there to repaire their defects, and in my ship-boate departed thence, the twentie three of August: taking with me Captaine Fisher, who hath ever beene (since we first crept into the world) my chiefe companion, both in Armes and travels; I tooke also with mee his Brother Unton Fisher, Master Cradle the Masters mate of my ship, and about sixe more. I followed the Coast to the Westward steering during West, and passing by the River of Meccooria, I lodged that night in the mouth of the River Courwo: which hath a narrow deepe entrance, and within affoordeth a good Harbour, which may in time to come (for some speciall purpose) be of great use.

R. Meccooria.

R. Courwo.

Rivers to the West of Courwo.

The next day, and the night following I proceeded Westward with full saile, and passing the Rivers of Manmanury, Sinammara, Oorassowini, Coonannonia, Uracco, and Amanna; I arrived the twentie five day at the River of Marrawini, which openeth a faire River, but is shoale upon the Barre, which lieth two or three leagues off at Sea, having but two fathome water: within the Barre, the Channell is three, foure, five, and sixe fathome deepe. Five leagues within the river we passed by certaine Ilands called Curewapory, not inhabited, for at the rising of the waters they are alwayes over-flowne, of which sort the River hath very many: we lodged that night a little beyond these first Ilands at a Village called Moyemon, on the left hand, the Captaine thereof is called Maperitaka, of the Nation of the Paragotos, a man very loving and faithfull to our Nation, whereof we have had good proofe. The next day wee proceeded up the River

Ilands called Curowapory.

three leagues, and stayed at a Towne called Coewynay on the right hand, at the house of Minapa, (the chiefe Charib of that Signiorie) to provide two Canoes to prosecute our journey for the Discoverie of this River.

[IV. vi. 1280.] *They proceed in discovery of Marrawini.*

The twentie eight day we went forward passing many Villages and Townes, which I forbeare to name, and having gone about twentie leagues from the Sea, wee found the River in a manner barred up with Rockes, over which the water falleth with great violence, yet notwithstanding we adventured to proceed, and the further wee went, the more dangerous wee found the over-fals, and more in number; but when wee had passed the first Mountaine, towards the high Countrey of Guiana, called Sapparow, and discovered farre off before us other high Mountains called Matawere Moupanana, and had proceeded sixe dayes journey up the River (which was more then fortie leagues) we met with such shoale rockie streame, and great over-fals, that there to our griefe our journey ended.

The River full of overfals.

They went sixe daies journey up the River.

Being thus for that time debarred from our intended Discoverie, we prepared our selves with patience to returne towards our ships, and the third day of September we turned downe the River, shooting the over-fals with more celeritie then when we came up, dispatching three dayes journey in one, and the fifth day returned safe to Moyemon; but before I departed thence, Captaine Fisher told me of certaine Plants which hee had then found, much like unto Rose-trees, growing about halfe a yard in height, whereof (for the strangenesse of them) I cannot forbeare to adde a word or two.

Moyemon.

Trees which had the sense of feeling. These grow both in the East Indies & in Guinne. See Jo. Gom. to. 1. l. 9.

These Plants or little trees had assuredly the sence of feeling, as plainly appeared by touching them: for if you did but touch a leafe of the tree with your finger, that leafe would presently shrinke, and close up it selfe, and hang downe as if it were dead; and if you did cut off a leafe with a paire of Cizzers, then all the other leaves growing upon the same tree would instantly shrinke and close up themselves, and hang downe as if they were dead

and withered, and within halfe a quarter of an houre, would by degrees open themselves againe, and flourish as before; and as often as you did either touch or cut off any of them, they would doe the like; which did evidently shew a restriction of the Spirits, invincibly arguing a Sense. Howsoever this may seeme strange and incredible to your Highnesse, and to them that hath not seene it, yet forasmuch as Scaliger, and Bartas make mention of the like, I dare be bold to affirme it upon my credit, having seene and shewed it to fortie others: I gathered two of the Plants, and did set them in pots in their owne earth, and carried them aboord my ship, where I kept them fairely growing almost a fortnight, untill they were destroyed by certaine Monkeyes that brake loose, and pulled them in pieces: which might have beene prevented, but that I was constrained to set them in the open aire, the better to preserve them.

Scaliger Exercit. 181. *sect.* 28. *Bartas, Eden, 1. day, 2. weeke.*

The seventh day, I went to Wiawia, a great Towne of Paragotos, and Yaios, foure leagues to the West of Marrawini, whereof Maperitaka above mentioned, and Arapawaka, are chiefe Captaines. At this Towne I left my Cousin Unton Fisher, and Humfrey Croxton an Apothecary, to beare him company, and one servant to attend him called Christopher Fisher, having first taken order with Maperitaka for their diet, and other necessaries both for travell, and otherwise: who ever since (according to his promise) hath performed the part of an honest man, and faithfull friend.

Viawia, a Towne of 20. houses.

M. Unton Fisher and two others left at Wiawia.

I gave directions to my Cousin Fisher to prosecute the Discoverie of Marrawini, and the inland parts bordering upon it, when the time of the yeere, and the waters better served; and if it were possible to goe up into the high Countrey of Guiana, and to finde out the Citie of Manoa, mentioned by Sir Walter Raleigh in his Discoverie. He followed my directions to the uttermost of his abilitie, being of a good wit, and very industrious, and enabled to undergoe those imployments, by obtaining the love, and gaining the Languages of the people,

without which helpes, there is little or no good to be done in those parts.

When the waters of Marrawini were risen, and the River passable, (much differing from the River of Wiapoco, which is not to be travelled, but in the lowest waters.) Hee began his journey for the Discoverie thereof, in company of the Apothecarie, his servant Fisher, the Indian Maperitaka, and eighteene others, and proceeded eleven dayes journey up the River, to a Towne of Charibes, called Taupuramune, distant from the Sea above an hundred leagues; but was foure dayes journey short of Moreshego, which is also a Towne of Charibes, situate upon the River side in the Province of Moreshegoro: the chiefe Captaine thereof is called Areminta: who is a proud and bold Indian, much feared of all those that dwell within his Territories, having a rough skin like unto Buffe Leather, of which kind there be many in those parts; and I suppose proceedeth of some infirmitie of the bodie.

M. Fisher travelled eleven daies journey up the River of Morra, viz. 100. *leagues.*

The Province of Moreshegoro.

Indians with rough skinnes like Buffe.

He understood by relation of the Indians of Taupuramune, and also of Areminta, that six dayes journey beyond Moreshego, there are divers mightie Nations of Indians, having holes through their Eares, Cheekes, Nostrils, and neather Lips, which were called Craweanna, Pawmeeanna, Quikeanna, Peewattere, Arameeso, Acawreanno, Acooreo, Tareepeeanna, Corecorickado, Peeauncado, Cocoanno, Itsura, and Waremisso: and were of strength and stature farre exceeding other Indians, having Bowes, and Arrowes foure times as bigge: what the Indians also report of the greatnesse of their eares, I forbeare to mention, untill by experience wee shall discover the truth thereof. Moreover, hee learned that there fall into Marrawini divers great Rivers, called Arrenne, Topannawin, Errewin, Cowomma, Poorakette, Arrova, Arretowenne, Waoune, Anape, Aunime, and Carapio: whereof some he hath seene himselfe, That it was twentie dayes journey, from Taupuramune, to the head of Marrawini, which is inhabited by Arwaccas, Sappaios, Paragotos, and

Divers mighty Nations of Indians far up in Marrawini, towards the high Land.

Rivers falling into Marrawini Twentie [IV. vi. 1281.] *daies journey from Taupuramune to the head of Marraw.*

some Yaios: and that a dayes journey from thence to the Land-ward the Countrey is plaine, and Champian ground, with long grasse. Hee passed in this journey above eightie overfals of water, and many of them very dangerous: of some of them I had experience the yeere before. He proceeded no further at that present, being unprovided for so long a journey, supposing that it had beene neerer (then he found it) to the head of the River by a fortnights travell: and so returned backe in sixe dayes space, intending better preparation for a second journey: but his purpose was prevented by an untimely death: for shortly after hee was drowned by misfortune; whereby we see, that man determineth, but God disposeth.

The Countrie above the head of Mar. is plaine, and Champian ground.

THe tenth day of September being Sunday, I left the maine of Guiana, and in my ship-boat stood off into the Sea to seeke my ships, which were forced to ride foure leagues from shore, by reason of the shoales; but as we passed over them, we were in danger to bee cast away by the breach of a Sea, which verily had sunke our Boat, if with great celeritie wee had not lightned her, by heaving over-boord many baskets of bread, of Cassavi, Maix, Pinas, Platanas, Potatoes, and such like provision, wherewith our Boat was loden; by which means it pleased God to deliver us from present destruction, and to bring us safe unto our ships.

The tenth of September they left Guiana.

They were in danger to bee cast away.

When I came aboord, we weighed anchor, and steered away from the Iland of Trinidado, and upon the eighteenth day in the morning, we arrived at Punta de Galea, where wee found three English ships at anchor, which was no small comfort unto us, considering our great defects and wants. One of these shippes was called the Diana, belonging to Master Lul a Dutch Merchant dwelling in London. The other two, the Penelope, and the Indevour, belonging to Master Hall, a Merchant also of London. We stayed at this place sixe daies to mend our bad Caske, and to take fresh

They finde 3. English ships at Punta de Galea.

water: during which time I was kindly intreated, and feasted by the Merchants, and had supply of all such things as I stood in neede of; which courtesie I requited in the best manner I could for the present.

Upon Sunday the twentie foure of September we weighed anchor, so likewise did the Diana (the other two shippes beeing gone two or three daies before us,) but the winde shifting to the North-east, inforced us backe againe almost to the same place from whence wee departed. The twentie five we weighed againe, and plied along the shoare towards Cape Brea, about three leagues. This Cape is so called of the Pitch which is there gotten in the earth, whereof there is such abundance, that all places on this side of the World may bee stored therewith. It is a most excellent Pitch for trimming of shippes that passe into these Regions and hot Countries, for it melteth not with the Sunne, as other Pitch doth.

Pitch gotten in the earth which melteth not with the Sunne.

The twentie sixe day we stood along againe, the winde being still contrarie and variable, intermixt with many calmes, and so continued untill the second of October, when we arrived at Port de Hispania. Within two daies after our arrivall there, Don Sanches de Mendosa, the Teniente for that yeere, with certaine other Spaniards came aboord us: wee gave them the best entertainment that our meanes, the time, and place would affoord, and had much friendly conference together. They told me, that they lately had a conflict with the Charibes, wherein they had lost seven or eight of their men, and had many others hurt and wounded, whereof some came to my Chirurgion to have their wounds dressed during our abode there. And they plainly confessed that they are very much molested by the Charibes; and knew not how by any meanes to suppresse them.

They arrive at Port de Hispania. Don Sanches de Mendosa commeth aboord their ship.

The Spaniards much molested by the Charibes.

We staied at Porte de Hispania untill the seventh day, in hope to get some good Tobacco amongst the Spaniards, who daily fed us with delaies and faire words, but in truth they had none good at that present for us, which we perceiving, departed thence upon the seventh day, about

They depart from Trinidado.

one of the clocke in the morning, leaving the other ships to attend their trade, and stood away for the passages, called Les sciot boccas de Drago, and disembogued about eight of the clocke the same morning. Then wee steered away for an Iland called Meves, and leaving the Ilands of Granado, Saint Vincent, Gaudalupa, and Monserate, in our starboord side, wee arrived there the twelfth day, where we stopped to take in ballast, and more water, for our ships were very light.

They arrive at Meves.

In this Iland there is an hot Bath, which as well for the reports that I have heard, as also for that I have seene and found by experience, I doe hold for one of the best and most sovereigne in the World. I have heard that divers of our Nation have there beene cured of the Leprosie, and that one of the same persons now, or lately dwelt at Woolwich neere the River of Thames, by whom the truth may be knowne, if any man desire to bee further satisfied therein. As for my owne experience, although it was not much, yet the effects that I found it worke both in my selfe, and others of my company in two daies space, doe cause mee to conceive the best of it. For at my comming thither, I was grievously vexed with an extreame cough, which I much feared would turne me to great harme, but by bathing in the Bath, and drinking of the water, I was speedily cured: and ever since that time, I have found the state of my body (I give God thankes for it) farre exceeding what it was before, in strength and health. Moreover, one of my company, named John Huntbatch (servant to my brother) as he was making a fire, burned his hand with Gunpowder, and was in doubt thereby to loose the use of one or two of his fingers, which were shrunke up with the fire, but he went presently to the Bath, and washed and bathed his hand a good space therein, which soopled his fingers in such manner, that with great ease he could stir and stretch them out, and the fire was so washed out of his hand that within the space of twenty foure houres, by twice or thrice washing

An excellent hot Bath at Meves.

An extreame cough cured by the Bath.

[IV. vi. 1282.]

A mans hand burned with Gunpowder, and by the Bath cured in 24. houres.

and bathing it, the sorenesse thereof was cured, onely the eye-sore for the time remained. Furthermore, two or three other of my company having swellings in their legs, were by the Bath cured in a day.

Swellings in the legges cured in a day.

They depart from Meves.

Hence we departed the sixteenth day of October, in the afternoone, and leaving the Ilands of Saint Christopher, Saint Martin, and Anguilla on the Starboord side, we dissembogued through the broken Ilands on the North side of Anguilla upon S. Lukes day, where I thinke never Englishman dissembogued before us: for we found all our Sea-charts false concerning that place, those broken Ilands being placed therein, to the Southward of Anguilla, betweene it and Saint Martins, and we found them scituate to the Northward thereof.

They fell with Fayal.

On the eleventh day of November wee had sight of Fayal, one of the Ilands of the Terceras, which we left on our starboord side, and fleeted away for England, the winde continuing faire untill the twenty foure day. But then it changed, first to the East by North, and then to the East South-east, and became so violent and furious, that for three dayes space we were not able to beare our saile, but did drive before the winde at the least three leagues, a watch out of our course; and the first land we made was Cape Cleere, in the South-west part of Ireland, where against our wils we arrived at Crooke Haven the twenty nine of November.

They are driven by a storme into Ireland.

During the time of my Voyage, we lost but one Land-man, who died in Guiana; and one Sailer, and an Indian Boy, who died at Sea in our returne: and during the space of these three yeares last past since the voyage, of all the men which I left in the Countrey, being in number about thirty, there died but six, whereof one was drowned, another was an old man of threescore years of age, and another tooke his death by his owne disorder; the rest died of sicknesse, as pleased God the giver of life: for such small losse, his holy name be blessed now and ever.

The number of those that died.

The names of the Rivers falling into the Sea from Amazones, to Dessequebe, and of the severall Nations inhabiting those Rivers.

Rivers.	Nations.
1 Amazones.	Charibs.
2 Arrapoco, a branch of Amazones.	
3 Arrawary.	
4 Maicary.	Yaios and Charibes.
5 Connawini.	
6 Cassipurogh.	Arracoories.
7 Arracow.	
8 Wiapoco.	Yaios and Arwaccas.
9 Wianary, a creeke or inlet of the sea.	
10 Cowo, not inhabited.	
11 Apurwacca.	Charibs.
12 Wio.	
13 Caiane.	
14 Meccooria.	
15 Courwo.	
16 Manmanury.	
17 Sinammara.	
18 Oorassowini, not inhabited.	
19 Coonannoma.	Arwaccas.
20 Uracco.	
21 Marrawini.	Paragotos, Yaios, Charibs, Arwas.
22 Amanna.	Charibs.
23 Camoure, or Comawin, a branch of Selinama.	
24 Selinama, or Surennamo.	
25 Surammo.	
26 Coopannomy.	
27 Eneccare.	
28 Coretine.	Arwaccas and Charibs.
29 Berebisse.	

Rivers.	Nations.
30 Manhica.	Arwaccas.
31 Wapary.	
32 Micowine.	
33 Demeerare.	
34 Motooronnee.	Charibs.
35 Quiowinne, branches of Dessequebe.	
36 Dessequebe.	Arwaccas and Charibs.

[IV. vi. 1283.] Every house hath Cocks, Hennes, and Chickens, as in England; and the variety of fish is wonderfull, without compare; but the chiefest comfort of our Country-men is this, that the Beast called Maypury, and the fish called the Sea-Cow (being severally as bigge as a Heifer of two years old, and of which kinde there are very many) are in eating so like unto our English Beefe, that hardly in taste we can distinguish them, and may as well as Beefe be salted, and kept for our provision. There is also a Beast in colour like a Fawne, but fuller of white spots, in stature somewhat lesse then a small Sheepe, and in taste like Mutton, but is rather better meate: the Baremo is also of the same taste. I have the Copie of Master Harcourt his Patent, and he published also certaine Articles for the Adventurers, &c. which for brevity are omitted.

A beast and a fish like Beefe.

A beast like Mutton.

Chap. XVII.

A Relation of the habitations and other Observations of the River of Marwin,* and the adjoyning Regions.

**I found this fairely written amongst M. Hak. papers, but know not who was the Author.*

Townes in the River of Marwin.

Nprimis, Marracomwin a little Village so called where the Arwaccas dwell, whose chiefe Captaine is Coretan, and is at the foot of the River of Marwin in a creake on the left hand going up the River. Secondly, Russia a little Village so called where likewise Arwaccas dwell being likewise at the foote of the River on the right hand going up the River. Thirdly, Moyyemon, a large Towne where are some twentie houses all builded very lately, inhabited by Parawagotos and Yaios, whose chiefe Captaine is Maperitacca (being the Captaine with whom the Generall left us, and with whom we continue) being on the left hand of the River. Fourthly, Kiawarie, a Towne inhabited by Careebees, almost right against Moyyemon, whose Chiefetaine is——— Fiftly, Tonorima, a little Village above Kiawary inhabited by Careebees, being on the same side of the River, who be governed by the Captaine of Quvenow. Sixtly, Quvenow, a Towne some quarter of a mile distant from Tonorima, inhabited by Careebees, whose Chiefetaine is Ucapea, having a lame hand. Seventhly, Arowatta, a Towne situate on the same side of the River (whose inhabitants be Careebees) but a good prettie way beyond, whose Chiefetaine is Seepane. Eightly, Comurraty, a Towne situate beyond Arowatta, on the other side of the River, whose Inhabitants be Careebees, and Chiefetaine is Parapane. Ninthly, Pasim, a Towne situate beyond Comurratie on the same side of the River whose Inhabitants bee Careeb, and Chiefetaine is Tanatweya. Tenthly, Paramaree, a Towne situate beyond Pasim on the other side of the River,

inhabited by Careebees, whose Chiefetaine be Juara. There is beyond Paramaree a lone house, beeing situate some dayes journey from Paramaree on the same side of the River being inhabited by Careebees. Eleventhly, about some eleven daies journey beyond the lone house there is a towne called Tauparamunni, whose Inhabitants be Careebees. Twelfthly, a daies journey from thence is another Towne called Moreesheego, whose Inhabitants be Careebees. About some twentie daies journey beyond Moreesheego is a Towne called Aretonenne, whose Inhabitants bee Careebees having verie long eares hanging to their shoulders, and they are reported to bee a very gentle and loving people. Some twentie daies farther is the head of the River Marwin, where dwell Parawagatos, Arwaccas, and Suppay, and after a daies journey in the Land, they report the way to be very faire, and Champian ground with long grasse.

Long eares, perhaps made by art, with hanging weights thereon, as is used in the East Indies.

Townes from the foot of Marwin on the North-side along the Sea.

FIrst, Equiwibone, a Towne inhabited by Arwaccas and Parawagotos. Secondly, Caycooseoocooro, inhabited by Arwaccas, whose Chiefetaine is Woaccomo. Thirdly, Amypea inhabited by Arwaccas. Fourthly, about six mile within Land is Careebee, inhabited by Arwaccas, whose Chiefetaine is Aramea. Fiftly, Wia Wiam, about two miles from the Sea, a Towne inhabited by Yaios, Parrawagotos and Arwaccas, whose Chiefetaine is Araponaca. Sixtly, Soorry Soorry, some two mile directly farther toward the Sea side, inhabited by Parawagotos, whose Chiefetaine is Resurrima. Seventhly, Amiebas, a little distant from Soory Soory; inhabited by Parawagotos. Eightly, Vieguano, some sixe mile beyond Soory Soory, inhabited by Yaos and Parawagotos. Ninthly, Urarinno adjoyning to Vicguano, inhabited by Arwaccas and Parawagotos. Tenthly, Suarer a daies journey beyond Wia Wiam up into the Land inhabited by Arwaccas. Eleventhly, Simarra, some sixe miles distant from Wia

Wiam, inhabited by Arwaccas. Twelfthly, Cauri, a Towne adjoyning to Simarra, inhabited by Arwaccas. Thirteenthly, Concoere, a Towne adjoyning to Cauri, inhabited by Parawagotos, and Arwaccas.

To most of these places there can be no passage but by Canoas in the Winter being marsh-medowy grounds, overflowne with swelling Tides. But in the Summer it is faire, and then they hide their Canoas in the Woods by the Sea-side. [IV. vi. 1284.] *Waters overflowing.*

As for the River of Marwin, there are no other Rivers which fall into it: but there be many Ilands, and some very great. The passage to the head thereof from the men with long eares is very dangerous, by reason of the passage through hollow and concave Rockes, wherein harbour Bat-mise of an unreasonable bignesse, which with their clawes and wings doe wound the Passengers shrewdly: yea, and oftentimes deprive them of life. During which passage (which is some quarter of a mile, and very darke; for the Rockes are close above, and in fashion like an Indian house) they are inforced to make great fires in their Canoas, and put over their heads some of their Crab-baskets to defend them from the force of their clawes and wings, and so they safely passe. *Great Bats.* *Darke and dangerous passage.*

There is a Chareebee (with whom I am very well acquainted) whose name is Carouree who assured me of certaine transparent stones, both of a greene and red colour, which hee described by a greene eare-ring which I shewed him, affirming they were somewhat bigger, and that they lay in a little gutter at the head of the River, which ran in a Valley betweene two Hills. *Stones transparent. See A. Knivet.*

I was further informed by a Yaio, an ancient man (who came downe from the head of the River Selinama in a little Canoa, with foure other, and a boy; three of which were Arwaccas, and one Yaio, who was borne in Orenoque, and as I judge, about the age of fourescore yeeres, or little lesse) who reported to mee, that hee was one of them which with Morequito and Putimay, was at the killing of nine Spaniards, and a Spanish Pedas; and *Spaniards killed.*

how Morequito was put to death, and a great many of his Indians hanged: himselfe was taken prisoner, and pinched with Pinsers for his punishment, and his eares nailed to wood, which I conjecture was a Pillourie. Besides, they rubbed his body over with salt mixt with Urine, after they had pinched him, and fetcht bloud, and after tyed him up in chaines. The reason why they put him not to death, was because hee had beene a great Traveller and knew the Countries well, and so they kept him for a Guide.

It so chanced, that the Spaniards, upon his informing them of the Cassipagotos Countrie, and how rich they were, and how he would be their guide, went with some companie to conquer it: the Captaine of the Spaniards was called Alexander, as he saith. But the Cassipagotos knowing his crueltie, thought it better to fight it out, then trust to his clemency, and so overthrew him and his companie, driving them to their Canoas, in which fight he escaped: But yet afterward it was his mishap to be againe in the hands of his adversarie by the meanes of Caripana King of Emeria, and put in chaines, and handled cruelly. His body was besmeared, as he said, with a yellow stone; for so he called it, which I take to be Brimstone, and so set on fire on his body, and after that he was well, and his skinne smooth and faire, they anointed him with honie from top to toe, and so scattered dust upon him, in which were millions of Pismires, tying him in chaines to a great tree, where Muskitos flockt about him like moates in the Sunne, and did pitifully sting him, then which death had beene better, as hee said. Within some small space hee with another Yaio, and three Arwaccas were chosen to goe a fishing some two dayes journey from the Towne. Likewise there went as overseers over them foure Spaniards, three of which, while they were a fishing, went into the Wood a fowling, and the fourth which was left for the overseer by chance fell asleepe, which they espying, agreed to release themselves and to slip from the shoare with their Canoa, and went up Selinama seven dayes

Spanish devises of tortures. Sir Fr. Drakes at Guatulco on the South Sea found a Negro in iron chains 20. yards long: sentenced to be whipped till al his flesh was raw, and so to be set in the Sunne, to be tortured to death by Muskitos.

journey within land from the head thereof to a Towne of the Arwaccas, called Cooroopon, where he now dwelleth, whose name is Weepackea; and the chiefe Arwacca which came with him is called Edaddeawa, and the Captaine of Cooroopon is called Naushickehan. This Yaio told mee of a Mountaine at the head of Dissikeebee which is called Oraddoo, where is a great Rocke of white Spar, which hath streams of Gold in it about the breadth of a Goose-quill; and this he affirmeth very earnestly. Also he speaketh of a Plaine which is some seven or eight dayes journey from the Mountaine where is great store of Gold in graines so big as the top of a mans finger, and after the flouds be fallen they finde them, which Plaine is called Mumpara. *Golden hopes.*

Further, he spake of a Valley not farre distant from thence, which is called Wancoobanona, which hath the like: and he said, they gather them the space of two moneths together; which two moneths are presently after the great raines which wash away the sand and gravell from the grasse which groweth in turfets, and then they may perceive the Gold lie glistering on the ground. And of these they are very charie. And the Captaines and Priests or Peeays doe charge the Indians very strictly, yea with punishment of the whip, that they be secret, and not reveale it to the Spaniard. But it seemeth they are willing the English should have it, or else hee would never have related so much of the state of his Countrie.

He spake very much of Sir Walter Raleigh: he likewise knew Francis Sparrow, and the boy which Sir Walter left behind him at Topiawary his house. He further said, that Topiawary wondred that he heard not from Sir Walter, according to his promise: and how Topiawary did verily thinke, that the Spaniard had met with him, and so had slaine him. Further, hee saith how Topiawary is dead, and how one Roponoyegrippo succeeded in his roome. Likewise he sayth Caripana the King of Emeria, who was very subject to the Spaniard, and did once betray him to the Spaniard, is now dead: at which *Sir W. Ral.* [IV. vi. 1285.] *Topiawary dead.*

he seemed not a little to rejoyce; and how one Dothronias is in his place, and is a good King, holding Armes against the Spaniard with the Cassipagotos, and giving him many overthrowes, so that now hee hath cleare left Dissikeebee and not a Spaniard there. He likewise said, how Topiawary had drawne in the Indians Wariwackeri, Amariocupana, Aromaya, Wickery, and all the people that belonged to Wanuritone, Captaine of Canuria, and Wacariopea Captaine of Sayma against Sir Walter Raleigh his comming to have warred against the Yeanderpuremei: And as yet Wanuritone and Wacariopea doe expect his comming. He addeth further, how he knew the two Nations of Tivitivas, called Ciawana and Warawitty, who are forced in the flouds to build their houses on the top of trees. And now he saith the Spaniard hath for the most part destroyed them, keeping divers of them to make and mend his Canoas. Further hee knew Toparimacca, and sayth hee is yet living, and Captaine of Arawaca a Napoy, who likewise doth expect Sir Walter his comming, and had drawne a companie of Indians for the aide and assistance of Sir Walter. Likewise, how Putimay is yet living, and how the Spaniards have layd great waite for him, but could never finger him to bee revenged for his part of killing the nine Spaniards. Further he addeth, how the Spaniards were killed at a Mountaine called Riconeri in Putimays Countrie, and how Putimay expected long for Sir Walter Raleigh. Likewise he saith, how the Epeuremei have now two very faire Townes, one called Aruburguary, and the other Corburrimore: and saith, they are not good people, yet they dare not warre with them. He further affirmeth of the men whose shoulders are higher then their heads, which he called Wywaypanamy, and offereth to goe with me thither if I come up in their high Countrie. For since the death of Topiawary they are friends, and bend their forces against the Spaniards. He further spake of a white, cleare, high and huge Rocke under a Mountaines side, which is called Mattuick,

Tivitivas houses on trees tops.

Men with shoulders higher then their heads.

Crystall Rock.

that on a Sun-shine day if a man looked on it, it would dazle his eyes exceedingly. Hee shewed mee before his departure from me, a piece of metall fashioned like an Eagle, and as I ghesse, it was about the weight of eight or nine ounces troy weight, it seemed to be Gold or at leastwise two parts Gold and one Copper, I offered him an Axe, which he refused; to which I added foure Knives, but could not get it of him: but I imagine the Dutch at Selinama have bought it of him, for their only comming was for Axes, as he said, hearing that the Dutch were at Selinama. I demanded where hee had that Eagle, his answere was, hee had it of his Uncle, who dwelt among the Weearaapoyns in the Countrie called Sherumerrimary neere the Cassipagotos Countrie where is great store of these Images. Further he said, that at the head of Selinama and Marwin there were great store of the halfe Moones, which hee called by the name of Unnaton. He likewise spake of a very faire and large Citie in Guiana, which hee called Monooan, which I take to be that which Sir Walter calleth Manoa, which standeth by a salt Lake which he called Parroowan Parrocare Monoan, in the Province of Asaccona the chiefe Captaine or Acariwannora, as he called him, was called Pepodallapa. He further said, that after that a man is up at the head of the River and some ten dayes journey within the Land, every childe can tell of the riches of Monooan. Further he addeth, how that once in every third yeere all the Cassiques or Lords and Captaines some seven dayes journey from Manooan doe come to a great drinking, which continueth for the space of ten dayes together, in which time they goe sometimes a fishing, fowling, and hunting, their fishing is in the salt Lake, where is abundance of Canoas, and those very great. They have many fish-pooles of standing water, wherein they have abundance of Fish. They have store of wilde Porkes and Deere, and other beasts, which are very good meate. Their Houses be made with many lofts and partitions in them, but not boorded, but with

Images of gold.

Monooan great Citie in Guiana.

Houses with lofts.

barres of wood, onely the lower floore on the ground is spread with clay very smooth, and with fires hardned, as they doe their pots, then presently they build their houses, as is before spoken of. Also he affirmeth, that within the Citie at the entring in of their houses they hang Carocoore on the posts which I take to be Images of gold.

Directions to the Towne of Cooropan from Marrawin.

FRom the head of Marrawin to Itshuerwa, a Chareeb Towne: from thence to Caperocca, a Chareeb Towne: from thence to a Mountaine called Payen: from thence to Una, a Mountaine: from thence to Youwalprenay, a Chareeb Towne: from thence to Tetatttecoomoyneto, a Chareeb Towne: from thence to Tunstoorito, a Chareeb Towne: from thence to Soynoon, a Parawag Towne: from thence to Crooroorere, a Suppay Towne: from thence to Macatana a Suppay Towne: from thence to Pipicorwarra, a Mountaine: from thence to Shadden, an Arwacca Towne: from thence to Lonnoo, an Arwacca Towne: from thence to Horurra a Mountaine: from thence to Habittebin, a Plaine: from thence to Warooca, an Arwac. Towne: from thence to Hardoo an Arwacca; and from thence to Coorepon, where he dwelleth, which he saith is but ten dayes journey from the head of Marrawin.

[IV. vi. 1286.]

Directions from the head of Selinama to Cooropan, which is but seven dayes journey.

FRom the head of Selinama to Kiarno a Chareeb Towne: from thence to Pommaro a Chareeb Towne: from thence to Scooadoddepon an Arwac Towne: from thence to Sickene a Mountaine: from thence to Shuhurway an Arwac Towne: from thence to Hadarinner a Suppay Towne: from thence to Weeatoopona, Arwac: from thence to Ruttrahar, Arwac: from thence to Caboyetitte, Arwac: from thence to Heeanannerre,

Suppay: from thence to Wabockeyaway, Arwac: from thence to Hanamob, Arwac: from thence to Muttuggabee, a Mountaine; and so to Cooropon, which is but seven dayes journey from the head of Selinama.

He likewise saith it is but a moneths journey by land, from the head of Marrawin to the head of Dissikeebee, and from the head of Dissikeebee to the head of Orenoque, a moneths travell.

Rivers from Brabisse to the Amazones.

	Rivers.	Nations.
	Brabisse.	Chareebees.
	Winniepa.	Chareebes.
	Arew.	Napoys.
	Mannapoo.	Napoys.
	Muccauren.	not inhabited.
	Morecoose.	Napoys.
	Arawon.	not inhabited.
	Orenoco.	Yaios Arwac.
	Emataccoo.	Chareebes.
	Eparramoo.	Chareebes.
	Aratooree.	Chareebes.
	Amockooroo.	Chareeb.
	Pareema.	Chareeb.
	Wine.	Chareeb.
	Moroka.	Yaios.
	Paurooma.	Arwaccas.
	Wacapwhou.	Arwaccas.
	Dissikeebee.	Arwac.
Branches of Dissikeebee	Quiowinne	Chareeb.
	Matooronee.	Chareeb.
	Marrawin.	Para. Ya. Cha. & Arwa.
	Amanna.	Chareeb.
	Uraco.	Arwac.
	Coonannoma.	Arwac.
	Oorassowinni.	not inhabited.
	Sinomarra.	Chareeb.

	Rivers.	Nations.
	Mannomanury.	Chareeb.
	Ecaurwa.	Chareeb.
	Caurooroo.	Chareeb.
	Muccurrie.	Chareeb.
	Kiam.	Chareeb.
	Wia.	Chareeb.
	Kowo.	not inhabited.
	Apoorwacca.	Chareeb.
	Wannase.	Yaios.
	Wiapoco.	Yaios.
	Aroocona.	Areecola.
	Casippooroo.	Areecoole.
	Connawin.	Yaio.
	Miocaree.	Areecool.
	Demeerare.	Arwac.
	Miconine.	Arwac.
	Wapary.	Arwac.
	Manhica.	Arwac.
	Keribisse.	Arwac.
	Coretine.	Chareeb. Arw.
	Eueecare.	Chareeb.
	Coopanomi.	Chareeb.
	Soorammo.	Chareeb.
	Surennamo, alias, Selinama.	Chareeb.
Branches of Selinama.	Camouree, alias, Commawin.	
	Arowaree.	Chareeb.
	Arapoco.	
	Amazone.	

Topaniwinni, a Branch of Marwin, at the head thereof going toward Oronoque, in which dwell a wilde People called Urokere, which are swift in running.

Swift footmen.

The Chareebees with long eares are called Nooraco. Ekinnicke, a kinde of worme, which poisoneth the water.

And thus much of Guianian affaires. Some other

Voyages thither have beene at large published by Sir W. R. and Master Keymis, recorded by Master Hakl. A later also with great noise, preparation and expectation hath happened, written alreadie in bloud; therefore, and for the latenesse needlesse and unworthie, that I say not too dismall and fatall for our Relations.

Chap. XVIII. [IV. vi. 1287.]

A Description and Discovery of the River of Amazons, by William Davies Barber Surgeon of London.

THe River of the Amazons lieth in the highest part of the West Indies, beyond the Equinoctial Line, to fall with this River fortie leagues from Land you shal have 8. 6. & 7. fathomes water, & you shal see the Sea change to a ruddie colour, the water shall grow fresh, by these signes you may run boldly in your course, and comming neere the Rivers mouth, the depth of your water shal increase, then you shal make Discoverie of the Trees before the Land, by reason the Land is very low, and not higher in one place then another three foote, being at a Spring tide almost all overflowne, God knowes how many hundred leagues. It flowes much water there with a verie forcible tide. In this River I continued tenne weekes, seeing the fashion of the people and Countrie there: This Countrie is altogether full of Woods, with all sorts of wilde Beasts: as Lions Beares, Woolves, Leopards, Baboones, strange Boores, Apes, Monkeies, Martins, Sanguines, Marmosets, with divers other strange beasts: also these Woods are full of Wild-fowle of all sorts, and Parrats more plentifull then Pidgeons in England, and as good meate, for I have often eaten of them. Also this Countrey is very full of Rivers, having a King over everie River. In this place is continuall Tempests, as Lightning, Thunder, and

Distant from England 1600. leagues. This is a part of a Booke set forth by the said Davies of his miserable captivitie.

Raine, and so extreame, that it continues most commonly sixteene or eighteene houres in foure and twentie. There are many standing waters in this Countrie, which bee full of Aligators, Guianes, with many other severall water Serpents, and great store of fresh fish, of strange fashions. This Countrie is full of Muskitas, which is a small Flie, which much offends a Stranger comming newly into the Countrie. The manner, fashion, and nature of the people is this: They are altogether naked, both men and women, having not so much as one threed about them to cover any part of their nakednesse, the man taketh a round Cane as bigge as a pennie Candle, and two inches in length, through the which hee puls the fore-skinne of his yard, tying the skinne with a piece of the rinde of a Tree about the bignesse of a small pack-threed, then making of it fast about his middle, hee continueth thus till hee have occasion to use him: In each Eare hee weareth a Reede or Cane, which hee bores through it, about the bignesse of a Swannes Quill, and in length halfe an inch, and the like through the midst of the lower lippe: also at the bridge of the Nose hee hangs in a Reede a small glasse Beade or Button, which hanging directly afore his Mouth, flies too and fro still as hee speakes, wherein hee takes great pride and pleasure. Hee weares his Haire long, being rounded below to the neather part of his Eare, and cut short, or rather as I judged pluckt bald on the crowne like a Frier. But their women use no fashion at all to set forth themselves, but starke naked as they were borne, with haire long of their Heads, also their Breasts hang verie low, by reason they are never laced or braced up: they doe use to anoint their Bodies, both Men and Women, with a kind of redde Earth, because the Muskitas, or Flies shall not offend them.

These people are verie ingenious, craftie, and treacherous, verie light of foot, and good Bowemen, whose like I have never seene, for they doe ordinarily kill

their owne food, as Beasts, Fowle, and Fish, the manner of their Bow and Arrowes is this. The Bow is about two yards in length, the Arrow seven foote. His Bow is made of Brasill-wood verie curious, his string of the rinde of a Tree, lying close to the Bow, without any bent, his Arrow made of Reede, and the head of it is a fish bone, hee kils a Beast in this manner: standing behinde a Tree, hee takes his marke at the Beast, and wounding him, he followes him like a Bloud-hound till he fall, oftentimes seconding his shoot: then for any Fowle be he never so little, he never misses him: as for the first, hee walkes by the water side, and when hee hath spied a fish in the water, hee presently strikes him with his Arrow, and suddenly throwing downe his Bow, hee leapes into the water, swimming to his Arrow which hee drawes aland with the fish fastened to it, then having each kild his owne food, as well flesh, and fowle, as fish, they meete together, to the number of fiftie or sixtie in a company, then make a fire after this fashion: They take two stickes of Wood, rubbing one hard against another, till such time as they bee fired, then making of a great fire, every man is his owne Cooke to broile that which he hath gotten, and thus they feed without Bread or Salt, or any kind of drinke but Water and Tobacco, neither doe they know what it meanes: In these Countries we could find neither Gold nor Silver Oare, but great store of Hennes. For I have bought a couple for a Jewes Harpe, when they would refuse tenne shillings in money. This Countrie is full of delicious fruite, as Pines, Plantines, Guaves, and Potato Rootes, of which Fruits and Roots I would have bought a mans burthen for a glasse Button or Bead. The manner of their Lodging is this: they have a kinde of Net made of the rinde of a Tree which they call Hæmac, being three fathome in length, and two in breadth, and gathered at both ends at length, [IV. vi. 1288.] then fastning either end to a Tree, to the full length about a yard and halfe from the ground, when hee

hath desire to sleepe, hee creepes unto it. The King of everie River is knowne by this manner. He weares upon his head a Crowne of Parrats feathers, of severall colours, having either about his middle, or about his Necke, a Chaine of Lions teeth or clawes, or of some other strange beast, having a woodden Sword in his hand, and hereby is he knowne to be the King: Oftentimes one King warres against another in their Canowes, which are Boats cut out of a whole Tree, sometimes taking one another, the Conquerours eates the Captives. By this time ten weekes were spent, and being homewards bound, but not the same way that we came, for we sailed unto the River before the winde, because it blowes there continually one way, which forces all shippes that come thither to returne by a contrarie way.

The end of the sixth Booke.

Voyages

to and about the Southerne America, with many Marine Observations and Discourses of those Seas and Lands by Englishmen and others.

THE SEAVENTH BOOKE.

READER, I here present thee the exactest Treatise of Brasil which I have seene written by any man, especially in the Historie of the multiplied and diversified Nations and customes of men; as also in the naturall Historie of Beasts, Serpents, Fowles, Fishes, Trees, Plants, with divers other remarkeable rarities of those Regions. It was written (it seemeth) by a Portugall Frier (or Jesuite) which had lived thirtie yeares in those parts, from whom (much against his will) the written Booke was taken by one Frances Cooke of Dartmouth in a Voyage outward bound for Brasil, An. 1601. who sold the same to Master Hacket for twenty shillings; by whose procurement it was translated out of Portugall into English: which translation I have compared with the written Originall, and in many places supplied defects, amended errours, illustrated with notes, and thus finished and furnished to the publike view. Great losse had the Author of his worke, and it not a little of his name*, which I should as willingly have inserted as worthy much

*I finde at the end of the Booke some medicinall receipts, and the name subscribed Ir. Manoel Tristaon Emfermeiro do Colegio da Baya: whom I imagine to have beene Author of this Treatise. Cooke reported that he had it of a Friar: but the name Jesus divers times on the top of the page, and often mention of the Fathers and societie maketh me thinke him a brother of that order, besides the state-tractate following.

honour for his industrie, by which the great and admirable workes of the Creator are made knowne; the visible and various testimonies of his invisible power, and manifold wisedome. Sic vos non vobis. In this and other written tractates the Spaniards and the Portugals have taken paines, and (which was denied to Spaine and Portugall) England is here entred into their labours, and hath reaped an English harvest of Spanish and Portugall seede. Another Treatise was taken by the said Frances Cooke, written more fairely, but it seemeth with the same hand, part of which I have added for better knowledge both of the civill uncivill dealings of the Portugals with the Indians; and of the unchristian christianitie in their owne practise and conversion of the Indians, and that by Jesuiticall testimonie. I may well adde this Jesuite to the English Voyages, as being an English prize and captive.

Chap. I.

A Treatise of Brasil, written by a Portugall which had long lived there.

§. I.

Of the beginning and originall of the Indians of Brasil, and of their Customes, Religions, and Ceremonies.

Their opinion of a floud.

IT seemeth that this people hath no knowledge of the beginning and creation of the world, but of the deluge it seemeth they have some notice: but as they have no writings nor characters such notice is obscure and confused; for they say that the waters drowned all men, and that one onely escaped upon a Janipata with a sister of his that was with childe, and that from these two they have their beginning, and from thence began their multiplying and increase.

This people hath not any knowledge of their Creator, nor of any thing of heaven, nor if there be any paine nor glory after this life, therefore they have no oderation nor ceremonies, nor divine worship, but they know that they have soules, and that they dye not; and they say that the soules are converted into divels, and that after their death they goe to certaine fields where are many figge trees along by a faire River, and all together doe nothing but daunce. This is the cause why they are greatly afraid of the Divell, whom they call Curupira, Taguain, Pigtangua, Machchera, Anhanga: and their feare of him is so great, that onely with the imagination of him they dye as many times already it hath happened: they worship it not, nor any other creature, neither have they Idols of any sort, onely some old men doe say that in some waies they have certaine Posts where they offer him some things, for the feare they have of them, and because they would not die. Sometimes the Divels appeare unto them, though very seldome, and among them are few possessed.

Of the knowledge that they have of the Creator, and of the Soule, Paradise, [IV. vii. 1290.] *Divels.*

Divels feare.

They use some witchcrafts, and there are some Witches, not because they beleeve in them, or doe worship them, but onely they give themselves to the Chupar in their sicknesses, seeming to them that they received their health, but not because they doe think they have any divinity, and they do it rather to receive health, then for any other respect. There arise sometimes among them some Witches, whom they call Caraiba, and most commonly it is some Indian of a bad life; this doth some witchcrafts and strange things to nature, as to show that he raiseth some to life, that makes himselfe dead, and with these and other like things he carrieth all the Countrie after him, deceiving and saying to them that they shall not cultivate, nor plant their Pulse and their provision, neither digge nor labour, &c. for with his comming the time is come that the Mattockes themselves shall digge of their owne accord, and the Beasts goe to the fields and bring the provision, and with these

Caraibas jugling.

falshoods he leades them so deluded and inchanted, that not looking to their lives, and to get their foode, they die for hunger, and these companies are diminished by little and little, till the Caraiba remaineth alone, or is murthered by them.

No proper name of God. They have no proper name to expresse God, but they say the Tupan is the thunder and lightning, and that this is he that gave them the Mattocks and the foode, and because they have no other name more naturall and proper, they call God Tupan.

Of the Mariages. There are mariages among them, but there is a great doubt whether they be true, as well because they have many wives, as for the easie forsaking them for whatsoever quarrell, anger, or any other disgrace hapning among them; but either true or not, among them they were made in this sort. No yong man did use to marrie before he had taken an enemie, and he continued a virgin till he tooke and slew him, holding first his feasts for the space of two or three yeares, the woman in like sort did not marrie nor know man, till she had her tearmes, after the which they made her great feasts: at the time of the deliverie of the woman they made great drinkings. And the feast being ended, the marriage remained perfect giving a net cleane washt; and after they were laid, the father tooke a wedge of stone and did cut upon a post or stake, then they say hee did cut the tailes from the grandchildren, and therefore they were borne without them, and after they were married they began to drinke, for untill then their fathers did not suffer them, teaching them that they should drinke heedefully, and should be considerate and wise in their speaking, that the wine might doe them no hurt, and that they should not speake bad things, and then with a vessell the old ancient men did give him the first wine, and hold his head with their hands that he might not vomit, for if he doth vomit they hold to themselves that he would not be valiant.

They give no dowries to their daughters or to the sons, but they serve their mother in law.

Tailes.

Drinkings.

Of the manner they keepe in their eating and drinking.

This people eateth at all times by night and by day,

and everie houre and moment, and when they have any meate they keepe it no long time, for they have no providence for the future, but presently they eate all that they have, and devide it among their friends, in sort that of one fish that they have they divide it to all, and they hold for a great honour and gallantrie to be liberall, and thereby they get great fame and honour: and they hold for the greatest injurie that they can doe them, to hold them for niggards, or call them so: and when they have nothing to eate, they are very patient in hunger and thirst. *Liberality, and opinion of niggardise.* They have no flesh or fish daies, they eate all manner of flesh, even of uncleane creatures, as Snakes, Toades, Rats, and such like wormes; they eate also all manner of Fruites, saving some that are poisonous. *Their diet.* This sustenance is ordinarily of that which the Countrie yeeldeth without husbandrie, as wilde fowle, flesh and fruites, but they have a certaine kinde of foode of a good substance, and healthfull, and many other pulses, whereof hereafter shall mention be made. Ordinarily they drinke not while they eate, but after meate they drinke water or wine which they make of many kindes of fruites, and rootes, as hereafter shall be said, of the which they drinke without measure or order, even till they fall downe. *Drinking.*

They have some particular daies wherein they make great feasts, and all ends in drinking, and they last two or three daies, in the which they eate not but onely drinke, and there be men that emptie a whole great vessell of wine. *Feasts.* That these drinkings may be more festivall, some goe about singing from house to house, calling and inviting all they finde for to drinke and be merrie. These dancings last with musicke all the time of the drinking, in the which they sleepe not, but passe it all in drinking, and when they are drunke they play many disorders, and they breake one anothers head, and take other mens wives, &c. *Daunces.* They give no thankes before nor after meate to God, nor wash their hands before meate, and after meate they wipe them *Rudenesse.*

at their haire, on their body, or a poste. They have no towels nor tables, they eate sitting, or lying in their nets, or cowring on the ground: they eate their meate throwing it with their hand into the mouth; and I omit many other particularities that they have in their eating and drinking, because these are the principall.

Of the manner that they have in their sleeping.

All this people have for their beds certaine nets made of Cotten wooll, and they sleepe in them hanging in the ayre. These they make some wrought, others of sundry colours, and as they remaine in the ayre, and have no other covering or cloathes alwaies in summer and winter, they have fire under them: they rise not very early, and goe to bed by times, and in the mornings there is one chiefe man in their houses, *that lying in his net doth preach unto them for the space of an houre, how they are to goe to labour as their forefathers did, and he appointeth them the time, telling them what they are to doe; and after he is up continueth his preaching, running through the Towne. They tooke this custome from a bird which is like a Hawke, which singeth in the morning, and they call it the King and Lord of the other Birds; and they say that even as that Bird doth sing in the mornings to be heard of the rest, so the principall should make those preachings and speeches to be heard of theirs.

**One house containeth many Families.*

Nakednesse.

All of them goe naked as well men as women, and have no kinde of apparell, and are nothing ashamed: rather it seemeth that they are in the state of innocencie touching this behalfe the great honestie and modestie they doe keepe among themselves; and when any man speaketh with a woman, he turneth his backe to her. But to make themselves gallant they use divers inventions, painting their bodies with the juice of a certaine fruite wherewith they remaine black, making in their bodies many white stroakes, after the fashion of round hose, and other kinde of garments. They enplume themselves also, making Diadems and Bracelets, and other very fine inventions, they esteeme very much all manner of

Modesty.

Painting.
Galantry.

fine Feathers: they let no haire grow in the parts of their body, but they pull them out, onely the head excepted, which they cut in many fashions, for some weare them long with a halfe Moone shaven before, and they say they tooke this use from Saint Thomas, and it seemeth that they had some notice of him, though confusedly; others make certaine kinde of crownes and circles that they seeme Friers: the women all doe weare long haire, and ordinarily blacke, and the haire of the one and of the other is smooth: when they are angrie they let their haire grow long: and the women when they mourne, doe cut their haire, and also when their husbands goe a farre journey, in this they show their love and loyaltie to them: the vanitie they have in their poling is so much, that by the head the Nations are knowne.

Neatnesse.

Mourning.

Now alreadie some doe weare apparell as well men as women, but they esteeme it so little that they weare it rather for fashion then for honesties sake, and because they are commanded to weare it; as it is well seene by some, that sometimes come abroad with certaine garments no further then the navell, without any other thing, and others onely with a cap on their heads, and leave the other garments at home: the women make great accompt of Laces and Combes.

Apparell.

These Indians doe use certaine Cottages, or houses of timber, covered with Palme tree leaves, and are in length some of two hundred and three hundred spans, and they have two or three doores, verie little and low. They shew their valour in seeking timber, and verie great posts, and of great continuance, and there be houses that have fiftie, sixtie or seventie roomes of twentie or five and twentie quarters long, and as manie quarters long, and as many in breadth. In this house dwelleth one principall man or more, whom all the rest doe obey, and ordinarily they are kinsmen. In every roome of these dwelleth a houshold with their children and family without any repartition betweene the one and the other, and to enter in one of these

Of their Houses.

houses is to enter into a laberinth, for every roome hath his fire, and their nets hanging, and their stuffe, so that comming in, all that they have is in sight, and some house hath two hundred persons and more.

Childebirth. The women when they are brought to bed (they are delivered on the ground) doe not take up the childe, but the Father taketh it up, or some other person whom they take for their Gossip, and in friendship they are as the Gossips among the Christians. The Father doth cut the Navell string with his teeth, or with two stones knocking the one with the other, and then they set themselves to fasting untill the Navell string falleth off, which is ordinarily to the eight day, and till it doth fall they leave not their fasting, when it falleth, if it bee a man childe he maketh it a Bow with Arrowes, and tieth it at the end of the Net, and at the other end manie handfuls of hearbes which are the enemies which his sonne shall kill, and eate. These ceremonies being ended, they make drinkings wherewith they all are merrie. The women when they are delivered, doe presently goe and wash themselves in the Rivers, and they give the childe sucke ordinarily a yeere and an halfe, not giving it any other thing to eate. They love their children extraordinarily, and beare them in certaine pieces of Nets which they call Tupiya, and carrie them to their plowings and to all kind of labours on their backes, through cold and heate, and they carrie them like the Gipsies stradling about their hips; they give them no manner of correction, that their children may not crie. They have manie Southsayings, for they put Cotton-clothes; upon their head, birds feathers, and stickes: they lay them on the palmes of their hands, and rocke them by them that they may grow. They esteeme more to doe good to their children then to themselves, and now they esteeme and love the Fathers verie much because they bring them up, they teach them to reade, write, and cipher, and singing, and to play on an Instrument, a thing which they doe much esteeme.

Love and education of children.

[IV. vii. 1292.] *Friers and Jesuites paines with Indians children.*

Of the custom they have in harboring, or entertayning their guests.

When any guest doth come to the house, the honour and entertainment they make him is to bewaile him; Now the guest being come into the house they set him in the Net, & after he is set without speaking any word to him the wife and the daughters, and the other friends do sit them downe round about him with their haire loose, touching with the hand the partie: they all beginne to weepe with a high voice and great abundance of teares, and there they tell in a versified prose all things that have happened since they saw one another to that houre, and manie other which they invent, and the troubles that the guest hath suffered in his journie; and all things else that may provoke pitie and teares. The guest all this time speaketh not one word, but after they have bewailed him a good while they wipe the teares, and remaine so quiet, so modest, so pleasant, and merrie that it seemeth they never wept, and then they salute one another, and give their Ereiupe, or welcome, and they bring him meate, &c. And after these Ceremonies ended, the guest telleth wherefore he commeth. The men likewise bewaile one another, but it is in some weightie matters, as deaths, misfortunes in wars, &c. They hold it for a great courtesie to entertaine all men and to give them all things necessarie for their sustenance, and some gifts, as Bowes, Arrowes, Birds, Feathers, and other things according to their povertie without any kind of reward.

Of the custom they have of drinking of smoake.

These Gentiles doe accustome to drinke the smoake of Petigma, by another name the holy herbe, this they drie and make of a Palme-tree leafe a Coffin like the joint of a Cane, and filled with this herbe, they fire it at the small end putting the biggest in their mouth, and so they sucke or drinke that smoake, and they hold it for a great daintie and favour, and lying in their Nets they spend part of the daies and of the nights: to some it doth much hurt, and maketh them dizzie and drunke, to others it doth much good, and maketh them voide a great deale of flegme at the mouth. The women also

doe drinke it, but they are such as are old and sickly, for it is verie medicinable unto them, especially for the cough, the head-ache, and the Disease of the stomacke, and hence come a great manie of the Portugals to drinke it, and have taken it for a vice or for idlenesse, imitating the Indians to spend daies and nights about it.

Of the manner of payments and husbandrie.

This Nation hath no monie wherewith to satisfie the services that are done to them, but they live with bartering one thing for another, and principally in change of wine they doe all that they will, and so when they have any businesse, they make wines, and advising the Neighbours, and assembling all the Towne, they desire them to helpe them in their Husbandrie, which they doe with a good will; and labouring till tenne of the clocke they returne home againe to drinke their wines; and if that day their tillage be not ended, they make other wines, and so goe another day till ten of the clocke to make an end of their businesse. And in this sort doe the wise White men or Portugals use, that know the use and fashions of the Indians, and how much they do for wine; they make wines for them, and call them to their Husbandries, and to their Sugar-canes, and with this they pay them. They use also ordinarily to change some things for white beades, which are made of Wilkes: and in change of some Nosegaies they give even their wives; and this is the ransome wherewith they use ordinarily, that is, the White men, for to buy of them the slaves, as well men as women that they have for to eate.

Of their Jewels and Brooches.

Filthily fine.

These Indians use ordinarily, chiefly in their Feasts, Collars which they make of Wilkes, Diademes of Feathers, and certaine Brooches, (that is, stones which they put in their lower lip) some greene, white, some blue, and verie fine, and are like Emeralds, or Christall, they are round, and some of them so long that they reach to their breasts, and it is ordinarily among the great and principall men, to have them of a span, or more in length. They use also white Bracelets of the

same Wilkes, and they put in their eares certain white stones of a span long and more; and these and other like are the ornaments wherewith they adorne themselves in their Feasts, whether they be of slaughters of the enemies: or of wines; and these are the Riches that they esteeme above all that they possesse.

Of the usage of their wives, and how they man them.

These Indians doe use to intreate their Wives well, they never strike them, neither quarrell with them, except in the time of their drinkings, for then ordinarily they revenge themselves of them, giving for an excuse afterward, it was the wine they had drunke, and then they are friends as before, and the hatreds betweene them last not long. They goe alwaies together, and when they goe abroad, the woman commeth behind and the man before, that if any ambush bee laid, the wife may not fall into it, and may have time to flie while the Husband fighteth with his adversarie, &c. But at their returning home from their fields, or from any other place the wife commeth before, and the Husband behinde, that if any mischance shall happen, the wife may flie home, and the Husband fight with the enemies, or any other thing. But in a safe Countrie and within the Townes the wife alwaies goeth before, and the Husband behind, for they are verie jealous, and will have alwaies their wife in sight.

Jealousie.

Of their dances and their songs.

Though they be melancholike they have their Games, especially the children verie divers and pleasant, in the which they counterfeit manie kinds of Birds, and with so great feast and order as may be. And the children are joyfull and given to play, and they play with such quietnesse and friendship, that among them is no bad name heard, or any scurrilitie, or calling any nickname one to anothers Father or Mother; and seldome doe they disagree when they play, nor disorder themselves for any thing, and verie seldome doe they strike or fight one with another. The Fathers doe teach them from their cradles to dance and sing, and their dancings are not sundrie changes, but a continuall stamping with the feet standing

[IV. vii. 1293.]

still, or going round about, or stirring their bodie or their head, and they doe it all by such compasse, and pleasantnesse as can be desired, at the sound of a Timbrell made after the fashion of those which the children use in Spaine with manie smal stones within or certaine seeds whereof they make also verie good beads: and so they sing dancing altogether, for they doe not one thing without the other, in such compasse and order that sometime an 100. men dancing and singing together in a row one behind the other doe end all at one stroke, as if they were altogether in one place. The singers aswell men as women are much esteemed among them, in so much that if they take an enemie a good singer, and an Inventer of Verses, they therefore spare his life, and doe not eate him nor his children. The women doe dance together with the men, and make many gambolls and gestures with their armes and bodies, especially when they dance alone. They keepe among themselves differencies of voices in their Consort: and ordinarily the women doe sing the Treble, Counter, and Tenours.

Instruments.

Womens dances.

Of their burials.

They are verie wicked, especially in weeping for the dead, for when any one dieth, the Kindred doe cast themselves upon him in the Net, and so suddenly that sometimes they choake him before he dieth, seeming to them he is dead. And those that cannot cast themselves with the Coarse in the Net doe cast themselves on the ground with such falls and knockes that it seemeth a Miracle they doe not end their lives with the dead, and of these falls, and mournings they remaine so feeble that sometime they die. When they mourne they speak manie pittiful and dolorous words, & if he die at evening all night long they weep with a high voice, that it is a wonder they are not wearie. For these mournings they cal the Neighbours, & kinsmen, and if he be one of the principall, all the Towne doth meete to mourne, and in this they have also their points of honour, and they curse with plagues those which weepe not, saying, that they shall not bee mourned for. After he is dead they wash him

Lamentations to be lamented.

and paint him verie bravely, as they paint their enemies: and after this they cover him with Cotton Yarne that nothing is seene of him, and put a covering over his face, and sitting they put him in a great tinnage or vessell that they have under the Earth for that purpose, and doe cover it in such manner that no Earth may come to him, and the vessel they cover with earth, making him a house where everie day they carrie him meat. For they say that when he is wearie with dancing he commeth thither to eate, and so they goe for a certaine time to bewaile him everie day all his Kindred, with him they burie all his Jewels or Brooches, that none may see them and grieve thereat. But if the dead had any Peece, as a Sword, &c. that had beene given him, it returneth to him that gave it, and hee taketh it againe wheresoever he findeth it; therefore they say that when one dieth he loseth all the right of that which was given him. After the Coarse is buried, the Kinsmen are in continuall weeping night and day, the one beginning as the other endeth, they eate not but by night, they hang their Nets neere to the roofes, and the women after twentie daies doe cut their haire, and this lamenting lasteth a whole Moone, the which being ended they make great Wines or Drinkings to put away their mourning. The men doe cut their haire, and the women doe paint themselves with blacke, and these Ceremonies and others being ended, they beginne to communicate the one with the other, aswell the men as the women. After their companions are dead, some never doe marrie againe nor enter into the Feast of Wines, neither paint themselves with blacke; but is verie seldome among them, because they are much given to women, and cannot live without them.

Of the Instruments they do use.

Before they had any knowledge of the Portugals they used tooles and instruments of stone, bone, wood, Canes, and teeth of Beasts, &c. and with these they hewed downe great Woods, with wedges of stones, helping themselves with fire; and they digged also the ground with certaine sharpe stakes, and they made their Brooches,

Beades of Wilkes, Bowes, and Arrowes, as well as now having Instruments of Iron, but they spent a long time in making of whatsoever thing; wherefore they esteeme the Iron verie much, for the facilitie or ease which they finde in making their things with it. And this is the reason wherefore they are glad of Commerce with the Portugals or white men.

Of the weapons they doe use.

The weapons of this people ordinarily are Bowes and Arrowes, and they boast themselves of them, and they make them of verie good wood, and verie faire interlaid with Palme-tree of sundrie colours, they die their strings greene, or red, and they make their Arrowes verie faire, seeking for them the fairest feathers they can find. They make these Arrowes of Sundrie Canes, and fasten in their points the teeth of beasts, or certaine verie hard Rushes, or sharpe stickes with many snagges, and many times they empoison them with herbes. These Arrowes to ones sight seeme a thing of mockerie, but are verie cruell Weapons, and pierce quilted breast-plates or curates; and striking in a sticke they cleave it asunder, and sometimes happen to goe through a man and sticke on the ground. They doe exercise themselves in these Weapons verie young, and are great Archers, and so certaine that no Bird can escape them be it never so little, or any vermine of the Woods; and there is no more but if they will shoot an Arrow through the eie of a bird or a man; or hit any other thing be it never so small, they doe it with great facilitie and with their owne safetie; and for this they are greatly feared. They are stout also and fierce, and dreadfull to others.

Cruel arrowes.

[IV. vii. 1294.]

Cunning Archers.

Their Arts.

Quick-sighted.

Great Travellers and swift.

They are as vermine of the Woods, for they goe a hunting into the Countrie naked and barefoot, without any feare. They have a marvellous sight, for at a league off they see any thing, and in the same manner they heare. They guesse verie right ruling themselves by the Sunne, they go to all parts they list, 200. or 300. leagues through thicke Woods, and misse not one jot, they travell much, and alwaies running a gallop, especially with

some charges, no Horse is able to hold out with them. They are great fishers and swimmers, they feare no Sea nor waves, continue a day and a night swimming, and the same they doe rowing, and sometimes without meate. They use also for Weapons Swords of wood, and interlay *Swords.* the ends of them with Palme-tree of sundrie colours, and set Plumes on them of divers colours, chiefly in their feasts and slaughters. And these Swords are verie cruell, for they make no wound, but bruise and breake a mans head without having any remedie of cure.

§. II.

Of their manner of killing and eating of humane flesh: and of their creating Gentlemen.

OF all the honours and pleasures of this life, none is so great for this people as to kill and get a name on the heads of their Adversaries, neither are there among them any Feasts, comparable to those which they make at the death of those which they kill with great Ceremonies, which they doe in this manner. Those which beeing taken in the Warre are appointed to die, came presently from thence with a token, which is a small coard about his necke: and if hee bee a man that may runne away, he hath one hand tied to his necke under his chinne. And before they come to the Townes that are by the way, they paint their eie-lids, eie-browes, and their beards, polling them after fashion, and enpluming them with Yellow feathers so well placed that yee can see no haire; which makes them so gallant as the Spaniards in their rich Apparell, and so they goe sharing their victorie whereby soever they passe. When they come to their owne Countrie, the women came out to receive them, showting altogether and striking themselves on the mouth which is a common entertainment among them; without any other vexation, or imprisonment, except that they weare about the necke a round collar like a coard of a good bignesse, as hard as a sticke. In this collar they

beginne to weave a great manie fathomes of small coard as long as a womans haire, fastened above with a certaine knot, and loose underneath, and so it goeth from eare to eare behind the backe, horrible to looke on. And if it be on the Frontier where hee may runne away, they put him in stead of shackels below the knees a string of threed twisted verie hard, which is too weake for any Knife; but that they have Keepers that goe not one moment from him, whether he goe about the houses, to the Woods, or by the Fields, for he hath libertie for all this, and commonly the keeper is one that is given him for wife, and also for to dresse his meate, with the which if his Masters doe give him no meate as the custome is, he taketh a Bow and Arrowes and shooteth at the first Henne he seeth, or at a Ducke be it whosesoever, and none doth contradict him, and so he waxeth fat, neither breaking therefore his sleepe, his laughter, or his pleasure as the rest, and some are as contented though they are to bee eaten, that in no wise they will consent to be ransomed for to serve; for they say that it is a wretched thing to die, and lie stinking, and eaten with Wormes. These women are commonly faithfull in their charge, for they receive honour thereby, and therefore manie times they are young, and daughters of the chiefe, especially if their brothers are to be the slaiers. For those which have not this interest manie times, affect them in such manner, that not onely they give them leave to runne away, but they also doe goe with them, neither have the women any other punishment if they bee taken againe, then a few strokes, and sometimes they are eaten of those same to whom they gave life.

Gentle cruell keeper.

Festivall preparation and solemnitie.

The time when he shall die being determined, the women beginne to make vessels, that is, Bowles, Traies, and Pots for the Wines, so great that everie one will hold a pipe. This being readie, as well the principall as the rest doe send their Messengers to invite others from sundrie places against such a Moone about tenne or twelve leagues compasse or more, for the which none

doth excuse himselfe. The guests doe come in Mogotes or troupes with their wives and children, and all of them doe enter the Towne with Dancers; and all the time the people are gathering together, there is Wine for the guests, for without it all the other entertainments are nothing worth. The people being assembled, the Feasts beginne some daies before according to the number, and certaine ceremonies preceding, and everie one lasteth a day. First, they have for this certaine coards of Cotton-wooll of a reasonable bignesse, not twisted but woven of a verie faire worke, it is a thing among them of great esteeme, and none hath them but some principall men, and according to their finenesse and workmanship, and their taking pleasure, it is to be beleeved that they are not made in a yeere. These are alwaies verie safely kept, and are carried to the place with great feast & great noise in certain traies where a Master of these things doth tie two knots within from that which one of the points do run in such maner that in the midst there remaineth a noose. These knots are so fine that few are found that can make them, for some of them have ten casts about, five crossing over the other five, as if one should crosse the fingers of the right hand over the left, & after they die them with the water of a white clay like lime, & let them drie. [IV. vii. 1295.]

On the second day they bring a great number of burdens of wilde Canes or Reeds as long as Lances or more, and at night they set them on fire in a round heape, the points upward leaning one to another, and so they make a great and faire high bone-fire, round about the which are men and women dancing with sheaves of arrowes at their backe, but they goe very swiftly; for hee that is to die, which seeth them better then hee is seene because of the fire, catcheth hold of all that he can, and catcheth them, and they beeing many hee misseth few times. At the third day they make a dance of men and women, all of them with pipes of Canes, and all of them at once doe stampe on the

ground, now with one foot then with the other, all together without missing a stroke: and observing the same measure they play on their pipes, and there is no other singing nor speaking; they being many and the Canes some bigger and some smaller, besides the resounding in the Woods, they make a Hel-seeming harmonie, but they abide it as if it were the sweetest Musicke in the World. And these are their feasts, besides others which they intermingle with many graces and sooth-sayings.

Black Saints.

On the fourth day, they carrie the captived enemie as soone as the day breakes to wash him at a River, and they while the time that when they doe returne it may be broad day light, comming into the Towne, the Prisoner goeth presently with a watchfull eye, for hee knoweth not out of what house or doore a valiant man is to come out to him, that is to catch hold of him behind. For as all their happinesse doth consist in dying valiantly, and the ceremonie that followeth, is now the neerest unto death, as he which is to lay hold of him, doth shew his forces in over-comming him himselfe alone without any other helpe, so he will shew courage and force in resisting him: and sometimes he doth it in such sort, that the first standing aside as wearied in wrestling, another succeedeth him which holds himselfe for a valianter man, the which sometimes remaine well bedusted, & more they would remaine if at this time the captive had not his cord or shakels.

First encounters.

This wrestling being ended, he on foot blowing and puffing with rage and wearinesse, with the other that hold him fast, there commeth forth a troope of Nymphes which doe bring a great new painted bowle, and in it the cords rolled up, and very white, and this present being set at the feet of the captive, a cunning old woman in these matters, and Mistris of the troope beginneth to tune a Song, whom the other doe helpe, the Dittie is according to the ceremonie. And while they sing, the men take the cords and the nooze being

The womens parts.

put about his necke, they give it another knot neere to the other great ones, that it may not lose againe; and having made of every end a coyle, they put them on the arme of the woman which alwaies goeth after him with this weight, and if the weight be great because the cords are great and long, they give her another to carrie one of the coyles, and if he before was terrible with the coller, he is more now with those two knots so bigge behind about his necke, and therefore one of the verses of the Song saith, Wee are those that make the necke of the bird to stretch, although after other ceremonies, they say to him in another foote, If thou hadst beene a Parrot annoying us, thou wouldest have fled.

At this time the vessels of wine are set in a rowe, in the middest of a great house, and the house (having no partitions though it bee of twentie or thirtie fathome in length) it is full of people; and when they begin to drinke it is a Labyrinth, or a Hell to see and heare them. For those which dance and sing doe continue with great ferventnesse all the daies and nights that the wines doe last. For this being the proper feast of the slaughters, in the drinking of the wines are many particularities, which last long, and they make water at every stop; and so they continue day and night; they sing, dance, drinke, and speake telling in whoopes through all the house of warres, and acts that they did; and as every one will be heard in his Historie, every one doth speake striving to bee lowdest, beside other noises, without any intermission, no not a quarter of an houre. That morning in which they begin to drinke, they paint the captive by a particular way that they have for that designe, in this sort, his face being cleane, and all the feathers he hath brought forth, they anoint him with the Milke of a certaine tree that cleaveth very fast, and they cast upon it the powder of certaine egge-shels of a certaine wild bird, and upon this they paint him with black very faire pictures, and all his

Their songs, &c.

Adorning of the Captive.

bodie to the sole of his foote, and sticke him all with feathers which they have alreadie cut for that purpose and died redde, and that maketh him to seeme halfe as bigge againe, and touching his face it maketh it seeme as much greater, and the eies so much the smaller, that he remaineth an horrible visage. And in the same manner that they have painted his face, they adorn the Sword which is of wood, in manner of a Ferula or Palmer, but that the head is not so round, but almost three square, and the sides doe almost end in an edge; and the shaft of it which may bee of seven or eight spans is not altogether round. It hath at the head about foure fingers broad, and commeth still narrowing unto the end where it hath certaine pendants, or little bels of divers coloured feathers, it is a gallant thing and of great esteeme among them, they call it Juga penambin, that is, eares of the Sword. The last day of the wines they make in the midst of the place cabins of Palme-boughs, as many as they are that shall die, and in that they lodge, without entring any more, any house, and all the day and the night hee is well served with feasts more then with meate, for they give him no other foode but a fruite that hath the savour of Nuts, that the next day he may not have much bloud.

[IV. vii. 1296.] *The fatall Sword.*

Crocodiles teares.

The fifth day in the morning at seven of the clocke, little more or lesse his woman doth there leave him, and goeth home very sad, and speaking for her farewell some pittifull wordes at the least fainedly. Then they take away his shackels, and passe the cords from his neck to the waste, and standing at the doore of him that must kill him, the slaughterer commeth forth in a dance as white as a Dove, painted with white earth, in a garment which they call a cloke of feathers tied about the breast, upward like the wings of an Angell, so dancing he goeth round about the place, and commeth making very strange countenances with his eies and bodie, and with his hands he counterfeiteth the Kite that desireth flesh, and with this Devillishnesse hee commeth

to the wretch, which stands with the coard stretched, on both sides having one that holdeth him: and the poore wretch if he find wherewith to throw at him, hee doth it with a good will, and many times they give him wherewith, for many valiant men doe come out to him, so nimble in winding their bodie that he cannot hit them. This being ended there commeth an honorable Judge, or stickler of the new Knight that shall bee, and taking the Sword passeth it many times betweene his legges, putting it now on the one side, now on the other, even in the same manner that the Pipers dogs doe passe betweene their legges, and after taking it by the midst with both hands he pointeth as with a thrust to the eies of the man which is to die; and this being done he turneth the head of it upward in the same manner that he is to use it, and putteth it in the hands of the slaughterer, as apt and fit already with those blessings for to doe his office, they place themselves somewhat to the left side, in such sort that he may hit him with the edge of his Sword in the nape of the necke, for he striketh at another place. *Hallowing the Sword.*

And their brutishnesse is so much, that because they feare no other evill but that which is present, they are as resolute as if it were nothing, as well for to speake, as for to try their courage, for after they take their leave of life, saying, In a good houre, let me die seeing many are dead, and that besides this his brethren and kinsmen remaine here to revenge them. And with this the one makes him readie to discharge, and the other to avoid his bodie, which is all the honour of his death. And they are so nimble in this that many times it is high daies before they are able to kill them, for when he sees the weapon in the aire, sometimes hee drawes his head aside, sometime hee declines his bodie; and in this they are so doughtie, that if those that hold the points of the coards doe gird him hard (as they doe when the slaughterer is slow or weake) hee puls so hard that hee brings them to him, and makes them to *Butchery rites.*

slacken in despight, having one eie on them another on the Sword, without any standing still: and as the killer may not deceive them with an offer, and not strike under paine of receiving a fillip, they doe foresee their stroke in such sort that come it never so low in a trise they stoope, and lie so flat that it is a wonder to see; and no lesse is the taking of the Sword, holding the arme in such sort that doing him no hurt, they pul it downe jointly with themselves, and they put it under the arme pulling by the killer; wherein if they did not helpe the other would dispatch him; for they have in this action so many sooth-sayings that for to kill a child of five yeere old, they goe so prepared as for to kill some Giant. And with these helpes and incouragements so many times hee striketh till hee hitteth and that is enough, for assoone as he is downe he giveth him so many blowes till he batters his head (though one man was seene that had it so hard that they could never breake it, for as they goe bare-head, they have them so hard that ours in comparison of theirs are like a Pompion, and when they will injurie any White man, they call him soft-head.)

Block-head.

If this which they kill falleth on his backe, and not on his belly they hold it for an evill lucke and prognostication that the killer shall die, and although he falleth upon his belly, they have many ceremonies, which if they be not kept they hold that the killer cannot live, and many of them are so painfull that if any one did suffer their troubles for Gods sake, they would bee accounted meritorious, as hereafter shall be said, The poore wretch beeing dead they carrie him to a bone-fire that they have readie for the same, and bringing the bodie neere the fire, touching him with the hand, flay off a skinne somewhat thicker then the rinde of a Onion, till he remaineth cleaner and whiter then a scalded Pig. Then it is delivered to the Butcher which maketh a hole beneath the stomacke according to their use, whereby the children first do put in their hands, and pull by the

guts untill the Butcher cutteth where hee listeth, and that which remaineth in the hand of everie one is his part, and the rest is divided among the Commons; except some principal pieces which for great honour are given to the guests that are the most principall, which they doe carrie well rosted, so that it may not corrupt, and with them afterward in their countries they make new Feasts and drinkings of wine.

[IV. vii. 1297.] *Ceremonies of making a new Gentleman.*

The killer having ended his office, taking of the cloke of feather, and leaving the Sword hee goeth home, where at the doore the same judge or stickler that was before with a shooting bow in his hand, that is, one of the points on the lower threshold, the other at the upper, and pulling by the string as though he would shoote, the killer passeth betweene him so cunningly that hee toucheth in nothing. Assoone as he is passed the other loseth the string making shew that it grieves him to have missed him whom he shot at, as though this hath vertue to make him swift afterward in the warre, and the enemies to misse him. When he is within he beginnes to runne through all the houses, and the Sisters and Cousins in the same manner before him, saying my Brother is called N. repeating it through all the Townes, and if the Gentleman hath any good thing he that goeth takes it from him till they leave him nothing. This being ended they cast on the ground certaine legges of a certaine Tree, called Pilan. Upon the which hee stands all that day with so much silence as if he had some astonishment in him, and carrying to present thither the head of the dead, they pull out one of his eies, and with the strings and sinewes of it they anoint his pulses, and cutting of his mouth whole, they put it on his arme as a Bracelet, and then he layeth him downe in his Net as a sicke man, and certainly hee is sicke for feare, that if he doe not accomplish the Rites perfectly, the soule of the dead will kill him.

Within a few daies they give him the habit, not in the breast of the Coat which he hath not, but on his

owne skin race him all over the bodie with the tooth of a Cutia, that is like a Conies tooth, the which as well for their little skill, as because they have a hard skinne it seemes, that they teare a piece of Parchment, and if he be valiant, they doe not race him with right strokes but a Crosse in sort that there remaine certaine very fine workes, and some doe cry and groane with the paine. This being ended they have smal Cole finely grownd, and the juice of Broamerape wherewith they rub the cuts overthwart, that they put him to great paine and swelling, which is yet a greater torment, while his wounds doe close, which continue some daies, he lyeth still in his Net without speaking any word, nor asking any thing, and that he may not break his silence, he hath neere him water, flowre, and a certaine fruit like Almonds which they call Amendnins, for he tasteth neither fish nor flesh those daies.

Markes and habit of new Gentrie.

After he is whole, many daies or moneths being passed, they make a great drinking of wines that hee may put off his mourning, and cut his haire which untill then he did not, then hee anoints himselfe with blacke, and from thence forward hee remaines enabled to kill without any painfull ceremonie being done to him, and he also sheweth himselfe honoured and contented, and with a certaine disdaine, as one that hath honour alreadie, and gets it not a new. And so he doth no more but give the other a couple of blowes, although the head remaine whole, and he stirring he goeth home, and presently they come and cut off his head. And the Mothers with their children about their necke, come to congratulate him, and hansell him for the warre, staining his armes with that bloud. These bee the exploits, honours and vallour whence this people take their names, whereof they boast very much, and they remaine thence forward Abaetes, Murubixaba, Moçacara, which are the names and titles of Gentlemen. And these are the unhappie Feasts whereon these wretches doe ground their felicitie and glorie, before they have any knowledge of their Creator.

Titles of Honour.

§. III.

Of the diversitie of Nations and Languages, and of the Soyle and Climate.

IN all this Province are many and sundrie Nations of divers Languages, but one is the principall which comprehendeth some ten Nations of Indians. These live on the Sea Coast, and in a great part of the Land, all of one Speech, though they differ in some words. This is that which the Portugals doe understand, it is easie, eloquent, pleasant, and copious; the difficultie of it is in having many comparisons, but of the Portugals almost all those that came from the Kingdome; and are seated here, and doe communicate with the Indians do know it in a short time, and the children of the Portugals borne here doe speake it better then the Portugall, as well men as women, chiefly in the Captainship of Saint Vincent, and with these ten Nations of Indians have the Fathers communication, because they know their Language, and they more tame and well inclined. These were, and are the ancient friends of the Portugals, with whose helpe and armes they conquered this Countrie, fighting against their owne kindred, and divers other Nations very barbarous, and those of this generation were so many that it seemed an impossible thing to extinguish them, but the Portugals have made such haste that they are almost dead, and they use such meanes that they disinhabit the Coast, and flie the Land inward, some three hundred, some foure hundred. *See before in M. Knivet.* *Portugals use of Savages.*

The first of this Language are called Pitiguaras Lords of Parayba, thirtie leagues from Pernambuco, and have the best Brasill woode, and are great friends to the Frenchmen, and did contract with them untill now, marrying their Daughters with them, but now in the yeere 1584. Parayba was taken by James Flares his Majesties Generall, driving out the Frenchmen; and he left a fortresse with a 100. Souldiers, besides the [IV. vii. 1298.] *Pitiguaras.*

Portugals which also have their Captaine and Governour one Fructuoso Barbosa, that with the principall men of Pernambuco carried an Armie by Land wherewith he overcame the enemies, for from the Sea those of the Armada fought not.

Viatan a people eaten out by the Portugals.

Neere unto these lived a great multitude of people which they call Viatan, of these there are none alreadie, for they being friends with the Pitaguaras, and Kindred, the Portugals made them enemies among themselves, giving them to be eaten, that by this meanes they might warre against them and hold them for slaves; and finally, having a great dearth, the Portugals in stead of releeving them, tooke them Captives, and did send ship-loades to bee sold in other places. There was joyned with this a Magician Portugall Priest, that with his deceits conveighed them all to Pernambuco, and so ended this Nation. The Portugals remained without Neighbours to defend them from the Pitiguaras, which untill now that they were overcome, persecuted the Portugals setting on a sudden upon their Corne, Goods, and Sugar-mils, burning, and killing many of the Portugals, because they are verie warlike, but now by the goodnesse of God they are freed from this incumbrance.

Tupinaba.

Others there be that they call Tupinaba, these inhabit from the River Royall till ye come neere the Illeos, these were also among themselves contrarie, those of the Bay with them of Camamu, and Intrare. Along the River of Saint Francis dwelt another Nation called

Caaete.

Caaete; and among these were also contrarieties with them of Pernambuco.

From Illeos, or the little Ilands, and Port Secure, unto the Holy Ghost inhabited another Nation called

Tupinaquin.

Tupinaquin; these proceeded from those of Pernambuco, and scattered themselves in a Countrie of the Maine, multiplying exceedingly, but now they are but few. These were alwaies great enemies of the things of God, hardened in their errours, verie revengefull, and would revenge themselves as soone as they see their enemies,

and lovers of many women: of these alreadie are many Christians, and they are firme in the faith.

There is another Nation a kinne to these, which runneth off the Maine from Saint Vincent to Pernambuco, called Tupiguae, these were without number, they doe diminish, for the Portugals doe goe to seeke them to serve themselves with them, and those which escape doe flee verie farre off that they may not be slaves: There is another Nation Neighbour to this called Apigapigtanga, and Muriapigtanga. There is also another Nation contrarie to the Tupinaquins which are called Guaracayo, or Itati.

Another Nation dwelleth in the Holy Ghost, called Timimivo, they were contrarie to the Tupinaquins, but they are now verie few. *Timimivo.* Another Nation which is called Tamuya inhabitors of the River of Januarie, these the Portugals destroyed when they inhabited the River, and of them there be verie few, and some that are in the Maine are called Ararape, another Nation inhabiteth beyond Saint Vincent, about eightie leagues, enemies of the Tupinaquins, of Saint Vincent, of these there are infinite multitudes, and doe runne along the Sea Coast and in the Maine, unto the Paraguai which the Castilians doe inhabite, all these Nations abovesaid, though different, and many of them enemies one to another, they have the Language, and their conversion is in hand, and they have a great respect to the Fathers of the company of Jesus, and in the Maine they sigh for them, and call them Abare, and Father, desiring they would come to their Countries and convert them; and such is their reputation that some Portugals of badde consciences doe faine themselves Fathers, apparelling themselves in Gownes, shaving their crownes, and telling them they are Abares, and that they came to seeke them for the Churches of the Fathers which are theirs aswell as ours. Thus they seduce them, and assoone as they come to the Sea, they divide them among themselves, sell, and marke them, making first a great slaughter of them

Tamuya.

Ararape.

Unchristian impietie of some Portugals.

in the Countrie, robberies and assaults, taking away their Daughters and their Wives, &c. And if it were not for these and other like hinderances, all those of this Language had beene converted to our holy Faith.

Seventie six Nations of Tapuya. See of these Master Knivet which lived with them.

There be other contrarie Nations enemies to these of divers Languages, which in a generall name are called Tapuya, and they are contrarie also among themselves. In the Maine first neighbouring to the Tupinaquins inhabit the Guamures, and they occupie some eightie leagues of Coast and toward the Mayne all that they list. They are Lords of the wild Woods, very great bodied, and by the continuance and custome of going through the Woods, they have their skinnes very hard, and for this effect, they beate their children being young, with certaine Thistles to accustome them to goe in the wilde Woods.

**A roote so called.*

They have no Husbandrie, they live by rapine, and by the point of the Arrow; they eate the * Mandioca raw and it doth them no hurt, they runne verie swiftly, and to the White men they come not but on a sudden. They use verie great Bowes; they carrie certaine stones made a purpose verie bigge that wheresoever they hit, they may presently breake the heads in pieces. And when they come to fight, they hide themselves under shrubs, and from thence they play their part, & they are greatly feared, & there is no power in the world that is able to overcome them. They are great cowards in the fields and dare not come forth, neither passe they any waters, use any shipping, nor are given to fishing, all their living is from the woods. They are cruel as Lions, when they take any enemies they cut off his flesh with a Reed whereof they make their Arrowes, and flea them that they leave them no more but the bones and the guts; if they take any child & are followed, that they may not take it away alive, they strike off his head against a post. They disbowell the women with child to eate their children roasted. These annoy the Port Secure verie much, the little Ilands, and Camamû, and these

Cowards and cruell.

[IV. vii. 1299.]

Countries goes to decay because of them; their speech cannot be understood.

Tucanucu and other Nations many.

Besides these towards the maine and the fields of Caatinga, doe live many Nations of Tapuyas, which are called Tucanucu, these live in the Maine of the great River, opposite to Port Secure, they have another Language. Others doe live in the Maine before yee come to Aquitigpe, and are called Nacii. Others which they call Oquigtâiuba, others which are called Pahi; these weare course Cotton-clothes, woven like a Net, with this they cover themselves as with a sacke, they have no sleeves, they have a different speech. In the Ari are others which also live in the field going toward Aquitigpe. Others which are called Larahio, it is a great people, of a different speech. Others which are called Mandeiu: also of another speech, others called Macutu, others Napara, these have husbandrie. Others called Cuxare, these live in the middest of the field of the Maine, others which live in the same field, that are called Nuhinu, others doe live toward the Maine of the Bay which is called Guayava, they have a speech by themselves, other there about called Taicuiu, these dwell in houses, they have another speech, others in the same Countrie called Cariu, of a different tongue. These three Nations, and their Neighbours are friends of the Portugals, others which they call Pigru, they dwell in houses, others which are called Obacoatiara, these live in Ilands in the River of Saint Francis, they have Houses like unto Caves under the Earth. These when the enemies come against them flie to the water, and by diving escape; they continue long under water, they have great Arrowes like halfe Darts, without Bowes, and with them they fight; they are verie valiant, they eate humane flesh, they have a different tongue.

Cave-houses.

Anhehim, &c.

Others there are that live farre within the Maine are called Anhelim, they have another Language; others that live in Houses called Aracuaiati, they have another Speech; others called Caivari, they live in Caves. Others

called Guaianaguacu, they dwell in Caves and have another Speech; others farre within the Maine called Camucuiara; *Great Paps.* these have paps that reach under their waste, and neere to their knees, and when they runne they binde them about their waste; they are neverthelesse great Warriours, eate mens flesh, and have another Speech: Others which they call Jobiora Apuayara, Lords of sharpe Staves, for they fight with tosted staves and sharpe, they are valiant, and eate humane flesh, they have another Speech. Others called Anuacuig, they dwell in Houses, they have another Speech, but they understand themselves with these abovesaid their Neighbours. Others they call Guaiacatu, and Guaiatvú, these have another Speech and *Cumpehe Savages not Canibals.* dwell in Houses. Others called Cumpehe, these eate no humane flesh, when they kill the enemie, they cut off the head and carrie it for a shew, they have no Houses, and are like Gipsies. Others called Guayo, dwell in Houses, they fight with venomed Arrowes, they eat humane flesh, they have another Speech. Others called Cicu, have the same speech and customes of them abovesaid. Others called Pahaiu eate humane flesh, and have another Speech. Others called Jaicuiu, have the same Speech that these above. Others called Tupijo, dwell in Houses, have husbandrie, and another Speech. Others called Maracaguacu, are Neighbours to these above, and have the same Speech. Others called Jacuruiu, use Husbandrie, dwell in Houses, and have another Speech. Others called Tapecuiu, are Neighbours of these above, and have the same speech. Others called Anacuiu, have the same Speech and customes that those above, and all of them doe fight with venomed Arrowes. Others called Piracuiu, have the same Speech that those above, and venomed Arrowes.

Others called Taraguaig, have another Speech, they fight with venomed Arrowes. Others called Pahacuiu, can speake the Language of them abovesaid. Others called Tipi, are of the field, and fight with venomed Arrowes. Others called Guacaraiara, have another

Speech, and have Husbandries and dwell in Houses. Others Neighbours to these above called Camaragoa. Others called Curupija, were enemies of the Tupinaquis. Others called Aquirino, have another Speech. Others called Piraguayg Aquig, live under the Rockes, are enemies to these above. Others called Piuacuiu. Others called Parapota, these can speake the Speech of them of the Coast. Others called Caraemba, have another Speech. Others called Caracuiu, have another Speech. Others called Mainuma, these joine themselves with the Guaimures enemies to them of the Coast, they understand themselves with the Guaimures, but they have another Speech. Others called Aturari, enter also in communication with the Guaimures, others called Cuigtaio, doe also communicate and enter with the Guaimures. Others called Cuigpe, these were the inhabitors of Port Secure. Others called Guigraiube, are friends with them above. Others called Augarari, these dwell not farre from the Sea, betweene Port Secure, and the Holy Ghost. Others called Amixocori, are friends with the former. Others called Caraia, doe live in the Maine toward Saint Vincent, and went flying from the North thither, they have another Speech. Others called Apetupa, live in the Maine toward Aquitipi. Others called Caraguatijara, have another Speech. Others called Aquiguira, these doe converse with the former. Another Nation liveth in the Maine, enemies to the Muriapigtauga, and of the Tarape, it is a Dwarfish people, low of bodie, but bigge legged and backed, the Portugals call these Pigneos, and the Indians call them Tæpijguiri, because they are little. Others called Quiriciguig, these doe live in the Maine of the Bay, verie farre. Others called Guirig, these are great horsemen, and friends of the former. Others called Guaiere, doe live in the Maine of Port Secure, verie farre off. Others called Ænaguig, these were Inhabitors of the Countries of the Tupinaquins, and because the Tupinaquins remained Lords of the Mountaines, they are called Tupinaquins.

[IV. vii. 1230.]

Guaitaca. Others called Guaitaca, doe live in the Sea Coast betweene the Holy Ghost, and the River of Januarie, they live in the fields, and will not live in the Woods, they goe to eate to their Husbandries, and come to the houses to bed, they have no other treasures. They live as the cattell that feedeth in the fields, and come not to the Houses but to sleepe, they are so swift in running that by footmanship they catch the game. Others called Igbigranupan, are enemies to the Tupinaquins, they communicate with the Guaimures, when they fight with their enemies, they make great noises striking with certaine stickes upon others. Others called Quirigma, these were Lords of the Countries of the Bay, and therefore it is called the Bay Cuirimure. The Tupinabas did expell them out of their Countries, and remained Lords of them, and the Tapuyas went toward the South. Others called Maribuco, in habit in the Maine right against the great River. Others called Catagua, doe live right against Jequeriquare, betweene the Holy Ghost and Port Secure. Others called Tapuxerig, are enemies of the Tapuyas, and eate up their Corne fields. Others that dwell about the Maine that goeth toward Saint Vincent, are called Amocaxo, and were enemies of the Tupinaquins. Others called Nonea, have verie great faces. Others called Apuy, dwell neere the field of the Maine, they are great singers, and have another Speech. Others called Panaguiri, differing from the former. Others also differing called Bigrorgya. Others called Piriju, there are a great number of these.

Beast in humane shape.

All these seventie sixe Nations of Tapuyas, which have the most of them a sundry Language, are a wilde savage and untamed people; they are all for the most part enemies of the people that dwell in the Sea Coast neighbouring to the Portugals: onely a certaine kind of Tapuyas, that live in the River of Saint Francis, and others that dwell nearer are friends of the Portugals, and entertaine them verie well when they passe through their Countries. Of these many are Christians, that were

brought by the Fathers from the Maine, and learning the Speech of them of the Sea Coast which the Fathers can speake, they baptized them, and many of them doe live in the Townes of the Fathers married, and serve them for Interpreters, for the remedie of so great a number of people as is lost; and onely with these Tapuyas, may some fruit bee gotten, with the rest of the Tapuyas no conversion can be wrought because of their mutabilitie, and the having manie and sundrie very hard Languages. Onely there remaineth one remedie, if the Lord God doe not discover another, and it is; getting some of their children, and making them to learne the Speech of the rest, and serving for Interpreters may some fruit be gotten, though with great difficultie, for the Reasons abovesaid, and manie other.

Of the Climate & Countrie of Brasill & of some notable things found there, as well on the Land as on the Sea.

The Climate of Brasill generally is temperate, of good, delicate, and healthfull aire, where the men live on even to 90. 100. and more yeeres, and the Countrie is full of old men. Generally it is neither cold nor hot, though from the River of Januarie, unto Saint Vincent, there be colds and heates, but not very great. The Heavens are very pure and cleere, especially by night; the Moone is very prejudiciall unto health, and corrupteth the things very much. The mornings are verie healthfull: it hath verie little twilights, as well in the morning as in the evenings, for as soone as it is day presently the Sun riseth, and as soone as it is set, it is night. Their Winter beginneth in March, and endeth in August, the Summer beginneth in September, and endeth in Februarie, the nights and daies are all the yeere almost equall.

The Countrie is somewhat melancholicke, overflowne with many waters, as wel of maine Rivers, as from the Skie; in it is great store of raine chiefly in Winter, it is ful of great Woods that are greene all the yeere. It is a Hilly Countrie, especially toward the Sea Coast, and from Pernambuco unto the Captaineship of the Holy Ghost, is verie scarce of stone; but from thence to

Saint Vincent are verie rough and high Mountaines, of great Quarries of Rockie stone, the food and waters are generally healthfull, light, and of easie digestion. There are few Commodities for apparell, because the Countrie yeeldeth nothing but Cotton-wooll, and of the rest the Countrie is plentifull: especially of Cattell and Sugars.

[VI. vii. 1301.]

§. IIII.

Of the Beasts, Land-serpents, Fowles.

THe Deere in the Brasilian tongue is called Cuacu: there are some very great, like faire Horses, they are well headed, and some have ten or twelve snags; these are rare, and they are found in the River of Saint Francis, and in the Captainship of Saint Vincent. These are called, Cuacuapara, they are esteemed of the Carijos, who of the shankes and sinowes make the points of their Arrowes, and certaine throwing Balls which they use for to strike downe beasts and men. There bee other smaller, they have hornes also, but they are onely of one point: besides these there are three or foure kindes, some that feede onely in the Woods, others onely in the plaine fields in heards. They make great account of the skinnes, and of the flesh.

The Tapijrete are the Elkes, of whose skinne the leather Targets are made, they are like Kine, much more like a Mule, the tayle is of a finger length, they have no hornes, they have a snout of a quarter long, which he shrinketh up and putteth forth. They swimme and dive very much, but when they dive they take ground presently under water, and going on it they come out in another place, there are great store of them in this Countrie.

The wilde Boare, 3. kinds and more.

There are great store of wilde Boares, and it is the ordinary food of the Indians of this Countrie, they have the navell on their backe, and out of it there cometh a sent like the sent of little Foxes, and by that sent the Dogs doe hunt them, and they are easily taken.

There are others called Tayacutirica, that is to say, a Boare that snappeth or grindeth his teeth, these are bigger then the common, and more rare, and with their tushes they goare all the beasts they meete.

Others are called Tayacupita, that is, a Boare that standeth still and tarieth; these doe assault the Dogs, and the men: and if they catch them they eate them; they are so fierce, that men are forced to take the trees to escape them, and some doe stay at the foot of the trees some dayes till the man doe come downe; and because they know this tricke of theirs, they goe presently to the trees with their Bowes and Arrowes, and from thence they kill them. There bee also other kinde of Boares, all good meate.

Acuti. The Acutis are like the Conies of Spaine, chiefely in their teeth: the colour is dunne, and draweth toward yellow: they are domesticall creatures, so that they goe about the house, and goe out and come in againe to it, they take with their fore-feet all that they eate, and so they carrie it to the mouth, and they eate very fast, and hide that which they leave against they be an hungred. Of these there are many kindes, and all are eaten.

Paca. The Pacai are like Pigs, there are great abundance of them; the flesh is pleasant, but it is heavie. They never bring forth but one at once. There bee others very white; these bee rare, they are found in the River of Saint Francis.

Jagoarete. M. Knivet calls them Tigres. There are many Ounces, some blacke, some grey, some speckled, it a very cruell beast, and fierce, they assault men exceedinly, that even on the trees they cannot escape them, especially if they be bigge. When they are flesht there is none that dare abide them, especially by night: they kill many beasts at once, they spoile a whole Hen-house, or a heard of Swine, and to open a man, or whatsoever beast, it sufficeth to hit him with one of his clawes. But the Indians are so hardie, that some of them dare close with one of them, and holdeth it fast, and kills it in a field, as they doe

Bold vainglorious Indians.

their enemies, getting a name, and using all the ceremonies they doe to their enemies. They use the heads for Trumpets, and the Portugall women use the skinnes for Rugs or Coverlets, especially of the painted ones, and in the Captainship of Saint Vincent.

Carigue. The Carigue are like the Foxes of Spaine, but they are smaller, as bigge as a Cat, they smell worse then the Foxes of Spaine themselves, and they are grey as they. They have a bag from the fore to the hinder feet, with sixe or seven dugs, and there they carrie their young ones hidden till they can get their owne food, and hath ordinarily sixe or seven in a litter. This vermine destroyeth the Hens, for it goeth not by day but by night, and climes the trees and the houses, and no Bird or Hen can escape them.

Ant Beare, or Tamandua, a strange-shaped beast. The Tamandua is of notable admiration, it is of the bignesse of a great Dog, more round then long, and the tayle is twice or thrice as long as the bodie, and so full of haire, that from the heate, raine, cold and winde, hee harboureth himselfe all under it, that yee can see nothing of him. The head is small, and hath a thinne snout, no greater mouth then an oyle Cruze, round and not open, the tongue is of three quarters long, and with it he licketh up the Ants, whereof he onely feeds; hee is diligent in seeking of the Ant-heapes, and with the clawes hee breaketh them, and casting out his tongue the Ants sticke on it, and so he drawes them in, having no more mouth then to hold his tongue full of them; it is of a great fiercenesse, and doth assault many people and beasts. The Ounces doe feare them, and the Dogs exceedingly, and whatsoever they catch, they teare with their clawes; they are not eaten, neither are they good for any thing but to destroy the Ant-heapes, and they are so many that they will never bee destroyed altogether.

[IV. vii. 1302.]

Tatu, or Armadillo. The Tatu is of the bignesse of a Pigge, and of a whitish colour, it hath a very long snout, and the body full of things like plates, wherewith he remayneth armed,

and it hath certaine pieces hanging downe as the Badas have. These plates are so hard, that no Arrow can pierce them, except it hits him in the flankes; they digge so fast, that it hath chanced seven and twentie men with Mattockes not to bee able to digge so much as one of these with their snout. But if they cast water in their holes they are presently taken: it is a creature worth the seeing, and they call it an armed Horse, the flesh is like Hennes flesh, or Pigge, very pleasant, of the skinne they make Purses, and they are very faire and lasting, they are made tame, and are bred in the house. Of these there be many kindes, and there are great abundance of them.

The Badas are the Rhinocerors.

The Canduacu is the Porcupine of Africa, and hath bristles white and blacke, so great, that they are of a spanne and a halfe, and more, and they cast them like as those of Africa. There be other of these, called Candumiri, because they are smaller; and they have bristles as the other. There be other smaller, of the bignesse of a Cat, with yellow bristles and blacke at the points. All these bristles have this qualitie, that entring into the flesh, bee it never so little, of it selfe it pierceth through the flesh. And for this cause these bristles doe serve the Indians for an instrument to bore the eares, for putting never so little in them in one night it pierceth them through. There be other smaller like Urchins or Hedge-hogs, they have also bristles, but they cast them not, all these beasts are of a good flesh and taste.

Canduacu, or Porcupine: divers kinds.

The Hirara is like the Civet Cat, though some say it is not; they are of many colours, viz. grey, blacke, and white, they eate nothing but hunnie, and in this they are so terrible, that bee the hole of the Bee-hive never so little they make it so bigge that they may goe in, and when they finde the Hunnie they never eate it, till they have called the rest of the young ones, and then the old one going in, he doth nothing but bring out the Hunnie, and give it to the yong

Hiraras or Civet Cats.

ones, a thing of great admiration, and an example of great charitie for men, and that this is so the men of the Countrie doe affirme.

Aquiqui, Apes or Monkies.

The Aquiqui are very great Apes, as bigge as a good Dog, blacke, and very ougly, as well the male as the female; they have a great beard onely in the lower chap: of these come sometimes a male one so yellow

Ape-king.

that it draweth toward red, which they say is their King. This hath a white face, and the beard from eare to eare, as cut with the Scissers, and it hath one thing much to be noted, namely, that he goeth into a tree, and maketh

His Oration.

so great a noise that it is heard very farre off, in the which he continueth a great while without ceasing, and for this, this kind hath a particular instrument: and the instrument is a certaine hollow thing, as it were made of Parchment, very strong, and so smooth that it serveth to burnish withall, as big as a Ducks Egge, and beginneth from the beginning of the gullet, till very neere the palate of the mouth between both the cheekes, and it is so light that assoone as it is toucht it moveth as

His Page.

the key of a Virginals. And when this Ape is thus crying he fometh much, and one of the little ones that is to remaine in his place doth cleanse many times the fome from his beard.

Many kindes of Monkies.

There are others of many kindes, and in great abundance, they are blacke, grey, and yellow, the Country-men say that some of these, when they shoot at them with an Arrow, catch it in their hand, and turne againe, and throwe it at the man; and when

Their Physike.

they are hurt they seeke a certaine leafe and chaw it, and thrust it into the wound for to heale them, and because they are alwaies on the trees, and are very swift, when the leape is great, and the little ones cannot passe, one of them lieth acrosse like a bridge, and the rest passe over him, the tayle serveth him for a hand; and if any be strucken, with his tayle he holdeth fast the bough whereon he is, and so dieth hanging, and falleth not.

They have many other qualities that are seene every day, as to take a sticke and beate some body that doth them harme; another found a basket of Egges, hung it by the cord about his necke, and going to the top of an house, from thence made many mowes at his master that went to seeke him, and breaking them, did eate them all before him, throwing the shells at his master. *Monkie-tricks.*

The beast Cuati is grey, and like the Badgers of Portugall, it hath the snout and clawes very long, it climeth the trees like the Monkie: no Snake, no Egge, no Bird doth escape it, nor any thing that it can get. They are made tame in the houses, but no man can abide them, for they devoure all; they will play with little Cats, and whelpes, they are malicious, pleasant, and are apt for many things. *Cuati.*

There bee other two or three greater kindes, as great Dogges, and have tushes like the wilde Boares of Portugall; these devoure beasts and men, and when they finde their prey, they compasse it about, some in one place, some in another, till they devoure it. *Other kinds.*

Of wilde Cats are many kindes, some blacke, some white, some of a Safran colour, and are very faire for any furre. These Cats are very terrible, and swift; they live by prey and by birds, and they assault also the men; some of them are as big as Dogs. *Wilde Cats.*

The Jagoarucu are the Dogs of Brasill, they are of a grey colour mingled with white; very swift, and when they yelpe they are like Dogs; they have the tayle very hairy, feed on fruits, and upon prey, and bite terribly. *Jagoarucu.* [IV. vii. 1303.]

The Tapati are like the Conies of Portugall, and here they doe barke like Dogs, especially by night, and very often; the Indians hold this barking for an evill signe; they breed three or foure at once; they are very rare, for they have many adversaries, as birds of rapine, and other beasts that doe eate them. *Tapati.*

The Jaguacini are big as the Foxes of Portugall, *Jaguacini.*

and have the same colour of a Foxe, they feed onely upon the Sea-crabs, and among the Sugar-canes, and destroy many of them; they are very sleepie, for they kill them sleeping, they doe no hurt.

Biarataca. The Biarataca is of the bignesse of a Cat, like a Ferret; it hath a white stroake and a grey along the backe, like a crosse, very well made; it feeds upon birds and their egges, and upon other things, especially upon Ambar, and loveth it so well, that all the night he goeth by the Sea-side to seeke it, and where there is any, hee is the first. It is greatly feared, not because it hath any teeth, or any other defensive thing, *Stinking beast.* but it hath a certaine ventositie so strong, and so evill of sent, that it doth penetrate the wood, the stones, and all that it encountreth withall, and it is such, that some Indians have died with the stench. And the Dog that commeth neere it escapeth not: and this smell lasteth fifteene, twentie, or more dayes; and it is such, that if it lighteth neere some Towne, it is presently dis-inhabited. And that they may not bee perceived, they scrape a hole in the ground, and there within they voide that ventositie, and cover it with earth; and when they are found, that they may not bee taken, their defense is to cast out that stench.

Priguica, or Lazinesse. The Priguica (which they call) of Brasill, is worth the seeing; it is like a shag-haire Dog, or a Land-spaniell, they are very ougly, and the face is like a woman's evill drest, his fore and hinder feet are long, hee hath great clawes and cruell, they goe with the breast on the earth, and their young fast to their bellie. Though yee strike it never so fast, it goeth so leasurely, that it hath need of a long time to get up into a tree, and so they are easily taken; their *Simple food.* food is certaine Fig-tree leaves, and therefore they cannot bee brought to Portugall, for as soone as they want them they die presently.

Twelve kinds of Rats. In these parts are a great multitude of Rats, and

of them are some ten or twelve kindes, some blacke, others yellow, others dunne, all are eaten, and are very savourie, especially some great ones that are like Conies, and sometimes they are so many, that lighting upon a sowne field, they utterly destroy it.

Of Land-Snakes and Serpents.

Of the Snakes that are on the land, and have no poison.

THe Giboya is a Snake of the greatest that are in this Countrie, and there are some found of twentie foot in length, they are very faire, but more wonderfull they are in swallowing a whole Deere; they have no poison, neither are their teeth great according to the bodie. To take their prey whereon they feed, they use this sleight. It layeth it selfe along by the high-wayes, and when the prey passeth it leapeth upon it, and windes it selfe in such order, and crusheth it so, that it breaketh all his bones, and afterward licketh it, and his licking hath such vertue, that it bruiseth or suppleth it all, and then it swallowes it up whole. *Giboya.*

There are others, called Guiraupiaguara, that is, Eaters of birds Egges, it is very blacke, long, and hath a yellow breast; they goe on the tops of trees as it were swimming in the water, and no man can runne so fast on the ground as they on the trees; these destroy the birds, and their egges also. *Egge-eater.*

There are others very bigge and long, called Caninana, they are all greene, and of a notable beautie. These also doe eate egges and birds, and kill little chickens. *Caninana.*

There is another, called Boytiapua, that is, a Snake that hath a long snout, it is very slender and long, and feeds onely upon Frogs. The Indians observe sooth-saying with this, that when the woman hath no children, they take this snake and strike her with it on the hips, and say she shall presently have children. *Long-snout.*

There is another, called Gaitiepia, they are found only in the Rarin, it is of a notable bignesse, he smelleth so much, like a Foxe, wheresoever he goeth, that there is none can abide it. *Gaitiepia.*

Boyuna. There is another, called Boyuna, that is, a blacke Snake, it is very long and slender, it smelleth also very much like a Foxe.

There is another, called Bom, because that when it goeth, it crieth bom, bom, it is also very great, and doth no hurt.

There is another, called Boicupecanga, that is, a Snake that hath prickles in his backe, they are very great, and grosse, the prickles are very venomous, and all men doe avoide and keepe themselves from them.

Snakes that have poison. Jararaca. Jararaca is a name that comprehendeth foure kindes of very venomous Snakes. The first is greatest, called Jararacucu, that is, great Jararaca, and they are of ten spannes long, they have great tushes hidden in the mouth along their gummes, and when they bite they stretch them like a finger of the hand: they have their poison in their gummes, their teeth crooked, and a stroake upon them whereby the poison runneth. Others say, they have it within the tooth, which is hollow within, it hath so vehement a poison, that in foure and twentie houres, and lesse, it killeth a man: the poison is very yellow, like Saffran water, they bring foorth many young ones at once, one hath beene taken with thirteene in her bellie.

[IV. vii. 1304.]

There are others, called Jararcoaypitiuga, that is, that hath the point of the tayle more white then grey: these are as venomous as Vipers of Spaine, and have the same colour and fashion.

There are others, called Jararaepeba, most venomous; it hath a red chaine along the backe, and the breasts, and the rest of the bodie is all grey.

There are other smaller Jararacas, that the greatest is about halfe a yard long, they are of an earthie colour, they have certaine veines in their head like the Vipers, and they make such a noise as they doe.

Curucucu. The Curucucu is a Snake very hideous and fearefull, and some are of fifteene spannes long: when the Indians doe kill them they burie presently the head, because

it hath great store of poison: for to catch the prey and the people, it lieth close to a tree, and when it seeth the prey, it casts it selfe upon it, and so killeth it.

The Boycininga is a Snake, called of the Bell, it is of a great poison, but it maketh such a noise with a Bell it hath in his taile, that it catcheth very few; though it be so swift, that they call it, the flying Snake, his length is twelve or thirteene spannes long. There is another, called Bociningpeba: this also hath a Bell, but smaller, it is blacke, and very venomous. *Boycininga.*

The poison of the Ibiracua Snake is so vehement, that if it biteth any person, presently it makes him to voide bloud through all the passages of his bodie, to wit, the eyes, nostrils, mouth, eares, and all open places else of his bodie; it runneth a great while, and if he be not holpen, he empties his bloud and dieth. *Ibiracua.*

The Snake Ibiboboca is very faire, it hath the head red, white and blacke, and so all the bodie is spotted of these three colours; this is the most venomous of all, it goeth slowly, and liveth in the crannies of the earth, and by another name it is called, the Snake of the colours. *Ibiboboca.*

The great vehemencie that these venomous Snakes above said have, the great paines they cause, and the many persons that every day doe die of their stinging cannot be exprest: and they are so many in number, that not onely the fields and the woods, but even the houses are full of them, and they are found in the beds, and within the bootes, when they put them on. The Brethren going to their rest doe finde them there wound about the benches feet, and if they be not holpen when they sting, cutting the wound, letting him bloud, drinking Unicorns horne, or Carima, or the water of the Snakes-wood, or some other effectuall remedie, in foure and twentie houres and lesse he dieth with great crying and paines, and they are so *Store and sore.* *Carima, a drug so called.*

excessive, that when any person is bitten presently he demandeth confession, and maketh account to die, and so disposeth of his goods.

Musk-snake. There are other Snakes, chiefely these Jararacas, that have a great smell of Muske, and wheresoever they bee, they are descried by the good and fragrant smell they have.

Scorpions. There are many Scorpions, that every day are found in their beds, among the bookes, and about the chambers, ordinarily they kill not, but in foure and twentie houres they cause intolerable paines.

Poisonous Region. It seemeth that this climate doth flowe in poison, as well for the many Snakes there are, as for the multitude of Scorpions, Spiders, and other uncleane creatures, and the Lizards are so many that they cover the walls of the house, and the holes are full of them.

Of the Fowles that are in the Land, and are thereon sustained.

EVen as this climate doth flowe in poison, so it seemeth to create beautifulnesse in the birds, and as all the Countrie is full of Groves and Woods, so it is full of most beautifull birds of all colours.

Parots. The Parots in this Countrie are infinite, more then Dawes, or Starlings, or Thrushes, or Sparrowes of Spaine, and so they make a cackling as the birds above-said; they destroy them by thousands, they flie in flockes alwaies, and they are so many, that there be Ilands where there is nothing but Parots; they are eaten, and are very good meate; they are ordinarily very faire, and of many and sundrie colours and kindes, and they almost all speake if they be taught.

Varietie of Parots. The Arara. The Arara Parots are those that by another name are called Macaos; it is a great bird, and are very rare, and by the sea-coast they are not found, it is a faire bird in colours; their breasts are red as scarlet; from the middle of the bodie to the taile some are

yellow, others greene, others blue, and through all the bodie they have scattering, some greene, some yellow, and blue feathers, and ordinarily every feather hath three or foure colours, and the taile is very long. These lay but two egges, they breed in the trunkes of trees, and in the rockes of stone. The Indians esteeme them very much, and of their feathers they make their fine things, and their hangings for their swords, it is a very pleasant bird, they become very tame, and domesticall, and speake very well if they be taught.

The Anapuru Parot is most faire; in it all colours are found with great perfection, to wit, red, greene, yellow, blacke, blue, grey, the colour of the Bulfinch, and of all these colours it hath the bodie bespeckled and spotted. These also doe speake, and they have another advantage, that is, they breed in the house, and hatch their young ones, wherefore they are of great esteeme. [IV. vii. 1305.] *Anapuru.*

The Araruna or Machao is very faire, it is all blacke, and this blacke sprinkled with greene, which giveth it a great beautie, and when the Sunne shineth on him he is so shining that it is very pleasant to behold; it hath the feet yellow, and the beake and the eies red; they are of great esteeme for their beautie, for they are very rare, and breed not but very farre within the Land, and of their feathers the Indians make their Diademes and Pictures. *Araruna.*

The Parots Aiurucuro are most beautifull, they are all greene, they have a cap and a collar of yellow, very faire, and over the beake a few feathers of a very cleare blue, which doe beautifie him very much, it hath pinions of the wings red, and the taile feathers red and yellow, sprinkled with greene. *Aiurucuro.*

The Tuins are a kinde of Parot very small, of the bignesse of a Sparrow, they are greene, sprinkled with other divers colours, they are much esteemed, as well for their beautie, as because they prattle much, and well, and are very tame. They are so small, that they skip *Tuin.*

every where on a man, on his hands, his breast, his shoulders and his head; and with his bill hee will cleanse ones teeth, and will take the meate out of the mouth of him that brings them up, and make many gambols; they are alwaies speaking or singing after their owne fashion.

Guiraiuba. The Parots Guiraiuba, or Yellow birds, neither speake nor play, but are sullen and sad; they are much esteemed, because they are brought from two hundred and three hundred leagues, and are not found but in great mens houses, and they hold them in such esteeme, that they give the ransome and value of two persons for one of them, and they esteeme them as much as the Japanas doe the Trevets and the Pots, or any other great man esteemeth any thing of great price, as a Faulcon, Gerfaulcon, &c.

Yapu. The Yapu is of the bignesse of a Pie-annet, the bodie of a fine blacke, and the taile of a very fine yellow, it hath three tufts on the head that are like little hornes, when hee raiseth them: the eies are blue, the neb very yellow. It is a very faire bird, and hath a very strong smell when it is angrie. They are very carefull in seeking their food, there escapeth not a Spider, Beetle, or Cricket, &c. they are very cleanly in a house, and goe about like Pie-annets, they leave nothing unsought. It is dangerous holding them in the hand, for they runne presently to the eies, and pull them out.

Dangerous to the eyes.

The Guaimimbique: others call it the Tomineios. Of the small birds called Guaimimbique, there are sundrie kindes, as Guaracig â, that is, Fruit of the Sunne; by another name, Guaracig oba, that is, Covering of the Sunne; or Guaracig aba, that is, The haire of the Sunne; in the Antillas they call it the risen or awaken bird, and they say it sleepeth sixe moneths, and liveth other sixe moneths. It is the finest bird that can bee imagined; it hath a cap on his head, to which no proper colour can be given, for on whatsoever side yee looke on it, it sheweth red, greene, blacke, and more colours, all very fine, and shining; and the breast is so faire, that on whatsoever side yee take it, it sheweth all the colours,

especially a yellow more finer then gold. The bodie is grey; it hath a very long bill, and the tongue twice the length of the bill; they are very swift in flight, and in their flight they make a noise like the Bee, and they rather seeme Bees in their swiftnesse then birds, for they alwaies feed flying without sitting on a tree, even as the Bees doe flie sucking the Hunnie from the flowers. They have two beginnings of their generation, some are hatched of egges like other birds, others of little bubbles, and it is a thing to bee noted, a little bubble to beginne to convert it selfe into this little bird, for at one instant it is a bubble and a bird, and so it converts it selfe into this most faire bird, a wonderfull thing, and unknowne to the Philosophers, seeing one living creature without corruption is converted into another. *Generation.* *Note for Philosophers.*

The bird Guiranhe eng eta is of the bignesse of a Gold-finch; it hath the backe and wings blue, and the breast and bellie of a most fine yellow. It hath a yellow Diademe on his head that beautifies him very much. It is a very excellent bird for the Cage, it speaketh many waies resembling many birds, making many changes, and changing his speech a thousand waies. They continue long in their song, and are of esteeme, and of these for the Cage there bee many, and faire, and of divers and sundrie colours. *Guiranhe eng eta.*

The Tangara is of the bignesse of a Sparrow, all blacke, the head is of a verie fine Orange-tawnie, it singeth not, but it hath a wonderfull thing, for it hath fits like the Falling sicknesse, and for this cause the Indians doe not eate them, for the avoiding of that disease, they have a kinde of very pleasant dancing, and it is, that one of them makes himselfe as dead, and the other compasse him about skipping with a song of a strange crying that is heard verie farre, and when they end this feast, crying, and dancing, he that was as dead riseth, and maketh a great noise and crying, and then all goe away, and end their feast. They are so earnest when they doe it, that although they be seene and shot at, they flie not away. *Tangara.* *Dance.*

Of these there bee many kindes, and all of them have accidents.

Quereiva. [IV. vii. 1306.] The bird Quereiva, is of the most esteemed of the Land, not for the song, but for the beautie of the feathers; they are a cleare azure in part, and a darke, all the breast is most fine red, the wings almost blacke; they are so esteemed, that the Indians doe flea them, and give two or three persons for the skinnes of them, and with the feathers they make their Pictures, Diademes, and other fine things.

Tucana. The Tucana is of the bignesse of a Pie, it is all blacke except the breast, which is all yellow, with a round red circle; the bill is a large spanne long, verie great, yellow, and within is red, so smooth and shining, that it seemeth to bee varnished; they are made tame, and breede in the houses, are good to eate, and the feathers are esteemed because they are faire.

Guirapanga. The Guirapanga is white, and not being very big it crieth so loude that it sounds like a Bell, and it is heard halfe a league, and their singing is like the ringing of Bells.

Macucagua. The Macucagua is greater then any Henne of Portugall, it resembleth the Feasant, and so the Portugals doe call it; it hath three skinnes one over another, and much flesh, and verie savourie, they lay twice a yeere, and at everie time thirteene or fifteene egges, they goe alwaies on the ground, but when they see any people they flie to the trees, and at night when they goe to roust as Hennes doe. When they sit on the trees, they put not their feet on the boughs, but the shankes of their legs, and most on the fore part. There bee many kindes of these, and they are easily shot at.

Among them there is one of the smallest, that hath many properties; when it singeth it foresheweth raine, it crieth so loude, that it is incredible of so small a bird, and the reason is, because the gullet is verie great. It beginneth at the mouth and commeth out at the breast betweene the skinne and the flesh, and reacheth to the

fundament, and returneth againe and entreth into the crop, and then it proceedeth as other birds, and doubleth like a Trumpet with his turnings. They runne after any bodie pecking him and playing like a little whelpe, if they set it upon Henne egges, it sitteth over them, and bringeth up the young chickens, and if it see a Hen with chickens, it so persecutes her, till it takes them from her and broodes them, and brings them up.

Mutu. The Hen Mutu is very domesticall, it hath a combe like the Cockes, spotted with white and blacke, the egges are great and very white, like a Goose egge, so hard that *Hard egges.* knocking the one with the other, they ring like Iron, and of them they make their Maracas, that is, their Bells; any Dog that eateth the bones of it dieth, and unto men *Dogs poison.* it doeth no hurt at all.

Uru. In this Countrie there are many kindes of Partridges, which though they are not like in all things to those of Spaine, yet are they very like in colour, taste, and in the aboundance.

Turtles innumerable. In this Countrie are many kindes of Turtle-doves, Stares, and Black-birds, and Pigeons of many sorts, and all these birds are like to them of Portugall; and the Pigeons and Turtle-doves are in such abundance, that in certaine fields farre within the Land they are so many, that when they rise they hinder the light of the Sunne, and make a noise like a thunder; they lay so many egges, and so white, that a very farre off yee may see the fields white with egges, as if it were snowe; and serving the Indians for meate as they doe, they cannot be diminished; rather from thence at certaine times it seemeth they runne over all the parts of this Province.

Ostriches. In this Countrie are many Ostriches, called Andugoacu, but they keep only within the Land.

Anima. The Anima is a fowle of rapine, great, and crieth that it is heard halfe a league and more, it is all blacke, hath faire eies, the beake bigger then a Cocks, upon this beake it hath a little horne of a spanne in length, the men of *Horne medicinable.* the Countrie say that this Horne is very medicinable for

those that are taken in their speech, as hath beene proved, hanging it about the necke of a girle that did not speake, which spake presently.

There be many other fowles of rapine, to wit, Eagles, Faulcons, Gos-hawkes, Merlines, and Tarsels, and many other, but they are all ordinarily so wilde, that they will flie at any thing, neither will they come to hand, or stoope to lure.

§. V.

Of the Brasilian Trees for fruit, medicine, and other uses; and their Herbes of rare operations.

Acaiu, a kinde of Chesnut.

THe Trees Acaiu, are very great and faire, they cast the leafe at their times, and the flower groweth in the snags, which makes certaine points like fingers, and in the said points there groweth a red flower of a good smell, and after it groweth a Chesnut, and from the Chesnut commeth an Apple as big as a great Apple, or a Pippin, it is a very faire fruit, and some are yellow, others red, and it is all juyce. They are good for hot weather, they coole verie much, and laying the juyce upon a white cloth it never goeth off till the cloth bee worne. The Chesnut is as good or better then those of Portugall, they are eaten rosted, and raw laid in water as blancht Almonds, and of them they make Marchpanes, and sweet meates as of Almonds. The timber of this tree is little worth, even for the fire, it yeeldeth of it selfe a certain gumme good to paint and write, and there is great store. With the barke they dye their yarne, and the vessels that serves them for Pots. This being stamped and boyled with some Copper, till the third part of the water be consumed, is a soveraigne remedy for old sores, and they heale quickly. There bee so many of these trees as of Chesnuts in Portugall, they growe about these Woods, and they gather many quarters of these Chesnuts, and the fruit in their season satisfie all men. Of these Acaius doe the Indians make Wine.

Many uses thereof.

[IV. vii. 1307.]

There is great abundance of the trees Mangaba, especially in the Bay, for in other places they are rare, in making they are like the barke of Anafega, and in the leafe with those of Frexo, they are very pleasant trees, and have alwaies greene leaves. They yeeld fruit twice a yeere, the first in a knob, for then they doe not flower, but the very knob is the fruit; this season ended, which lasteth two or three moneths, it giveth another bearing, first the flower, which is altogether like the Jesamine, and of as good a smell, but more quicke; the fruit is as big as an Apricock, yellow and spotted with some spots of blacke; within it hath some kernels, but all is eaten, or sucked as the Services of Portugal. They are of a very good taste, and healthfull, and so light that eate they never so many, it seemes they eate no fruit at all. They ripen not on the tree, but fall to the ground, and from thence they gather them already ripe, or gathering them greene they lay them to ripen. The Indians make Wine of them. The tree and the fruit it selfe being greene, is full of white Milke, and cleaveth to the hands, and is bitter.

Mangaba.

Or Musk-rose.

The fruit Murucuge groweth on certaine trees, very high and like the wilde Peare-trees of Portugall. It hath a very long stalke, they are gathered greene, and are layd to ripen, and being ripe they are very pleasant and of an easie digestion. When they are to gather them, they cut downe the tree, because they are very high, and if this destruction were not, there would bee more abundance, but therefore they are rare, the trunke hath great abundance of white Milke, and it congealeth, it may serve for Sealing-waxe if they will use it.

Murucuge.

Ill gathering.

Of the Araca trees are great abundance, of many sorts; the fruit is certaine small Peares, yellow, red, or greene; they are pleasant, unloathsome, toothsome, because they have little taste of sowre, they yeeld fruit almost all the yeere.

Araca.

This Ombu is a great tree not very high, but well spread: the fruit is like white Plums, yellow and round,

Ombu.

and therefore the Portugals doe call it a Plum. It *Fruit causing teeth to fall.* causeth the teeth to fall, and the Indians that doe eate it doe lose them. The rootes of this tree are eaten, and are very pleasant, and more toothsome then the Abalancia, for they are sweeter, and the sweetnesse thereof is like Sugar, they are cold and healthfull, and they are given to the sicke of a Feaver, and it serveth for water to them that goe inward to the Land, for they have no other.

Iacapucaya. The Iacapucaya is of the greatest and fairest of this Countrie; it beareth a fruit like a Pot, as big as a great Bowle, as thicke as two fingers, with a cover upon it, and within it is full of certaine Chesnuts like unto the Myrabolanes; and it seemes they are the same of India, when they are already in season, that cover doth open and the fruit falleth. If any doe eate *Haire-fal-fruit.* much of it green, he casteth all the haire he hath on his body; rosted it is a good fruit. They use the huskes *Graes.* for Cups, and they are lasting; the timber of this tree is very hard, it doth not rotte, they esteeme it for the Axel-trees of the Sugar-mills.

Araticu. Araticu, is a tree of the bignese of an Orange tree and greater, the leafe is like a Citron tree or a Lymond tree, it is a faire and pleasant tree, it beareth a fruit as bigge as Pine apples; and they have a good smell, and a reasonable taste, it is a fruit that loatheth not.

Of these Trees are many kindes, and one of them called Araticupanania. If they eate much of the fruit it proveth a cold poison, and doth much hurt. Of the rootes of these trees they make booyes for the Nets, and they are so light as any Corkes.

Pequea. There be two sorts of Pequea, one of them beares a fruit as big as a good Orange, and so they have the rind thicke like an Orange; within this rinde there is nothing but Hunnie so cleare and sweet as any Sugar, in quantitie of an egge, and mingled with it, it hath the pippens or kernels.

The other Pequea is timber, of the heaviest of this

Countrie, in Portugall it is called Setim, it hath very fine wanes, it lasteth long and doth not rotte.

Iabaticaba. On the tree Iabaticaba groweth a fruit of the bignesse of a Lymond of Sytill, the rinde and taste is like a sowrish Grape, from the roote of the tree through all the body unto the utmost bough or sprig, is a rare fruit, it is onely found within the Land in the Captainship of S. Vincent. The Indians doe make of this fruit a kinde of Wine, and they boyle it like the wine of Grapes.

Cocos. In this Brasill are many Coco-nuts, excellent like those of India; these are ordinarily set, and growe not in the Woods, but in Gardens, and in their Farmes. And there are more then twentie kindes of Palme trees, and almost all doe beare fruit, but not so good as the Cocos: with some of these Palme trees they cover their houses.

20. kinds of Palmes.

Besides these Fruit-trees there are many other that yeeld sundry fruits, whereof they make profit, and many Nations of the Indians sustaine themselves, together with the Hunnie, whereof there is great abundance, and with their hunting, for they have no other sustenance.

The Pine tree. In the maine of the Captainship of Saint Vincent unto Paraguay, are many and great Woods of Pine trees, even like unto them of Portugall, which beare Apples and kernels; the Apples are not so long but rounder and greater, the kernels are greater and are not so hot, but of a good temperature and wholsome.

[IV. vii. 1308.]

Of the Trees that serve for medicines. Cabueriba. Cabueriba is very great and esteemed for the Balme that it hath; to get this Balme they prick the barke of the tree, and lay a little Cotton wooll to the cuts, and from certaine to certaine dayes they goe to gather the Oyle that it hath distilled. The Portugals call it Balme, because it is very like to the true Balme of the Vineyards of Engedi, it serveth for greene wounds, and taketh away all the scarre: it smelleth very well, and of it, and of the barke of the tree they make Beades,

Port Engaddi. A medicine for wounds.

and other smelling things. The Woods where they growe doe smell well, and the beasts doe goe and rubbe on this tree, it seemeth to bee to heale them of some diseases. The Timber is of the best of this Countrie, because it is very strong and heavy, and some are of such bignesse, that of them they make the Beames, Axel-trees, and Skrues or Vices for their Sugar-Mills, these are very rare, and are found chiefly in the Captainship of the Holy Ghost.

Cupayba. Cupayba is a Fig-tree, commonly very high, straite and big, it hath much oile within; for to get it they cut the tree in the middest, where it hath the vent, and there it hath this oile in so great abundance, that some of them doe yeeld a quarterne of oile and more, it is very cleare, of the colour of oile, it is much set *For wounds.* by for wounds, and taketh away all the skarre. It serveth also for lights, and burne well, the beasts knowing the vertue thereof doe come and rubbe themselves thereat. There are great store, the wood is good for nothing.

Ambayba. The Ambayba Fig-trees are not very great, and are not found in the true Woods but in Coppices, where some sowing hath beene; the barke of this tree scraping it on the inside, and crushing those scrapings in the *For wounds.* wound, laying them on it, and binding it with the barke it selfe, healeth in a short time. There is great abundance of them, and are much esteemed for their great vertue, the leaves are rough, and serve to smooth any wood, the timber serveth for nothing.

Ambaygtinga. The Fig-tree which they call of Hell, Ambaigtinga, is found in Taperas: it yeelds a certaine Oyle that serveth for lights, it hath great vertue, as Monardes writeth, and the leaves are much esteemed for them *For the Collicke.* that doe vomit, and cannot retayne that which they eate, anointing the stomacke with the Oyle, it taketh away the Oppilations, and the Collicke. To get this Oyle, they lay it in the Sunne some dayes, and stampe it, and seethe it, and presently that Oyle

commeth on the top, which is gathered for the effect above-said.

Of the trees Igbacamuci there are many in Saint Vincent: they beare a certaine fruit as good as Quinces, fashioned like a Panne or a Pot, they have within certaine small seeds, they are the onely remedie for the bloudy Fluxe. *Igbacamuci.* *For the bloudy Fluxe.*

The Igcigca yeeldeth the Masticke, smelleth very much for a good while: they notch the tree in some places, and in an instant it stilleth a white liquor that doth congeale; it serveth for Plaisters in cold diseases, and to perfume, it serveth also in stead of incense. *Igcigca.* *For cold diseases.*

There is another tree of this kinde, called Igtaigcica, that is, Masticke as hard as stone, and so it seemeth rather Gumme-anime then Masticke, and it is so hard and shining that it seemeth Glasse; it serveth to glase the earthen vessell, and for this it is much esteemed among the Indians, and it serveth also for cold diseases. *Gumme Anime.*

There is a River betweene Port Secure and the Illets, that commeth from more then three hundred leagues within the Mayne, it bringeth great store of Rozen, which is the Gumme-anime it selfe, which the Indians doe call Igtaigcica, and the Portugals, White incense; it hath the same effects that the Incense.

Curupicaiba is like to the Peach-trees of Portugall in the leafe: the leaves doe distill a kinde of liquor like the Fig-trees of Spaine, which is the onely remedie for wounds both greene and old, and for the Poxe, and it taketh away all the scarre from the wounds, if they pricke the barke of it, it yeeldeth great store of Bird-lime, wherewith they catch the small birds. *Curupicaiba.* *For wounds, and for the Poxe.*

There is great abundance of the trees Caaroba, the leaves of these chewed and layd to the Pock-sore drye and heale it in such manner, that it never commeth againe, and it seemeth that the wood hath the same effect that the China wood, and that of the Antilles have for the same disease. Of the flower they make a Conserve for those that are sicke of the Poxe. *Caaroba.* *For the Poxe.*

Caarobmocorandiba. The wood Caarobmocorandiba is like that of China, it is taken in the same manner that the other, and it

For loosenesse and the Poxe. healeth the loosenesse, the Poxe, and other diseases of cold, it is grey, and hath the pith very hard as the wood of China.

Iaburandiba. It is long since Iaburandiba was found, and it is, as some Indians doe say, called of the Indians Betele. The Rivers and their borders are full of these trees,

For the sicknesse of the Liver. the leaves are the onely remedie for the sicknesses of the Liver, and many in this Brasill have already beene cured of most grievous diseases of the Liver, with the eating of them.

There is another tree called also Betele, it is smaller and of a round leafe, the roots of it are an excellent

For the Toothake. remedy for the tooth-ake, putting it in the hollow place of them, it biteth like Ginger.

They say also, that in this Brasill is the tree of the

Cassia fistulæ. Cassia fistula, it is unknowne to the Indians, the Spaniards doe use it, and say it is as good as that of India.

Of the Oyles the Indians doe use to anoint themselves withall. [IV. vii. 1309.] The Anda trees are faire and great, and the wood serveth for all things, of the fruit they make an Oyle, wherewith the Indians doe anoint themselves, and the women their haire; and it serveth also for wounds, and drieth them up presently, and they make many gallant things about the legs and body, painting themselves with this Oyle.

Moxerequigba. The Moxerequigba tree is found within the Maine, in the fields, it is small, beareth a fruit as big as an Orange, and within it hath certaine kernels, and of it altogether they make an Oyle to anoint themselves, the barke serveth to kill fish, and every beast that drinketh the water where it is cast, dieth.

Aiuruatubira. The Aiuratubira is small, beareth a red fruit, and of it they make a red oile to anoint themseves.

Aiabutipita. The Aiabutipita is five or sixe spannes in length, the fruit is like Almonds and blacke, and so is the Oyle, which they esteeme very much, and anoint themselves with it in their infirmities.

The Janipaba tree is very faire, of a pleasant greene; every moneth it changeth the leafe, and is like a Wal-nut leafe, the trees are great, and the timber pleasant to worke; the fruit is like great Oranges, and is like Quinces, or russet Peares; the taste is like Quinces: it is a good medicine for the Laske of all sorts. Of this fruit is made a blacke Inke; when it is made it is white, and anointing themselves therewith it stayneth not presently, but within a few houres the partie remayneth as blacke as any Jeat. It is much esteemed of the Indians, with this they make on their bodies round Hose and Doublets all cut, and they give certaine strokes in the face, eares, nose, chinne, armes, legs, and the same doe the women, and they become very gallant. This is their apparell, as well on the weeke as on the Feast day, adding some feathers to it, wherewith they adorne themselves, and other Jewels made of bone: this colour lasteth on the body nine dayes still blacke, and after remayneth nothing; it maketh the skinne very hard, and to make the painting the fruit is to be gathered greene, for being ripe it will not doe it.

Janipaba.

For the Laske.

The tree Iequitimguaçu beareth a fruit like the Spanish Strawberie, and within it hath a beane as hard as a sticke, which is the seed; they are of the best Beades than can be, for they are very equall, and very blacke, and they have a glosse like Jeat, the huske that covereth these Beades, is more bitter then Aloes, it serveth for Sope, and it washeth better then the best Sope in Portugal.

Iequitimguacu.

Beades and Sope.

A certaine tree groweth in the fields and the Mayne of the Bay, in dry places where no water is, very great and broad; it hath certaine holes in the branches, as long as an arme, that are full of water, that in Winter nor Summer never runneth over, neither is it knowne whence this water commeth, and drinke many or drinke few of it, it is alwaies at the same stay, and so it serveth not onely for a Fountaine, but also for a great maine River: and it happeneth five hundred persons

Of the tree that hath water.

Note, Compare this with those mentioned by A. Bale in Congo.

to come to the foot of it, and there is harbour for them all, they drinke and wash all that they will, and they never want water; it is very savoury and cleare, and a great remedie for them that travell into the Mayne, when they can finde no other water.

Of the Trees that serve for timber.

In this Countrie of Brasill are Groves, wherein are found trees of great bignesse and length, whereof they make very great Canoas, of seven or eight spannes broad in hollownesse, and of fiftie spannes and more in length, which beare a load like a great Barke, and doe carrie twentie or thirtie Rowers of a side; they make likewise great Beames for the Sugar-mills. There are many sorts of wood incorruptible that putting it in the ground it never rotteth, and others set in water are every day greener and stronger. There is a holy wood of certaine white wanes, whereof are made very faire Bed-steads and rich. The Brasill wood whereof the red Inke is made, and other woods of divers colours, whereof divers Inkes of great esteeme are made, and all turned and carved workes. There be smelling woods, as the Jararanda, and other kindes of great price and esteeme, there are found white Sandalos or Dates, in great quantitie. The wood of Aquilla, and in great abundance, that ships are made of it. Cedars; wood of Angolin, and the Nutmeg tree, though these woods are not so fine, and of so great smell as those of India, yet they want but a little, and are of great price and esteeme.

Cedars and Nutmegs.

Of the Herbes that yeeld fruit, and are eaten.

Mandioca.

THe ordinary food of this Country, that serveth for Bread, is called Mandioca, and they are certaine rootes like Carrots, though they are greater and longer: these shoot out certaine stemmes or branches, and growe to the height of fifteene spannes. These branches are very tender, and have a white pith within, and at every spanne it hath certaine joynts, and of this bignesse they are broken, and set in the ground as much as is

sufficient for to hold them up and within sixe or nine moneths have so big rootes that they serve for food. This Mandioca contayneth many kindes in it selfe, and all are eaten, and they are preserved under the earth three, foure, or unto eight yeeres, and needs no seasoning, for they doe no more but take them out and make fresh meate every day, and the longer they are under the earth the bigger they growe, and yeeld the more.

It hath some things worth the noting, that is, man except, all creatures desire to eate it raw, and it fatteneth them, and nourisheth them exceedingly; but if when it is crushed, they doe drinke that water alone by it selfe, they have no more life then while it commeth to the stomacke. Of these rootes crushed and grated they make a Meale that is eaten, it is also layd in steepe till it corrupt, and then cleansed and crushed, they make also a Flowre, and certaine Cakes like children very white and delicate. This roote after it is steeped in water, made in balls with the hands, they set it upon hurdles at the smoake, where it drieth in such manner that it is kept without corrupting, as long as they list, and after scraped and stamped in certaine great trayes, and sifted, there remayneth a Flowre whiter then of Wheate, of the which being mingled in a certaine quantitie with the raw, they make a certaine Bisquet, which they call Of the warre, and it serveth the Indians and the Portugals by Sea, and when they goe to warre, as Bisket. Another Bisket bread is made of very water of the greene Mandioca, if they let it congeale, and dry it at the Sunne, or at the fire: this is above all most white, and so pleasant and delicate, that it is not made for every one. Of this Mandioca dryed at the smoake they make many sorts of broaths, which they call Mingaos, so healthfull and delicate that they give them to them that are sicke of a Feaver, in stead of Caudles and Restoratives, and of the same they make Cakes, Simnels, Frutters, little Pyes, Cheef-cakes of Sugar, &c. And mingled with the flowre of Millet, or of Rice,

The juyce is poison.

[IV. vii. 1310.]

they make leavened bread, that it seemeth of Wheat. This same Mandioca dryed at the smoake, is a great remedie against poison, chiefely of Snakes. Of this Mandioca there is one which they call Aypim, which contayneth under it selfe many kindes. This killeth not raw, and boyled or rosted is of a good taste, and of it they make Flowre or Cakes, &c. The Indians make wines of it, and it is so fresh and medicinable for the Liver, that to it is attributed not to have among them any diseased of the Liver. A certaine kinde of Tapuyas doe eate the poisonous Mandioca raw, and it doth them no hurt, because they are brought up with it.

Other kindes.

The boughs of this herbe or tree, is the seed it selfe, for the stalkes of it are planted, the leaves in time of need boyled doe serve for food.

Nana.

The herbe Nana is very common, it is like the herbe Aloes, and hath such leaves, but not so thicke, and all round about full of very sharpe prickles; in the middest of this herbe groweth a fruit like a Pine-apple, all full of flowers of divers colours, and very faire, and at the foot grow foure or five sprigs, which are planted; the fruit is very smelling, pleasant and one of the best of the world, very full of juyce, and pleasant, it hath the taste of a Mellon, though better and more smelling, it is good for them that are troubled with the Stone, and it is very prejudiciall for Feavers. The Indians doe make Wine of this fruit, very strong, and of a good taste, the huske wasteth much the Iron at the dressing of it, and the juyce taketh away the spottes from the clothes. There is so great abundance of this fruit, that they fat their Hogs with it, and regard it not for the great abundance, they are also kept preserved, and raw they helpe the Sea-sicke at Sea, and with Wine in the morning they are medicinable.

Pacoba, Adams Tree.

Pacoba is the Fig-tree which they call Adams, it is neither tree nor herbe, for on the one side it becommeth very bigge, and groweth to twenty quarters

long, the stalke is very soft and full of pores; the leaves that it hath are most faire, and some a fathome long and more, all of them raced like the Velvet of Braganca, so smooth that they write on them, and so greene, coole, and fresh, that one sicke of a Feaver lying downe upon them, the Feaver is mitigated with their coolenesse. They are very fresh for to dresse the houses, and the Churches. This herbe beareth in every foote many impes, and every one of them beareth a cluster of a certaine fruit like Figs, which hath sometimes about two hundred, and when they are ripe, the foote is cut whereon the cluster hangeth, and the rest doe growe, and so they goe multiplying ad infinitum, the fruit is laid to ripen and becommeth very yellow, of a good taste, and healthfull, especially for the sicke of a Feaver, and for him that spitteth bloud, and rosted they are very pleasant and healthfull. It is an ordinary fruit whereof the Gardens are full, and there is of them all the yeere.

Murucuia.

The herbes Murucuia are very faire, especially in their flowers: they runne upon a wall, and up the trees like Ivie, the leaves beaten with a little Verdigrease, is an onely remedie for old ulcers and the Poxe, it beareth a round fruit like Oranges, other like Egges, some yellow, some blacke, and of other divers colours and kindes. Within they have a certaine substance of kernels, and juyce with a certaine filme that covereth them, and altogether is eaten, it is of a good taste, and it is somewhat tart, and it is a fruit of some account.

Many other Brasilian plants.

In this Country are many other kindes of fruits, as Deaw-berries, blacke and red, Potatoes, and other rootes which they call Mangara, another called Cara, that is like to Turneps, and the stones of the earth. Of the Potatoes they make bread, and divers sweet meats, these Indians have many other Pulses, viz. Beanes, more healthfull and better then those of Portugall, and in great abundance, many kindes of Pumpions, and some so big, that they

use them for vessels to carie water, and they hold two peckes or more, French Beanes of many kindes, they are toothsome, and like to them of Portugall, Millet of many sorts, and of it they make Bread, Wine, and it is eaten tosted, and with it they fatten their Horses, Swine and Hennes, and there are certaine Taiaobas, that are like Cabiges, and they cause to purge. And an herbe called Iambig, the onely remedie for them that are sicke of the Liver, and the Stone. There are also many sorts of Pepper, that give a good taste in the eating.

Jetigeucu. Jetigeucu is the Mechoacan of the Antilles, they are certaine rootes, long like Radice, but of a good bignesse, they serve for a purge, this roote is taken beaten in wine or water for the Ague: it is taken preserved in Sugar like Marmalate, it is boiled with a Henne, causeth great thirst, but is profitable and of great operation.

[IV. vii. 1311.]

A purge.

For the bloudy Fluxe. Igpecaya, or Pigaya is profitable for the bloudie Fluxe; the stalke is a quarter long, and the roots of another, or more, it hath onely foure or five leaves, it smelleth much wheresoever it is, but the smell is strong and terrible, this roote beaten and put in water all night at the deaw, and in the morning if this water with the same roote beaten and strained be drunke, onely the water, it causeth presently to purge in such sort, that the laske ceaseth altogether.

A remedie for poyson. It is but a little while since the herbe Cayapia was found, it is an only remedie for whatsoever poison, especially of Snakes, and so it is called the Snakes herbe, and it is as good a remedie as the Unicorne and Bada, Bezar stone, or Coco of Maldiva; nothing profiteth but the roote, which is slender, and in the middest maketh a knot like a button, this beaten, and put in water and drunke, it killeth the poison of Snakes; It is also a great remedie for the wounds with the Arrowes that are poisoned, when any is hurt he remaineth fearelesse and secure, drinking the water of this roote, it is also a great remedie for the Feaver, continuing it and drinking of it

some mornings, this herbe smelleth like the Fig-tree leaves of Spaine.

Tyroqui or Tarerequi. For the bloudy Fluxe.

The herbe Tyroqui or Tareroqui is a principall remedie for the bloudie Fluxe, the roots are all jagged, the branches very slender, the leaves are like Basill ; the flowers are red, and draw somewhat to a ruddie colour, and they growe in the very points. Of this there is great abundance, when it is gathered it is yellow, and being dried it turneth white, it is taken in the same manner that the former. The Indians perfume themselves with this herbe when they are sicke, that they may not die, and for a certaine sicknesse that is common in the Countrie, and it is called the sicknesse of the worme, * it is a great remedie ; it serveth to kill the worme in the Oxen and Swine, and for Empostumes. This herbe is as withered all night, and as asleepe, and as soone as the Sunne riseth, it openeth againe, and shutteth againe when it is set.

**Perhaps the worme in the fundament mentioned by Sir R. Haukins.*

Embeguacu For the Fluxe of bloud.

The herbe Embeguacu serveth much for the Fluxe of bloud, especially in women ; the roots are very long, and some of thirtie or fortie fathome, it hath a strong barke, whereof very strong Cordes are made, and Cables for ships, and they are long lasting, for in the water it waxeth greene. This being taken, to wit, the barke of it, and perfuming the partie in the place of the Fluxe, it ceaseth presently.

Caa obetinga.

Caa obetinga is a small herbe, hath few leaves, which it putteth forth even from the ground, white underneath, and greene above, beares a flower as big as a hasell Nut ; the roots and the leaves stamped are an excellent remedie for whatsoever wounds, they use the leafe also unstamped, which being laid to the wound cleaveth fast, and healeth it.

For wounds.

Cobaura. For wounds.

Cobaura serveth for old sores that have already no other remedie, it is laid beaten and burnt in the wound, and eateth presently all the Canker, and bringeth a new skinne, it is also laid to, onely the leafe beaten to skinne the place.

The Holy Herbe, or Tobacco. For sundry diseases.

The Holy herbe serveth for divers diseases, as wounds,

and coughs, the rheume, &c. and principally it serveth for the sicke of the head, the stomacke, and for the shortnesse of breath, or the Chine-cough. In this Countrie they make certaine Coffines of Palme-tree leaves, and being full of this herbe dried and setting it on fire at the one end, they put the other in the mouth and drinke the smoake, it is one of the delicates and dainties of this Countrie ; and all the Countrymen, and even the Portugals are even lost for it, and it is their great vice, to bee all day and all night laid in their Nets, to drinke this smoake, and are drunke with it as if it were with wine.

For the worms. Guaraquimiya is the Mirtle tree of Portugall, and besides other good properties that it hath, like the Broome-rape, the seed of it is the onely remedie for the Body-wormes, and ordinarily they that eate it doe voide them presently.

Camaracatimbae. For scabs, and the Poxe. Camaracatimbae is like to the Sylvas of Portugall, it is boyled in water, and the said water is the onely remedie for scabbes, the poxe, and new wounds, and when the wounds are cured with the leaves of the Fig-tree spoken of in the title of the Trees, they wash it with the water of this herbe, whose flower is most faire, it seemeth a yellow and red Jelly-flower, and smelleth of Muske, and of these they make Pot-boughs and Nose-gayes for the Altars.

Aipo. Aipo is the very Smaledge of Portugall, and hath the vertues, it is found onely about the Sea-coast, especially in the River of Januarie, and for this cause it is sharper, and not so sweet in the taste as that of Portugall, it may be because of the Seas.

Meade-Mallow. There is great store of Meade-mallow in this Country, it hath the same effects, it hath certaine flowers as big as a Tester, of a very faire red, that they seeme Roses of Portugall.

Caraguata. Caraguata is a certaine kinde of thistle, they beare a certaine fruit of a finger long and yellow, raw they make the lips to blister, boiled or rosted they doe no harme, but any woman with child that eateth them doth presently abort her childe ordinarily. There bee other

It causeth to abort.

Caraguatas, that beare certaine leaves like Flags very long, of two or three fathoms, and beare a certaine Hartichocke like the Nana, but they taste not well ; these leaves laid in steepe doe yeeld a very fine Flaxe, unto the threed to sowe withall, and for fishing lines.

Timbo are certaine wonderfull herbes, that growe from the earth like a string unto the highest top of the Mulberie trees, where they are, and some growe close to the tree like Ivie : they are very strong, and serve for bindings, and some are as big as a mans leg, and winde them never so hard they never breake, the barke of these is very fine poison, and serveth for a baite to kill the fish, and it is so strong, that in the Rivers wherein it is cast it leaveth not a fish alive as farre as it hath his vertue, and of these there be many sorts, and profitable as well for binders, as for to kill fishes. [IV. vii. 1312.] *Timbo. Baite for fishes.*

Other herbes there be also that serve for medicines, as are Sow-thistles, Purcelane, Beets, Endive, Avenca, Basill, and of all there is great abundance, though these herbes have not the perfection of those of Spaine ; there want no wilde Mulberies white and blacke, like those of Portugall, and great store of good Parsley, about the strands, whereof a good conserve is made ; they want no Pot-flowers.

Of smelling herbes in this Countrie there are many, Mintes, or wilde Sage, especially in Piratiniga, they smell not so well as those of Portugall, they have also certaine French Mallowes, with certaine faire and pleasant flowers which serve for Nosegaies. Many Lillies there are, not so fine nor so red as those of the Kingdome, and some white ones are also found.

There groweth here in the Spring, an herbe that sleepeth, and is like the Mayes of Portugall, and as that doth wither and sleepe after Sun-set, and when it riseth it openeth againe, and showeth her beautie ; the smell is somewhat strange. There is also another tree that sleepeth in the same manner, and beareth certaine fine flowers, but they have no great smell. *Sleeping herbe. An herbe so called.*

Erva viva: *See M. Harcourt his Guiana Relations.*

The Quicke herbe is of a good height, and hath boughes, and certaine jagged leaves, of a pleasant greene, it is called Quicke herbe, because it is so quicke and sensible, that as soone as it is touched with the hand or with any other thing, presently it hangeth the head, and withereth as if they had done it great injurie, and within a little while it commeth to his perfection, and as many times it is touched it withereth, and commeth againe to himselfe as before.

Brasilian herbs smell not.

Many other herbes there be like Origanum, and many other sundrie flowers, but it seemeth that this Clymate, either for the many waters, or because of the sunne, infuseth no smell in the herbes, rather it seemes to take it away.

Of the Canes.

In this Countrie are many sorts of Canes, and Tacuara is as big as a mans thigh : others which have joynts a fathome long, others whereof they make their Arrowes, and are esteemed. Others so long that they have three or foure Lances in length, these growe among the Woods, and as there are many, so there are many and long beds of Canes of many leagues, and as they growe among the trees, they goe to seeke the Sunne, and therefore are so long.

§. VI.

Of the Fishes that swimme in the salt water : also Shel-fishes, Trees and Fowles of the Sea : of Rivers and the Creatures which live therein ; and the Beasts and Plants brought thither out of Portugall.

Oxe-fish, Manati.

THe Oxe-fish in these parts is a Royall fish, esteemed above all other fishes, very healthfull in eating, and of a good taste, either salted or fresh : And it rather seemeth Beefe then Fish, and some doubts there were, because it was eaten on fish dayes ; the flesh is all grained like Beefe, and so it is cut in slices, and they dresse it at the smoake like Bacon, or hanged

Beefe. In the taste, if it be eaten or sodden with Cabidge, or other herbes, it tasteth like Beefe, and drest in sowce it tasteth like Mutton ; and rosted, both in smell, taste, and fatnesse it is like Porke, and hath fat also.

The Fish in his making seemeth a land creature, and chiefly an Oxe, the head is altogether of an Oxe, with skinne and haire, eares, eyes, cheekes, and tongue ; the eyes are exceeding small for the bodie it hath, he shutteth and openeth them when hee listeth, which other fishes doe not ; over the vents it hath two skinnes wherewith he closeth them, and by them he breatheth, and it cannot bee long under water without breathing, it hath no more nor other finnes but the taile ; which is all round and close ; the bodie is of a great bignesse, all full of yellow haires, it hath two armes of a cubite long, with two hands like round peeles, and on them he hath five fingers all close one to another, and every finger hath his nayle like a mans nayle. Under these armes the female have two paps, wherewith shee bringeth up her young ; she beareth but one at once : the inward part and the inwards of this fish are like an Oxes, with liver, and lights, &c. In the head over the eyes neere the braines it hath two stones of a good bignesse, white and heavie, they are of great esteeme, and are the onely remedie for the Stone : for beaten to powder and drunke in wine or water it causeth to void the stone, as it happened that giving it to a person to drinke, leaving other many experiences, within one houre hee voided a stone as bigge as an Almond, and remained sound, being before at the point of death. The bones of this fish are all massie and white like Ivorie. [IV. vii. 1313.] They make of it great store of *Butter, they take two leaves as from a Hogge ; and the most of the Butter it hath in the taile, which being of a yard or more in length, it melteth all into Butter, it hath a good taste, and for to dresse or frie fish, and for light. It is verie good also for Medicines, as the Hogges Grease, it is white and smelleth well, it hath no smell of fish. This fish is taken with Harping-Irons ; it is found in the salt Rivers, neere

*Or Greace, or Oile: so after. Mantega in the Portugall word.

the fresh water: it feedeth on an herbe that groweth by the borders, and within the Rivers, and where this herbe groweth, and neere the Springs of fresh water, whereof hee onely drinketh. They are verie great, some weigh tenne, others fifteene hundred, and such a fish hath beene taken, that an hundred men could not get it out of the water, but they broke it up there where it was killed.

Beijupira. The fish Beijupira is like the Sturgeon of Portugall, and so it is held and esteemed of heere as a royall fish: it is very healthfull, fat, and of a good taste, they bee infinite, and some of their rowes are a span in compasse about: these fishes are taken in the broad Sea, with a hooke and line, it is six or seven spannes long; the bodie is round, blacke on the backe and the belly white.

The Oxe eie. The Oxe-eie is like the Tunnyes of Spaine, as well in bignesse as in making, inward as outward; it is verie fat, it hath sometime betweene leafe and leafe courses of fat as thicke as a Portugall [d] Tester; they are cut in backes and bellies like the Tunnyes, and of them is made great store and verie good [e] Butter, it hath leaves like a Hogge, is a fish esteemed and of a good taste, it deserveth well the name of Oxe fish, as well in his beautie, as his bignesse, the eies are properly like an Oxe, and therefore it hath this name.

[d] *Or foure shillings a piece.*

[e] *Or Greace.*

Camurupi. The fish Camurupi is also a royall fish, and esteemed in these parts, the graine of it all in flakes, enterlarded with fat and grease, and of a good taste, it hath many bones through all the bodie, and is dangerous in eating. It hath a finne on the backe, which it carries alwaies raised upwards, it is of two or three quarters long, the fish is long of twelve and thirteene quarters in length, and of a good bignesse, and two men have much adoe to lift up one of them, they are taken with Harping Irons, there are many of them, and much [f] Oile is made of them.

[f] *Or Butter.*

The wild fish. This wilde fish, which the Indians call Piraembu, (that is, a fish that snorteth, the reason is, because wheresoever it is, is heard by his snorting) is of a good bignesse, about

eight or nine spannes, it is of a good taste, and esteemed ; it hath in the mouth two stones as broad as a hand, exceeding strange, with them they breake the Wilkes whereof they feed, the Indians esteeme the stones and weare them about their neckes as a Jewell.

There are many other fishes of sundrie kinds, that are not in Spaine, and commonly of a good taste and healthfull. Of the fishes of Portugall in these parts are also many, to wit, a fish called Tainhas, and a great multitude, and it hath beene tried that the Tainha beeing fresh, and laid to the stinging of a Snake is another Unicorne. There want no Sea-breames, a fish called Chicharros, it is like a Mackerill, Pargos, or great Sea-breames, Sargos, other Sea-breames, Garazes, Darados the Needle-fish, Cod-fishes, but these are rare, Pilchards like them of Spaine, are found at sometimes in the River of Januarie, and the most parts of the South, Scates, and Rayes ; these Rayes some have in their mouth two bones, and breake with them the Wilkes.

All these fishes are so healthfull that in these parts they are eaten after Milke, after flesh, and all a whole Lent without Oile or Vineger, and it causeth no scabs nor other diseases as in Europe, but rather it is given to the sicke, though they have a Fever, or be very weake.

Because this Coast is full of many Bayes, Nookes, and Creekes, there came great store of Whales to these Concaves chiefly from May to September, when they spawne and bring up their young, and also because they come to the great store of fish that at this time there is in these Creekes. They are sometime so many that ye may see fortie or fiftie together, men doe say that they doe cast the Amber that they find in the Sea, and whereof they also feed, and therefore is some of it found in this Coast ; others doe say that the Sea it selfe doth cast it on the shoares with great tempests, and commonly it is found after a great storme, and all the beasts doe eate of this Amber, and great diligence is needfull after the tempests that they may not find it eaten. It is very dangerous to

The Whale.

Ambergrise.

saile in small Barkes along this Coast, for besides other dangers, the Whales overwhelme many, if they heare any ringing, they are so scared as Horses when they heare the sound of a Drumme, and are as fierce as Lions, many runne upon the shoare, and great store of Oile is made of them. They have the head open, and there they breathe, and cast at once great store of water, and scatter it so in the Aire, as if it were a great showre.

The Sword fish.

There is great store of the Sword-fishes, they are great and fierce, for they have a snowt like a Sword, all full of teeth round about, verie sharpe, and as bigge as Dogges teeth or bigger; they are a mans hand or more, and the length is according to the greatnesse of the fish. Some of these snowts or Swords are of eight or ten spannes long; with these they make a cruell battell with the Whales, for raising it upward, and striking so many strokes on her, and so fast that it is a wonderfull thing: the Sharkes resort to the bloud, and sucke it in such sort till she dieth, and so many are found dead and cut in pieces. With this snowt also they catch the fishes whereof they feed. The Indians use these snowts when they are young for to beate their children, and to feare them when they are disobedient unto them.

Battle with Whales.

[IV. vii. 1314.]

A Tortoise.

In this Coast are many Tortoises; there are many taken, whereof there are coffers, boxes for the hoasts, cups, &c. These Tortoises doe lay their egges in the sands, and they lay 200. or 300. egges at a time, they are as bigge as Hens egges, verie white and round as balles; they hide these egges in the sand, and when the young are hatcht, presently they goe to the water, where they are nourished, the egges also are eaten. They have this propertie, that though you boile or roast them the white is ever soft, the inwards are like a Hogges, and they have vents where through they breathe. They have another particularitie, that when yee turne them on their belly, they turne presently toward the Sea, neither can they live otherwise. Some of them are so bigge that of their shels they make whole Targets, and one was taken

upon this Coast so bigge, that twentie men could not lift, nor poise it from the ground.

Tuborones, or Sharkes.

Upon this Coast are many sorts of Sharkes, and in it are found sixe or seven kinds of them ; it is a very fierce and cruell fish, and kils many persons, especially those that swimme. The Rivers are full of them ; they are so cruell that it happened one to runne after an Indian that went in a Boate, and put him in such a straight, that the young man leaping ashore, the Sharke leapt after him thinking to have caught him, and fell on drie land where they killed him. In the broad Sea where also are many, they kill them with Snares, and Harping Irons, and they are so eager, greedie, and love flesh, and they are so devouring, that they find in their bellies, skinnes, pieces of cloth, shirts and breeches, that fall from the Sailers, they goe ordinarily accompanied with certaine verie faire fishes of divers colours called Pelgrimes. They make great store of Oile of them, and the Indians use the teeth in their Arrowes, because they are verie sharpe, cruell, and venemous, and verie seldome, or with great difficultie are they healed that are hurt with them.

Pelgrimes.

The flying fish.

The flying fishes are ordinarily of a spanne long or little more, it hath the eies verie faire, of a certaine verie gallant picture, that beautifies it much, and doe seeme precious stones, the head is also very faire, it hath wings like Reere-mice, but of a silver hue ; they are much persecuted of the other fishes, and for to escape they flie in flockes, like Stares, or Sparrowes, but they flie not verie high, they are also good to eat, and when they flie they glad the Sailers, and many times they fall in the ship, and come in at the Cabbin windowes.

Botos and Toninas, are two kinds of Porpoises. Of these fishes there are great abundance, as in Europe.

Soles and Salmonets.

A little red fish very daintie in Spaine.

They find also in this Coast Salmonets, but they are rare, and not so esteemed, nor of so good a taste as those of Europe. The Soles of these parts are verie rare, they have this propertie, that when they are to be boiled or fried they beate them, and the more stroakes they give

them, the stiffer they are, and the better to eate, and if they beate them not, they are soft and nothing worth.

Of the venemous fishes.

As in this Countrie of Brasill are many Snakes, and venemous Wormes, whereof wee will speake hereafter, there are likewise many fishes verie venemous.

Toad fish deadly.

The Toad fish, in their language, Amayacu, is a small fish, a spanne long, painted, it hath faire eies, taking it out of the water it snorteth verie much, and cutteth the hookes, and out of the water it swelleth much, all the poison lies in the skinne, and flaying they eate it: but eating it with the skinne it killeth. It chanced a young man to eate one with the skinne, who died almost suddenly; the Father said, I will eate the fish that killed my Sonne, and eating of it died also presently, it is a great poison for Rats, for those that eate of it doe die presently.

There is another kind of Toad fish of the same fashion that the other, but it hath many cruell prickles, as a Hedge-hogge; it snorteth, and swelleth out of the water; the skinne also killeth, especially the prickles, because they are verie venemous, fleaing it, it is eaten, and it is good for the bloudie Fluxe. There is another Toad fish, called in their tongue, Itaoça, it is three square, and the bodie such, that all of it is like a Dagger; it is faire, it hath the eies bluish, it is eaten fleade; the poison consisteth in the skinne, livers, guts, and bones, whatsoever creature doth eate it, dieth.

Puraque, or Torpedo. See Jobson.

Puraque is like the Scate, it hath such vertue that if any touch it, he remaineth shaking as one that hath the Palsie, and touching it with a sticke, or other thing it benummeth presently him that toucheth it, and while he holdeth the sticke over him, the arme that holdeth the sticke is benummed, and asleepe; it is taken with flue-nets, and with casting Nets it maketh all the bodie tremble, and benummes it with the paine, but beeing dead it is eaten, and it hath no poison.

Caramuru.

The Caramuru are like the Sea Snakes of Portugall, of ten or fifteene spans long, very fat, and roasted taste like

Pigge; these have strange teeth, and many men are maymed by their bytings, and the hand or foot where they were bitten, doe rot away. It hath over all the bodie many prickels. The Countrimen say that they engender with the Snakes; for they finde them many times knit with them, and many in the sands tarrying for the Sea Snakes.

Amoreatie.

Amoreaty is like the Toad fish, it is full of prickels, and thrusts himselfe under the sand along the shoare, and prickes the foot or hand underneath that toucheth it, and it hath no other remedie but only by fire.

[k] *A fish so called.*

Amayacurub is round and of the bignesse of the [k] Bugallos of Spaine, and are very venemous, it hath the bodie full of Wartes, and therefore it is called Curub, that is to say, a Wart in their Language.

[IV. vii. 1315.]
Jerepomonga. Strange Sea Snake.

Jerepomonga, is a Snake that liveth in the Sea; her manner of living is to lie very still, and whatsoever living thing that toucheth it, remaineth so fast sticking to it that in no wise it can stirre, and so he feedeth and sustaines himselfe. Sometimes it commeth out of the Sea, and becommeth very small, and as soone as it is toucht it sticketh fast, and if they goe with the other hand to lose themselves, they remaine also fast by it, and then it becommeth as bigge as a great Cable, and so carrieth the person to the Sea, and eateth it, and because it cleaveth so fast, it is called Terepomong, that is to say, a thing that cleaveth fast.

Finally, there are many kinds of very venomous fishes in the Sea, that have so vehement a poison, that ordinarily none escapeth that eateth or toucheth them.

Mermen, or Monsters of the Sea.

The Mermen, or men of the Sea, are called in their language Ypupiapra; the men of the country are so afraid of them, that many of them die only with the thought of them, & none that seeth them scapeth. Some that died already, being demanded the cause, said, that they had seene this Monster, they properly are like men, of a good stature, but their eies are very hollow. The Female are like women, they have long haire, and are beautiful;

these Monsters are found in the bars of the fresh Rivers; in Jagoaripe, seven or eight leagues from the Bay have many bin found, & in the yeere 82. an Indian going to fish, was chased by one, and fleeing in a Canoa told it to his Master. The Master for to animate the Indian, would needs go see the Monster, & being carelesse with one hand out of the Canoa, it catcht hold of him, and carried him away, and hee was never seene againe, and in the same yeere died an Indian of Franciscus Lorençe Cacyro. In Port Secure are some seene, which have killed some Indians alreadie, the manner of their killing is to embrace themselves with the person, so strongly, kissing and grasping it hard to it selfe, that they crush it in pieces remaining whole, and when they perceive it dead, they give some sighings in shew of sorrow, and letting them goe they runne away, and if they carrie any they eate onely the eies, the nose, the points of the fingers and toes, and privie members, and so ordinarily they are found on the sands with these things missing.

Of the Shel-fishes. Cuttle fishes.

The Seas of these parts are very plentifull of Cuttles, this kind of fish hath a hood alwaies full of very blacke Inke: this is their defence from the greater fishes, for when they come to catch them, they cast that Inke before their eies, and the water becommeth very blacke, and then hee goes his waies. They take them with shooting at them, but they baite them first, they are also taken with lights by night. For to eate them they beate them, and the more, the softer they are, and of better taste.

Apula.

Apula is a shel-fish like the joint of a Cane: it is rare, it is eaten, and drinking it fasting in Powder, a sovereigne remedie for the Milt or Spleene.

Sea-fomes.

In these parts are infinite of the Sea-fomes, and are great, as broad as a hat; they have many foulds wherewith they catch the fish, and resemble the Barberie Purses, they are not eaten; if they sting any one, they cause great paines, and cause to weepe, and so said an Indian that was stung with one of them, that he had

received many wounds with Arrowes, but never wept till then; they are never seene but in neape tides (or slow waters, therefore the Portugals call them Agnas Mortas, or Dead waters.)

Sea Crabs.

The Uça is a kind of Crab found in the mire, and they are infinite, and the foode of all this Countrie, chiefly for the slaves of Guinea, and the Indians of the Countrie, they have a good taste, upon them is good drinking cold water. They have a particularitie to bee noted, that when they cast their shell they goe into their holes, and there they are two or three moneths, and casting the shell, mouthes and feet, they come so out, and they grow againe as before. *Uza.*

Guainumu.

Guainumu is a kind of Crab so great, that a mans legge will goe into their mouth. They are good to eate; when it doth thunder they come out of their holes, and make so great a noise the one with the other, that men have gone out with their weapons, thinking they had beene enemies; if they doe eate a certaine herbe, whosoever eateth them then dieth, these are of the Land, but keepe in holes neere the Sea side.

Aratu.

The Aratu Crabs keepe in the trunkes of the trees, that grow in the Oowes of the Sea, when they find a Cockle that gapeth, they seeke presently some little stone, and very cunningly put it into the Cockle; the Cockle shutteth presently, and not beeing able because of the little stone it hath within, they with their mouthes doe take out the fish and eate it.

Ten or twelve kinds of crabs.

There are ten or twelve kinds of Crabs in this Countrie, and as I have said, they are so many in number, and so healthfull, that all are eaten, especially of the Indians, &c.

Oysters.

The Oysters are many, and some are very great, and the meate is as broad as the palme of the hand: in these are some Pearles found very rich, in other smaller are also very fine Pearles found. The Indians in old time came to the Sea for Oysters, and got so many that they made great Hils of the shels, and the fishes they carried away

for to eate all the yeere; upon these Hils by the continuance of time, grew great Groves of Trees, and very thicke and high, and the Portugals discovered some, and every day goe discovering others anew, and of these shels *Note for lime.* they make lime, and of one onely heape was part of the Colledge of the Bay made, the Palaces of the Governour, and many other buildings, and yet it is not ended, the [IV. vii. lime is very white, good for to garnish and lime withall, 1316.] if it bee in the raine it becommeth blacke, and for to keepe water in Cisternes it is not so sure, but for the rest as good as the stone in Spaine.

Muscles. There want no Muscles in this Countrie: they serve the Indians and the Portugals for Spoones and Knives, they have a faire silver colour; in them is found some seed Pearle; there is a small kind of them whereon the Sea-guls doe feed, and because they cannot breake them, they have such a naturall instinct that taking them up into the Aire, they let them fall so many times till they breake it, and then they eate them.

Perewinkles. The Perewinkles are very tastefull, and good in this Countrie, and some seed Pearle is found in them, and so of the Perewinkles, and of the Muscles there is great store, of many and sundrie kinds.

Wilkes. The greatest Wilkes which are called Guatapiggoaçu, that is, a great Wilke, are much esteemed of the Indians, for of them they make their Trumpets, Furnitures, Beades, Brooches, Earerings, and Gloves for the children, and they are of such esteeme among them, that for one they will give any one person that they have captive: and the Portugals gave in olde time a Crowne for one: they are as white as Ivorie, and many of them are of two quarters broad, and one in length.

Piraguaig. The Piraguaig are also eaten, and of the shelles they make their Beades: and for so many fathome they give a person. Of these the Sea casteth up sometimes great heapes, a wonderfull thing. Of Wilkes and Skallops there is great quantitie in this Countrie, very faire, and to bee esteemed, of sundrie kinds.

They find great store of white stone Corrall under water, it groweth like small Trees all in leaves, and Canes as the red Corrall of India; and if this also were so, there would be great riches in this Countrie, for the great abundance there is of it, it is very white, it is gotten with difficultie, they make lime of it also. *White Corral.*

There are great multitudes of Prawnes, because this Coast is almost all environed with shelves, and Rockes; there are also many Sea-ruffes, and other Monsters found in the Concavities of the Rockes, great Cranesses or Crabbes like those of Europe, it seemes there bee none in these parts. *Prawnes.*

The Mangue Trees are like the Swallowes, or Willowes of Europe, there is so great quantitie of them in the armes or creeks that the Sea maketh within the Land, that many leagues of the Land is of these Trees, that are watered with the tides. We travelled I say leagues, and whole daies in the Rivers where these Trees are, and they are alwaies greene, faire and pleasant, and of many kinds. The wood is good to burne, and for to build houses, it is very heavie and hard as Iron; of the barke they make Inke, and it serveth to tanne Leather, and they are of many kindes. A certaine kind of them doe cast certaine twigs from the top of their length some times as long as a Launce, till they come to the water, and then they cast many branches and rootes, and these branches remaine fast in the earth, and while they are greene these twigs are tender, and because they are hollow within, they make good Flutes of them. In these Creekes are a certaine kinde of Gnats called Mareguis as small as Hennes Lice, they bite in such sort, that they leave such a Wheale, smart and itching that a man cannot helpe himselfe, for even through the clothes they pricke, and it is a good penance, and mortification to suffer them on a Morning, or an Evening; there is no other remedie to defend themselves from them, but to anoint themselves with dirt, or to make a great fire and smoke. *Of the Trees that grow in salt-water. Mangues.* *Gnats.*

In these Creekes are many Crabs, Oysters, and Water

Rats, and there is one kind of these Rats, a monstrous thing, for all the day they sleepe, and wake all night.

In these Creekes the Parrets breeds, which are so many in number, and make such a noise, that it seemeth the noise of Sparrows, or Dawes.

On the Sands they finde great store of Parsley, as good and better, then that of Portugall whereof also they make Conserves.

Birds that doe feed, and are found in the salt water.

Guiratinga. THe Bird Guiratinga is white, of the bignesse of the Cranes of Portugall; they are extreame white, and have verie long feete, the bill verie cruell and sharpe, and verie faire, of a verie fine yellow, the legges are also verie long, betweene Red and Yellow. On the necke it hath the finest Plume Feathers that can bee found, and they are like the Estridges Feathers of Africa.

Caripira. Caripira by another name Forked-tayles, are many; they are called Forked-tayles, because their taile is divided in the middle; the Indians make great account of the Feathers for the feathering of their Arrowes, and say that they last long, at sometimes they are verie fat, the fat is *Note.* good for the loosenesse. These Birds doe use to bring newes a land of the ships, and they are so certaine in this that very seldome they faile, for when they are seene, ordinarily within twentie or thirtie daies the ships doe come.

[IV. vii. 1317.] *Guaca.* Guaca is properly the Sea-mew of Portugall, their ordinarie food are Cockles, and because they are hard, and they cannot breake them, they take them in their bill, and letting them fall many times they breake them and eate them; of these Sea-meawes there are an infinite number of kinds, that the Trees and the strands are full of them.

Guirateonteon. Guirateonteon is called in Portugall Scald-pate, it is called Guirateonteon, that is, a Bird that hath deadly accidents, and that dieth and liveth againe, as though it had the Falling sicknesse, and these fits are so great that

many times the Indians doe find them along the strands, and take them in their hands, and thinking they are dead doe fling them away, and they assoone as they fall doe rise and flie away, they are white and faire, and there are other kinds of these that have the same accidents.

Calcamar, or Sea-stamper.

The Calcamar are as bigge as Turtle-doves, or Pigeons; the men of the Countrie say, that they lay their Egges in the Sea, and there they hatch, and breed their young; they flie not, but with their wings and feet they swimme very swiftly, they foreshew great calmes and showres, and in calme weather they are so many along the shippes that the Mariners cannot tell what to doe, they are even the very spite it selfe, and melancholy.

Ayaya.

The Ayaya are as bigge as a Pye-annet, more white then red, they have a faire colour of white bespotted with red, the bill is long and like a Spoone. For to catch the fish, it hath this slight; it striketh with the foot in the water, and stretching out his neck, tarrieth for the fish and catcheth it, and therefore the Indians say it hath humane knowledge.

Caracura.

The Caracura is small and gray, it hath faire eies with a verie faire red circle, it hath a strange note, for he that heareth it thinketh it is of a verie great bird, it beeing verie small; for it singeth with the mouth, and jointly behind it maketh a noise so sounding, loud and strong, though not swelling verie well, that it is a wonder, it maketh this sweet Musicke two houres before day, and at Evening till the Evening twilight be done, and ordinarily when it singeth, foresheweth faire weather.

Guara.

The Guara is as bigge as a Pye-annet, it hath a long bill with a crooked point, and his feet of a quarter or span long, when it is hatched, it is blacke, and after becommeth gray, when it alreadie doth flie, it becommeth whiter then any Dove, afterward it turneth to a bright red, yet at length it becommeth redder then Scarlet it selfe, in this colour he continueth till his death, they are many in quantitie, but they have no other kind. They breed well in Houses, their food is fish, flesh, and other things; their

food must be alwaies in water, the Indians esteeme greatly the Feathers of these, and of them they make their Diademes, Fringes wherewith they cover the Swords they kill withall, and they make Bracelets to weare on their armes, and fasten them to their haire like Rose-buds, and these are their Jewels, and Chaines of Gold wherewith they adorne themselves in their Feasts, and they so much esteeme, yea, they beeing so much given to eat humane flesh, they give many times the enemies they have for to eat in change for these Feathers. These birds goe in flights, and if the Sunne doth shine on them upon the Sands, or in the Aire, it is a faire thing to behold. Many other birds there are that do feed on the Sea, as Hearnshewes, Cormorants, and a certaine kinde of Eagles (which are our Asperalles) which would bee tedious to recite.

Of the fresh Rivers, and the things that in them are.

The maine Rivers wherewith this Province is watered are innumerable, and some verie great, and have verie faire barres, not wanting in the Rivers, Brookes and Fountaines, whereof the Countrie is verie plentifull, and the waters ordinarily are verie faire, cleere and healthfull, and plentifull of infinite fishes of sundrie kinds, of the which some are of an exceeding greatnesse, and of great value, and verie healthfull, and are given unto the sicke for Medicines. These fishes doe the Indians catch with Nets, but ordinarily with Hooke and Line. Among these there is a royall fish of a good taste and savour, that is verie like the Sturgeon of Spaine, this is called Jau, they are of fourteene and fifteene quarters long, and sometimes bigger, and verie fat, and they make Butter (or Grease) of them. And at sometimes the fish is so much, they fat their Hogges with it. In the small Creekes are manie Shrimpes, and some of a quarter and more in length, and of a verie good taste and savour.

Fresh water Snakes (and Creatures of the water.)

Cururijuba a great Snake many wayes wonderfull.

THe Snake Cucurijuba is the greatest, or of the greatest that are in Brasill, notable as well for greatnesse as beautie, some are taken of five and twentie or thirtie foote

long, and a yard in compasse. It hath a Chaine along the backe, of notable Pictures and verie faire, that beginneth at the head and endeth in the Taile; it hath Teeth like a Dogge, and laying hold on a man, Cow, Stagge, or Hogge, winding it with certaine turnes of her Taile, it swalloweth the said thing whole. And after she hath it so in her belly, she lets her selfe rot, and the Ravens and Crowes do eate her all, so that there remaineth nothing but the bones, and afterward it breedeth new flesh againe, and reneweth as before it was. The reason whereof is (say the men of the Countrie) because while it putrifieth it hath the head in the mire, and having life in the noddle they live againe; and because this is knowne alreadie, when they finde them putrified, they seeke out the head and [IV. vii. kill it. The manner of their feeding is to waite for their 1318.] prey, either beasts or people laide along by the waies, and when it passeth, it winds it selfe about it, and killeth and eateth it. After they are full they sleepe in such sort, that sometimes they cut two or three pieces of their Taile, they not waking, as hath happened that after they had cut two pieces of the Taile of one of these, the next day they found her dead with two wild Bores in her belly; and it was about twelve yards and a halfe long.

Manima.

The Snake Manima keepeth alwaies in the water, it is yet greater then the other abovesaid; it is much painted: and from his Pictures did the Gentlies of Brasill take the painting of themselves. That Indian holds himselfe for blessed, that it doth shew it selfe unto, saying, they shall live long, seeing the Manima did shew it selfe unto him.

Many other kinds of Snakes there be in the Rivers of fresh water, which I leave for brevitie sake, and because there is nothing in particular that can be said of them.

Water Lizards. Jacare (or Crocodile).

The Jacare Lizards are of a notable greatnesse, and some are as bigge as Dogges, their snowt is like a Dogge, and so have they their Teeth verie long, they have over all the bodie certaine plates like an armed Horse, and when they arme themselves, there is no Arrow can pierce them, they are painted of divers colours, they doe no hurt to the

people, but rather they take them easily with Snares, some have beene taken of fifteene quarters (or spans) long, and the Indians esteeme them much, and hold them for estate as the Rimbabas, that is, Dogges, or any other thing of estate. They keepe in the water, and on the land, they lay Egges as bigge as Geese, and so hard that striking one against another, they tingle like Iron. Where these doe haunt they are presently perceived, by the great cries they give; the flesh of these smelleth very much, especially his Cods of Muske, and they are of esteeme, their dung hath some vertue, especially it is good for the Lelidas.

Hard Egges.

Jaguarucu. A great Dogge. This seemeth some kind of the Hippopetamas.

The Jaguarucu is a beast greater then any Oxe, it hath Teeth of a great quarter long, they keepe in and out of the water, and doe kill men; they are rare; some of them are found in the River of Saint Francis, and in Paraguacu.

Atacape.

The Atacape are Woolves smaller, but much more hurtfull, for they come out of the water to watch for men, and being verie swift they kill some persons and eate them.

Jaguapopeba.

The Jaguapopeba are the true Atters of Portugall. There is another small beast of the bignesse of it is called Zariguemeiu, these have rich Skinnes for Furres; and of these water beasts, there are many other kinds; some doe no hurt, others are verie fierce.

Baeapina.

The Baepapina are a certaine kind of Mermen as bigge as children, for they differ nothing from them, of these there are many and doe no harm.

Water-hogge.

There be many of the water Hogges Capijgoara, and are of the bignesse of land-hogges, but they differ in fashions; in the roofe of the mouth it hath a very great stone that doth serve him for great Teeth. This the Indians hold for a Jewell for their children, sonnes and daughters. It hath no taile, they continue long under water, but they lodge on the Land, and in it they bring up their young; their foode is grasse, and fruites that they find along the Rivers.

In the fresh Rivers of waters are many kinde of Igta Scallops, great and small. Some are so bigge as good

Sives, and serve to sift their meale with them; other are smaller, and serve for Spoones, all of them are long, and of a silver colour, in them are some Pearles.

In the Rivers are found many of the Cagados, (a Sea bird so called) and they are so many in number, that the Tapuyas doe feed fat in a certaine time of the yeere with the Egges, and doe seeke for them as for some other daintie food.

There want no Frogges in the Rivers, Fountaines, Puddles, and Lakes, and they are of many kinds especially these Guararici. The feare that the Indians have thereof is a wonderfull thing, that of the onely hearing it they die, and tell them never so much they have no other remedie, but let themselves die, so great is the imagination and apprehension that they take of the hearing it sing, and whatsoever Indian that heareth it dieth, for they say it doth cast from it selfe a brightnesse like a lightning. *Guararici. Men dye with hearing it.*

All these maine Rivers have so great and so thicke Woods on the one side and the other, that they saile many leagues by them and see no ground, on either side, in them are many things to be told, which I omit for brevities sake.

Of the Beasts, Trees and Herbes, that came from Portugall, and doe grow and breed in Brasill.

THis Brasill is alreadie another Portugall, and not speaking of China, which is much more temperate and healthfull, without great heates or colds, where the men doe live long, with few sicknesses, as the Collicke, of the Liver, the Head, the Breast, Scabs, nor any other Diseases of Portugall. Neither speaking of the Sea, which hath great store of fish, and wholsome, nor of the things of the Land, which God hath given to this Nation, nor of many other commodities which the men have to passe their lives withall; though the commoditie of houses is not great, for the most of them are of mud walls, and thatched, though now they beginne to make buildings of lime and stone, and tile, neither are the commodities for [IV. vii. 1319.]

apparell many, because the Countrie yeeldeth no other cloth but Cotton-wooll. In this place the people are in great need, especially from the River of Januarie, unto Saint Vincent, for want of ships to bring Merchandize and Clothes, but in the most Captaineships they are provided of all kinde of clothings and Silkes, and the men goe well apparelled, and weare many Silkes and Velvets. But it is alreadie Portugall as I said for the many Commodities that from thence doe come unto it.

Horses. In this Province is a good breed of the Horses, and there be alreadie great abundance of them and very good Jennets of a great price, that are worth 200. and 300. Duckets and more, and there is alreadie running at the Geese, at the Ring, at Canes, and other Sports and Skirmishes, and from hence they beginne to provide Angola of Horses whereof they stand in great want.

Though this Countrie hath weake pastures, and in Port Secure is an Herbe that killeth the beasts if they doe eate it, notwithstanding there is a great number of them

Kine. alreadie, and all Brasill is full of great Heards, and some have 500. some a 1000. heads, especially in the fields of Piratininga, because it hath good pastures, and are like to them of Portugall, and it is a pleasant thing to see the young breed that is there.

Swine. The Swine doe like very well heere, and they beginne to have great multitudes, and heere it is the best flesh of all, yea, better then Hennes flesh, and it is given to the sicke, and hath a very good rellish and taste.

Sheepe. Unto the River of Januarie are many sheepe found alreadie, and Weathers, and they fatten so much that they burst with fatnesse: it is not here so good flesh as in Portugall.

Goates. The Goates are yet but few, but yet they like well in this Countrie, and doe multiply verie much, and in a short time there will be a great multitude.

Hennes. The Hennes are infinite, and greater then in the Realme of Portugall, and because the Countrie is temperate they breed well, and the Indians doe esteeme

them, and breed them within the Maine, three hundred and foure hundred leagues; the flesh here is not so good as in the Realme.

Turkies.

The Hennes of Peru, like well in this Countrie, and there is great abundance of them, and there is no Banquet where they are not a dish.

Geese and Duckes.

The Geese doe like well in this Countrie, and are in great abundance; there is also here another kind of the Countrie it selfe, and are farre greater and fairer.

Dogges.

The Dogges have multiplied much in this Countrie, and are of many kindes; they are esteemed heere aswell of the Portugals which brought them, as of the Indians that esteeme them above all the things they have: because they helpe them in their hunting, and are domesticall creatures, and so the women doe carrie them on their backe from one place to another, and nourish them as Children, and give them sucke at the breast.

Trees.

Trees with prickles, as Orenges, Pomecitrons, Limons* of both kinds, of sundrie sorts do grow well in this Countrie, which almost all the yeere have fruit, and there are so great Orenges and Pomecitron Groves, that even among the Woods they grow, and the abundance is so great of those things that they are not set by. They have a great enemie, the Ants, notwithstanding there is great abundance, without ever being watered, and as there wanteth no Sugar, they make infinite Conserves, to wit, of Citrons, Limons, the flowres, &c.

**For one kind are called Limas, as it were the Female.*

Fig-trees.

The Fig-trees grow verie well heere, and there bee many kindes, as long Figges, blacke Figges, Figge-Dates, and many other kinds, to the River of Januarie, that are hotter ground, they yeeld two crops in the yeere.

Quinces.

In the River of Januarie and Saint Vincent, in the fields of Piratininga, doe grow many Quinces, and yeeld foure crops a yeere, one after another, and there are men that with verie few Quince Trees doe gather, ten, and twelve thousand Quinces, and here they make great store of Marmelets and verie shortly will those of the Iland of Madera be spared.

Vines. There are many sorts of Grapes, as Feriads, Boaes, Bastard, Greene, and Gallizian Grapes, and many other. To the River of Januarie they have all the yeere Grapes, if they will have them, for if they cut them everie moneth, they beare everie moneth Grapes successively. In the River of Januarie especially in Piratininga, are Vineyards, and are so loaden that they bow to the ground, they yeeld but one crop. They beginne alreadie to make Wine, though with trouble to preserve it, for in wood the Worme doth presently eate thorow, and earthen vessels they have none, but seeke remedies of their owne, and doe continue it, and in a short space they will have many Wines.

Roses. In the River of Januarie and Piratininga, are many Roses; one, Damaske Roses, whereof they distill great store of Rose-water, and Conserve of Roses for to purge, and not to purge, for of the other they have not, they seethe the Damaske Roses in water, and straining them they make Conserve of Roses very good wherewith they doe not purge.

Plants and Herbes. Muske Melons want not in many Captaine ships, and are good and fine, many Gourds whereof they make Conserves, many Beets whereof they make it also, Cabbages, Cowcumbers, Raddishes, Turnops, Mustard, Mintes, Coriander, Dill, Fennell, Pease, Leekes, Onions, Garlicke, Borrage, and other Pulses which were brought from Portugall, and grow well in this Countrie.

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Wheate. In the River of Januarie, and fields of Piratininga, groweth Wheate, they use it not because they have no Horse-mils, nor Water-mils, and they have also great trouble in the gathering of it, for because of the many waters, and ranknesse of the ground it commeth altogether, and it multiplieth so much, that one Corne beareth sixtie and eightie Eares, and some beeing ripe, others grow anew, and it multiplieth almost in infinitum. Of lesse then a [i] quarter of Barley that a man sowed, in the field of Piratininga, hee gathered sixtie and odde [k] Alqueires, and

[i] *That is foure bushels and an halfe.*

[k] *Note that the Alquerque containeth* 18. *bushels.*

if men would give themselves to this commoditie, the Countrey would be verie rich and plentifull.

There are many sorts of Basill, and Gilliflowres Yellow, and Red, and doe grow well in Piratininga, and other smelling herbes, as the [1]Onion sese, &c. *Smelling herbes.*

Above all this, Brasill hath one commoditie for men to live, that in it doe live disorderly, that there are but few Lice or Fleas, but among the Indians, and Guinne Moores there are some Lice; but there want no Hornets, Dorres, Waspes, Flies, and Gnats of so many kinds, and so cruell and venemous, that stinging any person, the place swelleth for three or foure dayes, especially in the fresh men, which have their bloud fresh and tender, with the good Bread, Wine and delicate fare of Portugall. *Vermine Insecta.*

[1] *An herbe so called.*

Chap. II.

Articles touching the dutie of the Kings Majestie our Lord, and to the common good of all the estate of Brasill. Written (as is thought) by the Author of the former Treatise.

IT greatly behooveth for the universall good, and preservation of the estate of Brasill, that the King our Lord doe take all the Captaineships for his, satisfying the Lordships. For as the Tenths are all his Majesties, and the Lordships have no more then the tenth, which is verie little, at the least in the Captaineships of the Holy Ghost, Saint Vincent, Port Secure, and the Ilets, the said Captaineships are never provided, neither have Powder, Bullet, or Caleever, &c. for to defend themselves from the enemies, and whatsoever French or English shippe that goeth thither, doth put them in such danger, that either they must give them entrance, and traffick with them, or leave them the Towne and goe to the Woods, as now it was seene in the Captaineships of the Holy Ghost, and Saint Vincent, and being the Kings they be otherwise *The first Article.*

Weaknesse of the Portugals in Brasill, how much and whence.

provided, making Fortresses in the barres for their defence, at the least in those of the Holy Ghost, and the River of Januarie, as it was done in that of Saint Vincent, in the which ships may come in at any houre, and in this manner will have a delight to dwell, and labour in them the which now doe live in trouble and complaints, seeing themselves so disfavoured, and in any danger of warre they rather thinke how to flee away, and escape with their Wives and Children, then how to defend the Countrey, whose safetie, preservation, and augmenting importeth so much, as is notorious to the good of all Peru.

The second Article.

It seemeth necessarie that in Brasill there be a Court Royall, where many causes may be determined, as there is in Peru, New Spaine, and in all his Majesties Provinces.

The first reason that for this is offered, is, that the people whereof at the first this Countrey was inhabited, commonly were banished for facts committed in Portugall. And as at the beginning there was no Justice Royall in it, at the least in the Captaineships, and Lands of the Lords, as all of them were, but onely Captaines and Judges, placed by the Lords of them, there was little regard of Justice, as well in them which ruled, the which had authoritie for to kill, hang, &c. and as they had no Science, nor peradventure Conscience, ruled rather by humane respects, friendships, hatreds, and proper gaines, then by direct reason, as in the subjects, the which as there was no Justice but of Gossips, (as the speech is) did live at large as they listed, having no bodie to contradict them, and though the Kings afterward did take and reserve the Justice to themselves sending Governours, and generall Judges, and though there come many men of more qualitie to continue the inhabiting of the Countrey, notwithstanding a great part of that first libertie and licence remained still, with the which many evils were and are committed without punishment. For many of them have alreadie so much power with their

Brasill peopled with exiles.

riches (gained God knoweth how) that I know not whether those that now doe rule dare meddle with them, bee it that they feare their power and might, or because fere omnes diligunt munera; and the Justices that went, and will not be interessed but beare the Rod upright, let them prepare themselves to suffer troubles in this Countrey.

The second reason is, that many Sutes may here be determined definitively, in the which are delayings of many yeeres, without any obtayning of Justice by Appeales and Grievances to Portugall. Now if the Governour (as many times it hapneth) will put himselfe in the office of the Generall Judge, and with his power [IV. vii. 1321.] binds his hands, all goes topsieturvie, without any civill peace in the Countrey, but rather a continuall confusion, and perturbation, and the matter commeth to this point, that the Governour apprehendeth the Judge himselfe (as alreadie it hath hapned) and sendeth him to Portugall, and in the meane while the Justice of the Countrey remayneth in the hands of him that cannot administer it, and in stead of reason entreth affection, or passion, and then nothing is done but what the Governor listeth. The same behoveth, and peradventure more, to that which appertaineth to his Majesties goods, wherein are difficult matters, and have need of a man of knowledge and conscience, for to decide them.

The third reason is, that there may learned men of conscience bee there for to determine the Justice of warre, for want of that have many been made in Brasill, against all Justice, which was a great cause of the destruction of the men of the Countrie, and so all the Coast is almost unhabited. And although the Kings past commended this greatly, and commanded that no warre should be held lawfull, but that which should be made by order of the Governour generall, hee taking first counsell with the Bishop, and Fathers of the company, and experienced persons of the Countrey, and of good consciences, and the Justice of the warre being deter-

mined by them, notwithstanding many times it is not done with such examination as the cause requireth: and so either the Fathers of the company are not called thereunto, or if they be called, it is for a complement of Justice: and they have more regard to the hope of the profit that is offered them, of getting of slaves in the said warre, then unto the Justice of it, and to the common good, and danger they put themselves in, for sometimes they fare evill in the broyle, with the death of many Christians, both Portugals and Indians. With these warres especially all the Coast of Pernambuco, which beginneth from the River of Saint Francis thitherward, which are fiftie leagues, and the greatest part of the Maine is disinhabited, having before a most copious number of Indians: and so now that Captaineship wanteth Indian friends, to helpe them to defend, and it is, every day wasted, slaine, and eaten of the Indians Pitiguares of Paraiba, which before were their friends, whom they did also great injustice to.

Jesuites complaint for not being called to counsels of warre.

Depopulations.

The third Article is about the Kings Customers Accounts, &c.

The fourth Article.

His Majestie hath a great obligation to the Indians of Brasill, to aide them with all corporall and spirituall remedie. For almost all those of this Coast are almost consumed with sicknesses, warres and tyrannies of the Portugals, and those which escaped, went into the Maine to their kindred, and neither have these their lives there. For when the ransomes of slaves did end, which were held for lawfull, they invented Armies for to goe to the Maine to bring them to the Sea for to serve themselves of them perpetually.

Wast of the Indians by Portugals.

These companies are made in this manner, three or foure or more persons doe joyne, and everie one of them doe put in so much stocke, and aske license of the Governour to goe into the Maine to bring free Indians, the Governour grants it, with his order, to wit, that they bring them without any force or deceit, but with their owne good will, declaring to them, that they

come to serve the Portugals, and to helpe them in their labours, Sugar-mills and other workes. Having this License, the Venturers doe joyne people to send into the Maine, to wit, Interpreters, and other persons, that sometime came to fiftie or sixtie with their pieces and other weapons, and with many Indian Archers both free and bond, that doth carrie their burdens of the ransome and the victuals, and with helpe if by deceit they cannot bring the people they goe to seeke, they may bring it by force.

Portugals wily manner of wronging the Natives.

With this License in this manner they depart, and never keepe the order set downe, as it is manifest and all doe openly confesse without contradiction, for presently when they are departed they say, that if that should be declared unto them there, that certaine it is, that no Indian will come, and therefore they must use deceits and force, for they have no other meanes to move them from their Countries, and with this purpose they goe, without any regard of the order, neither of them that goe to the Maine, nor of the Justices when they come from thence, and so they use these Licenses, without any examining of them. Now when they come to the Townes of the Indians, that are within the Maine, 100. and 200. leagues, they beginne presently their deceits, saying that they come for them by commandement of the Governour, that they may come to enjoy the good things of the Sea, and that they shall bee together in their Villages by themselves, and at their will (without making any manner of repartition) and that from thence they shall helpe the Portugals in their warres, and other things. Other whiles they tell them that the Governour, and the Fathers of the company doe send for them for to bee in the Churches of their kinsmen, which doe learne the things of God, naming some ancient principal Indians, whom they much esteeme, and hold as Fathers, and that they wil be with them, and for this there hath beene some of these Interpreters, that ordained among themselves one, whom they fained to be a Father of the

company, with a shaven crowne, and a long habit to deceive them more easily.

When these deceits, & other such do not prevaile, they use violence, labouring to kil some, that doe hinder this comming, for the which it hath hapned to put poison in the vessels of their wine, with many other inventions, wherwith they feare them. As once, that comming alreadie by the way, because one of the principall Indians did shew to come with an evill will, and did impart it with the rest, it is said that they tooke for a remedie two or three to remaine behind with him alone, and being asleepe they choaked him with a Towell, and gave out, that hee died suddenly, because he would not come. Other whiles they kill some of other Nations, that are by the way, all to the end, that those which they bring doe not goe backe, and in this manner they bring such a number of them, without provision of necessarie food, that by the way with hunger and evill usage, a great part of them doe die, and those that doe come are in such a case, and so weake, that it is needfull before they come into the houses, the Fathers of the company to goe about the Woodes christening the children at their Mothers breasts that they may not die unbaptized, and others they find halfe dead, and full of flies, that the Mothers have left, as not able to bring them.

[IV. vii. 1322.] *Manifold injuries.*

Who now are the Canibals?

Being come to the Sea those that scape alive, having promised them that they will put them in Townes, at their owne will, presently the venturers doe divide them among themselves, and many times they separate fathers from children, wives from husbands, brethren from brethren, &c. and every one carrieth his part to their places, some one hundred, another two hundred, another thirtie, &c. every one according to the stocke he putteth in. Besides this, they give their share to the men that went to bring them (for this is the money they pay them withall) to one foure, to another ten &c. and as many of these have no lands for to maintaine them, they sell them presently to others, and so they have

Unchristian Antichristian wickednesse.

marked and sold a great number to these and other Captaineships, and as the poore men doe see themselves deceived, and toiled with over-much labour, with pure griefe they die, and some runne away and goe even to their enemies, willing rather to be eaten of them, then to abide such usage among the Portugals, and in this sort of 30. or 40000. soules, that have beene brought, I know not whether 3000. bee alive, and with this a great part of the Maine is destroyed. For the same licences doe the Captaines give in their Captaineships, and the same is used.

Effects of tyrannie.

These vexations and tyrannies, are the cause that the Indians lose the patience, which alwaies they have had exceeding, and doe kill some Portugals. Now in the Maine of the Bay the Tapuyas a people which alwayes had great friendship with the Portugals, and gave them passage through their Countries, and aide to bring the Indians abovesaid, did rise with the deceits and lies of certaine Portugals, that went thither with title of bringing Saltpeeter, and killed some eighteene or twentie of them. Some of the Maine of the Captaineship of the Holy Ghost, did kill certaine Indians that certaine Mestizos did carrie with them, going thither to play their accustomed prankes, for within their owne houses they would have killed them, and the Mungrels escaped by flight, and with this that people is alreadie an enemie of the Portugals. The Maine of the River of Januarie with such other lyes did revolt, being before our great friends, and killed some Portugals, having a little before a Father of the company gone thither at the request of the Inhabitors of the Citie, and had beene sixe moneths with them, confirming them in the friendship of the Portugals, and preaching the faith unto them and brought from divers and remote places some 600. soules which now are Christians baptized almost all in their Towne with a Church made within the River of Januarie, which are great helpe for the defence of that Citie, and they helpe every one to doe their worke: and many other remayning

Conversing.

Reversing. moved for to follow their Kinsmen, with this revolting all ceassed, and so there as also in other places, the gates unto Conversion are altogether shut up.

To the Maine of the Bay, twice the Fathers of the company have gone at their owne cost, (with helpe of the Indians christened, which doe teach,) to bring some people for to furnish the Churches, which beginnes to diminish, and to preach the Law of God unto them. And there they found of this Soule-lesse people, that were in the Townes of the Indians, as in their owne houses, and the Fathers bringing some number of Indians, which came from verie farre to become Christians. These *Diversing.* Portugals laboured by all meanes possible to disswade them. Sometimes preaching to the Indians, that the Fathers brought them deceived, and that heere they would take away their Customes, as the drinking of their Wines, their many Wives, and whip their children, &c. the which is an use and custome among these pratlers *Inverting.* for to discredit the Fathers. Not being able to prevaile by this meanes, they tooke another way and did contract with some other Indians, of the principallest of those that remained there, that they should sell them those which the Fathers carried, giving them great ransomes *Adversing.* for them, and with this they pretended to take them away perforce, before their eies, so that it was needfull the Fathers to bid the Indians to defend themselves, and with this remedie they left them. Others came to *Aversing.* the high-waies and did steale them that the Fathers brought, as one Mestizo which tooke some twentie and odde, and transported them by another way, taking wife and children, brethren, and all the Family from a principall Indian, and left him alone because he was sore hurt in one foot, and was not able to goe.

With these jarrings of these men of this trade, the Indians know not whom to trust, nor whom to beleeve, and by the same that they heare already of the usage that is done here to theirs, that come to the Sea. For this cause a great principall Indian of the Mountaine

of Rari, that is from hence about two hundred leagues, where now is the greatest force of people, that escaped from the tyrannies, sent hither a Sonne of his to see how it went, and being true that which the Fathers had said, that he should make heere some provision for food sowing some grounds, and to returne thither with some Father for him and for all his Family; for to come and receive the law of God. The Sonne came, and finding the truth, and seeing the usage that is done to theirs in the Sugar-workes, and other labours of the Portugals, he presently husbanded some grounds in one of the Townes of the Christians, that are in protection, and doctrine of the Fathers, with a determination to goe and bring his Father as he commanded him. Many other of this Fort did leave their Fathers, being mooved in that Mountaine, but with feare of these assaults abovesaid they dare not come. Likewise they have here no grounds fitting for their maintenance, for it is all occupied by the Portugals. Besides this the Nation of the Tapuyas, which have divers Languages, doe not agree well in the Sea Coast, for ordinarily they live here of the Mountaine, and in their owne Countrey they might have the Evangelicall Law preached unto them. [IV. vii. 1323.] *Perverting.*

All the abovesaid well considered, it seemed necessary that his Majestie should forbid these adventurings, sending a commandement, that none might goe thither without expresse warrant of his Majestie, under great penalties, the which with effect might be executed, and that neither the Governours might give any licence for them, seeing how they which carrie the said Licenses never kept, nor will keep the order given them, as aforesaid. For all men know and say, that if it be kept, never will any Indian come from the Maine, as untill now none came but deceived, and this being so publicke, and daily, and not the fault of one or two particular men, but a common use of all the Countrey that it passeth before the eies of the Justices, never *Animadverting.*

untill this houre did the Governours forbid them, rather past by it not punishing any of them that so brought them, nor redressing the poore Indians. These adventurings taken away, the Fathers would adventure themselves to goe among them, to preach the faith of Jesus Christ, and make a Christianitie, and in time, Portugals or Spaniards, might goe thither, but such as were men of a good conscience with order from his Majestie, that might inhabit, and helpe in the conversion, and in this manner, by the grace of God all that people would bee subject to the yoke of the faith, and obedience of the King our Lord.

The fift Article. The Indians that are brought from the Maine, and are in the power of the Portugals, and all that are by the Coast of Brasill, as wel free as slaves, have no kind of doctrine by obligation, that is imposed upon them; for neither Bishops, nor Curates have any care of it, bearing themselves upon the Fathers of the company, and in thirty foure yeeres since that the company was sent to these parts by the King Don John the third, no Curate in all Brasill did ever say Masse in respect of the Indians, or slaves borne in the Countrey; only they baptize the children with their offerings, and those that are already growne they need no more preparation, then to bring them to be baptized, without giving them any other knowledge of the faith, & so it hapneth by their ignorance, that not only they receive not the grace of Baptisme, but also sometimes not the character. It is pittie to see the little regard that is had in this, being the principall dutie of the King our Lord.

Note. Subverting.

The Fathers of the company since they entred in to Brasill, tooke this matter effectually, and in all places where they have houses, there is alwaies a particular Masse said for the slaves all Sundayes and Feast dayes, catechising them every day, and sometime Morning and Evening: They labour to learne the Countrey Language, and instruct them in the matters of faith,

and law of God, they baptize, marrie, and doe shrieve, and administer other Sacraments unweariedly. But because they cannot accomplish all, and many doe perish in want for the Curates take no care of them (as if they were not their sheepe) it is necessary that his Majestie doe provide in this some more effectual remedies.

Catechisme in the Brasilian Tongue.

The first remedie offered was, that his Majestie should command to make a Catechisme in that Brasilian Language, which is universall from the River Maravyon, unto the River of Plate, and should be imprinted at his Majesties cost, and to enjoyne every Curate to have it, and to teach by it. For though the most of them have not the language, they may notwithstanding learne to read it very well, and to teach by the Booke, as at the beginning, and even now some Fathers of the company doe, that the Indians hearing him reade will understand, &c.

The sixt Article.

It is very necessary that his Majestie doe command to examine the Justice that these Portugals have to serve themselves of these free Indians they bring from the Maine in the manner abovesaid, for although they hold them with a title of free, they have no libertie but in name, for in truth they are more then Captives, according to the usage they have. For first, as touching the soules, they care not for their doctrine, nor that they bee baptized, married, or live, like Christians, they have no other respect but of their service, as of any other brute beast, and so let them live in adulterie, without hearing Masse, or shrieving, and many die without Baptisme. As touching their bodies, their labours are immoderate and perpetuall by night and by day, contrarie to the nature of the Indians, which are sustained with very little labour in their Countries. If they fall sicke they have then lesse care of them then of their slaves, for of these because they cost them their money, they have more regard, as the Masters themselves doe confesse.

Slaverie of the Indians.

Those that have them in their power, are served of them, as of slaves, all their lives, not letting them goe to another Master or place, though it be to the Churches of their kinsmen, that are Christians, where they may be better instructed in matters of the faith, and of their salutation; and if they doe goe to any place, though it be to the said Churches, they labour by themselves, and by the Justices, to bring them againe, as indeede they doe bring, and put them in Irons, as though they were slaves. Whence ariseth a great scandall to the Indians Christian, their kinsmen, some of the which, as yet are tender Plants in the faith, forsake the Churches and flee with their familie about the woods, grieved with the injuries that are done to theirs, especially in matter of libertie, which they so much esteeme, and for feare they will doe the like with them, and so wandering are lost and never seene againe; and truth it is, that if it were not for the continuall care and vigilancie that the Fathers of the companie have over them, and the love the Indians doe beare them, because they are their masters; and seeing that for their defence they are hated of the Portugals, and murmured at, they had not continued, no not these three small towns of Christians of the Baye, wherein may be about 2500. soules, which onely escaped of eleven Churches, that there were, wherein were gathered more then 40000. nor other Townes likewise of Christians, that are about the Captaine shippes. Neither had Governors nor Captaines sufficed for to have sustained them (as the experience hath showen) for they would not have suffered such vexation, though they had died for it, as others did already at the beginning, running away and dying, wherewith the coast was disinhabited.

[IV. vii. 1324.]

Wicked man-stealing.

Not onely doe the Portugals serve themselves of the free Indians above said, which they bring from the maine; but they sell them also to others, and they say with title of free, but the price is such, that a lawfull slave is sold no deerer, and so the goods, that

without them was worth. I put the case 2000. Duckets, with them they give it for 4000. and these that doe buy it, doe take already mastership of them, as of slaves, that cost them their money, and so from hand to hand their captivitie increaseth, and though they say that they are served of them, as of hired men, the pay for their service is nothing; for it they give a cotten garment to one or two of the principallest of them, which they weare in their service, they doe not neither is it possible to give it to 100. or 200. that they keepe, as they themselves confesse; with the like usages many of the said Indians either eate earth till they kill themselves, or let themselves dye verie easily with meere griefe and sadnesse. And because jointly with this the punishments they give them are like the slaves, and these buyings and sellings are not used particularly betweene one or two persons secretly, but it is an use and custome in all the Countrie, without any justice looking into it. Finally, they are not onely served of them all their life, but they give them also in mariages to Sonnes and Daughters as a dowrie; and at their deaths they remaine in their wils with the name of free, but bound to serve their children perpetually, whom they leave them unto as hæreditario jure, and so the heires goe to law about them, and have judgements, as if they were lawfull slaves.

Through you is my name blasphemed amongst the Gentiles.

As touching the justice that is used with the Indians, the King our Lord is to understand, that although his Majestie as all the Kings his predecessors doe recommend alwaies this matter of the Indians to the Governours above all as their principall duetie, with very effectuall words, notwithstanding the justice that untill now hath beene in Brasil toward them was none or verie little, as it is plainely seene by the assaults, robberies, captivities, and other vexations that alwaies were done to them, and even now are done. Against the Indians was alwaies a rigorous justice, they have already beene hanged, hewen in peeces, quartered, their hands

The seaventh Article.

The mercies of the ungodly are cruell.

cut, nipped with hot pincers, and set in the mouth of peeces, and shot away the Indians for killing or helping to kill some Portugall (which peradventure had well deserved it at their hands) but having persons, not a few in Brasil, as alwaies there were, and yet there are, notoriously infamous for robbing, stealing, branding, selling, and killing many Indians, never untill this time was there any show of punishment, and it is to be feared, seeing it wanteth on earth, that it will come from heaven on all the inhabitants of Brasil.

The eight Article is touching the Indians exceeding services without reward.

The ninth Article is to prevent their totall destruction, which cannot but follow the practise of Portugals in making slaves of them by sowing quarrels, and interessing themselves on one side, by burning, &c.

The tenth Article. All the coast of Brasil doth want and is destitute of Priests that may be Curates for the soules, for in the Bay, except three or foure that doe serve in the high Church, and one that serveth for Curate in one Parish, that did learne in the colledge of the Companie: there are no Priests that know how to doe their office, and their customes and lives are much blemished, for many of them came suspended from Portugall for grievous crimes, and also for incorrigible: and here as they want Priests they are presently enabled and made cures of soules, and although in the three Colledges of the companie that are in this Countrie, Sc. in the Bay, Pernambuco, and the River of Januarie, are ordinarie lectures of matters of conscience, there is no Priest that will heare it, and as they are most ignorant, they doubt nothing, and so they absolve and dispence more then Popes with great losse of the soules; and such there was, that dispensed with a parishioner of his to communicate after he had drunk, whereby may be conjectured what the rest will doe. And with this they doe other follies, and misbehaviors in the celebrating of the masse before the people, that they seeme altogether

[IV. vii. 1325.]

fooles. And their life is pittifull, for finally their care is to fill themselves with money, meate, and drinke, and to follow the lusts of the flesh, with a great scandall of the secular.

Those are very rare, and may bee told with the finger through all the coast, which doe live a life worthie the Priestly function and those which the Bishop banish from hence for their faults or suspensions to the River of Januarie, presently they are there received by the Ruler, as now he did particularly to one that being a Friar come from Portugall expelled from the Order for incorrigible, and afterward hee was enabled here by the Bishop, hee was put in the visitation, because he was not shriven in three yeeres, celebrating almost every day, and this being another time condemned by the Bishop in his Court, and brought to the estate that he came in from Portugall, expelled his Order, and banished from his Bishopricke, and his life infamous and scandalous to all the Secular, the Ruler enabled him presently in the River of Januarie, (not without great scandall of the good) not onely for fellow-helper of the Curate of that Citie, but also for a Preacher. And the Prelates say they doe all this because they have no other, whom to give the Parishes unto, which are many.

Chap. III.

Extracts out of the Historie of John Lerius* a Frenchman, who lived in Brasill with Mons. Villagagnon, Ann. 1557. and 58.

**Lerius with other Protestants went at Vil. his request to M. Calvin, to Brasill, he there fortifying and pretending Evangelicall reformation, from which he after apostatised. The Story is long, which I had by mee wholly translated; but store hath bred a sore; and the most of it I have omitted; as also all Thevets Voyage thither, and that of Stadius in those parts, though al Englished, and readie for the Presse.*

§. I.

Of the Beasts, and other living creatures, and Plants, of Brasill.

Chap. 10. *Beasts are bred in America altogether unlike unto ours.*

BEfore I proceed any further, presently in the beginning of this Chapter, I thought good briefly to admonish the Reader, that no living creatures of the kinde of foure-footed beasts are found in all the Brasilian world, altogether like unto ours in shape: and that the Tovoupinambaultii use not, but very seldome, to bring them up tame at home. But, that I may generally describe the wilde beasts, which the Barbarians call Soo, I determined to beginne with them which are applyed to the use of man. It seemeth, that that is to bee set in the first place, which also is most common: they call Tapiroussou, of a reddish, and long shaggie haire, greatly resembling a Kow in bignesse and shape: yet, seeing it wanteth hornes, and hath a shorter necke, with longer and hanging eares, and more withered and slender legs, with an whole hoofe, very like unto the hoofe of an Asse, a man may rightly say, it participateth the nature of the Kow, and Asse. Notwithstanding it differeth very much from either, both because it hath a very short taile (here the Reader is by the way to be admonished, that very many beasts are bred in America, which have no taile at all) and hath much sharper teeth; nor may any danger bee therefore procured unto men by this beast, seeing it useth to repose safety rather in flight, then in strength. The Barbarians kill them, as

The wild beast Tapiroussou, which resembleth a Kow, and an Asse. Most American beasts without tailes.

also many others, shooting them through with Arrowes, or use to catch them in an hollow trench, or with other manner of Traps and Gins ingeniously and cunningly made.

But that wilde beast is greatly esteemed by the Barbarians, by reason of the skinne, which as soone as they have taken away, cutting the backe of the hide in a round circle, they drie it in the Sunne, and fashion it like unto a Target of the bignesse of the bottome of an indifferent vessell, wherewith they repell the Arrowes, of the enemies, received in the warres. And the skinne dried in the Sunne becommeth so hard, that I easily beleeve that it cannot bee pierced through with the stroke of any weapon, although it bee cast with great violence. I carefully desired to bring two such Targets into France, but the famine so oppressed us returning, that all the provision of victuall being spent, not excepting Monkeyes and Parots, and other living creatures of the same kinde, which we brought with us out of that Countrie, those two Targets, being laid upon the coales, were also eaten to expell hunger; unto the which the rest of the skinnes that were in the ship (as I shall declare in their proper place) were added.

Targets of the hide of the wilde beast Tapiroussou.

Grievous famine.

Moreover, the flesh of the Tapiroussou, commeth almost neere unto the taste of Beefe: this the Barbarians broyle after their manner, and in their Country language call it, Boucanare. But because I have now used that word, and that hereafter it shall bee often repeated, lest the Reader should any longer remaine doubtfull, occasion being offered, I will declare what this thing is.

The taste of the flesh of the Tapiroussou.

The Americans fastning foure woodden forks in the ground, of the thicknesse of an arme, three foote asunder, in the figure of a square, and almost of the equall height of three feet, lay stickes acrosse over them two fingers distant each from other, and so make a woodden Grate: this, in their language they name Boucan. They have many such Grates in their houses, whereon they lay flesh cut into gobbets or pieces, and making a soft fire of dry

[IV. vii. 1326.]

Boucan, and the Barbarians Kitchin.

wood, that there may bee no smoake almost at all, they suffer them to bee broyled as long as they please, after this manner, having twice turned them in the space of an houre. And because they doe not powder meates with salt, as the manner is here, they use the onely remedie of broyling, for the preserving of them. Therefore, although they had taken thirty wilde beasts in one day, (such as we will describe in this Chapter,) they would lay them all cut in pieces, upon those Grates, as soone as it might be done, lest they should be tainted and corrupted: and there, being often turned, they are sometimes broyled and scorched above foure and twenty houres together, untill the inside of the flesh be as well rosted as the outside, and by this meanes they are all preserved from corruption. Nor is there any other manner of dressing or preserving fish, which when they have gotten, they dry them in great plenty, to make Meale, especially those which in their Country language they call Piraparati, which are the very true and naturall Mullets, of the which I shall hereafter speake in another place. And these Grates among the Barbarians are rightly to bee accounted the Shambles, and Store-house: and therefore you shall scarce come to their Villages, but you may see them laden with the flesh of wilde beasts, and fishes: and it usually happeneth also very often, as wee shall hereafter speake, if you come unto the Barbarians, that you shall behold these Grates filled with mans flesh, which, I thinke, they bring as spoyles taken from the conquered enemies, to be slaine, and eaten.

The manner of preserving meats among the Americans.

Meale of fishes.

Mans flesh laid upon Boucan.

But, that I may prosecute the intended description of wilde beasts, the second degree of bignesse seemeth to be given unto a certaine kinde of Deere, which they name Seouassou, but herein they differ from ours, both that they are much lower, and have lesser hornes, and also in this, that they have as long shagged haire, as our Country Goates. But the American Boare, which they call Taiassou, is very like in shape unto those which are bred with us, in bulke of body, eares, head, and feet, very hurtfull

Seouassou a kind of Deere.

Taiassou a Bore.

also, through his long and sharpe teeth: yet seeing hee is more leane and slender, and terribly gnasheth and grindeth his teeth together, hee is notorious also through that deformitie. He hath an hole in the backe, by nature, as the Sea-swine have in the head, whereby he draweth in breath, and letteth it out. These three are their greatest beasts.

Swine, with an hole in their backe.

There is also among the Americans, a certaine red wilde beast, which they name Agouti, of the height of a weaned Pig of thirty dayes old, with a cloven foot, a very short tayle, and with the nose and eares almost of an Hare, most delightfull to the taste. There are also others of two or three kindes, which they call Tapitis, not much unlike our Hares, but somewhat of a reddish haire.

Agouti.

Tapitis, a kinde of Hare.

They catch great Rats also in the Woods, of the bignesse and haire of Squirrels, which come neere unto the delicate taste of Conies.

Reddish Mise.

Pag, or Pague, (for after what manner they pronounce it, you can scarce, or not at all understand) is a wilde beast of the indifferent height of an Hound, with a deformed head, the flesh comming neere unto the taste of Veale, with a very faire skinne, distinguished with white, russet, and blacke spots, so that it would be of great price with us, if they were to be gotten.

Pag, a beast marked with spots.

There is another also found, which they call Sarigoy, which the Barbarians eate not, by reason of the noysome stinke thereof: but slaying some of them, and taking away the fat of the kidneyes, whence that stinke proceeded, wee eate them without loathing: for, they are both tender, and also excellent flesh.

Sarigoy, a stinking beast.

There is also that which they call Tatou: this is not very well able to runne, yet (as Hedgehogs with us) creeping through the bryars and bushes, shee is armed with very hard scales, so that shee cannot be pierced with a sword, if also you wrap the skinne together being taken off, (wherewith the Barbarians make very many Chists, which they call Caramenos) you would say they

Tatou, armed with scales. The Armadillo.

were warlike Gauntlets. It is of a white flesh, and of an excellent taste.

Jacare, or Crocodiles, kept tame.

Moreover, unto these beasts, which are most common with the Americans, Crocodiles, called Jacare, are added, of the bignesse of a mans thigh, and proportionable length: but they are so farre from doing any hurt, that the Barbarians houses are full of these Jacare, and the little children play with them without any danger. Those Crocodiles which I happened to see, had a very wide mouth, long legs, with a tayle neither round nor sharpe, but very small at the end: and whether, as some have written, they move the upper chap, I freely confesse, that I have not observed. Moreover, the Americans take Lizards, they call them Touous, not greene, but russet, and of a spotted skinne, like our Countrie small Lizards. And although they bee foure or five foote long, and proportionable in bignesse, and therefore of a terrible forme, yet notwithstanding like Frogs, they abide in the Rivers, and Marishes, hurtfull unto none. Furthermore, the skinne being plucked off, if they be bowelled, and sodden, they are very delicate meate, so that I have not tasted any thing more sweet in America. For, they are of as white a flesh as Capons are with us, delicate, tender and sweet, that nothing excelleth them: yet in the beginning I abhorred the taste thereof, but afterward when I had tasted them better, as touching meates, the Lizards were chiefly commended of mee.

Touous, Lizards.

The greatest Lizards in America, edible.

[IV. vii. 1327.]

Toades eaten in America.

The Tououpinambaultii have also very great Toads, which they eate being rosted, without bowelling. But seeing both Physicians teach, and it is also commonly knowne, and apparent, that the flesh, and corrupt bloud, and whatsoever else belongeth to the Toade, is deadly, any one, although I hold my peace, may easily conjecture, that by reason of the temperatenesse of that Countrie, or some other cause, whereof I am ignorant, it happeneth, that Toades, there, are not venomous, and dangerous at all, as they are with us.

They eate Serpents also, of the bignesse of a mans arme, five foote long almost. Moreover, I have observed, that the Barbarians (as I mentioned concerning Crocodiles) brought home a certaine kinde of them, party-coloured, with blacke and red, and cast them downe among their wives and children, so secure, that they handled them with their hands. These monstrous Land-Eeles, they cut into pieces, and dresse: but they are unsavoury, and of very little taste. *The Americans use to eate very great Serpents.*

Divers kindes of Serpents also are bred with them, and specially in the Rivers, where they appeare greene like pot-herbes; long and slender, whose sting is very hurtfull. There are also Lizards in the Woods (besides those which we mentioned before) very dangerous, as it shall manifestly appeare by the discourse which I will here set downe. When therefore I sometimes travelled to see the Countrie, with two Frenchmen in my companie, and that, as the manner was, wee had not the Barbarians to guide us in the way, and therefore wandred in the Woods, and passed through a deepe Valley, hearing the noise of a certaine beast comming towards us, supposing it to bee some timerous and harmelesse wilde beast, notwithstanding, proceeding on our intended Journey, wee were secure and quiet in minde: but presently, thirtie paces distant almost from us, on the right hand, wee saw a Lizard on an hill; bigger then the body of a man, and five or sixe foot long. Hee, being spread all over with white and rough scales like Oyster-shells, holding up one of his fore-feet, with his head aloft, and shining eyes, began to behold us. Wherefore being astonished (for none of us, as it then fell out, carried a Hand-gunne, but had onely our Swords at our sides, and Bowes and Arrowes, which weapons could not greatly hurt that Monster armed with such hard scales: Neverthelesse, fearing lest if wee shifted for our selves by flight, being swifter then wee, he would dispatch us altogether) when the one fearefully beheld the *The Authors report of a prodigious Lizard.*

other, we stood still in the same place. But after that prodigious and fearefull Lizard had beheld us a quarter of an houre, with an open mouth, and because it was exceeding hot weather (for it was a cleere day, almost at noone) fetching a deepe groane, that wee might easily heare it, upon a sodaine, he went unto the top of a Mountaine, with so great noise of the crashing and breaking of twigs and boughs, as a Deere running through a Wood, would scarce have made. Wee therefore, who then were much affrighted, not being very carefull to pursue him, gave thankes unto God who had delivered us, and proceeded againe on our intended Journey. And embracing their opinion who affirme, that the Lizard is delighted with the sight of a man, it seemed to me, that the beholding of us pleased that Monster as much as we were tormented through his presence. There is also a wilde beast bred with them, that liveth upon the prey, which they call Jan-ouare. This beast hath legs almost as long as an hunting Dog, and matcheth him almost in swiftnesse; but about the chinne hath long shagged haire, with a spotted skinne, and faire, like unto a Lynx, and also very like in the rest. The Barbarians not without just cause, greatly feare that wilde beast. For seeing shee is accustomed to the prey, as also, the Lion, if shee catch any of them, she teareth him in pieces, and devoureth him. But as they are desirous of revenge, and suffer not any of those things unrevenged which are troublesome unto them: if they take any, in hollow trenches which they make for that cause, or with any other kinde of Traps or Gins, they put her to a lingring death, shooting her through with many Arrowes, that shee might the longer languish: and that it may the better appeare, how evilly that wilde beast dealeth with the Barbarians, when sometimes five or sixe Frenchmen of the companie passed by this way, the Americans advised us, to beware of the Jan-ouare, because that very selfe-same

Jan-ouare, a wilde beast, dangerous to men.

weeke, shee had cruelly devoured three men in a certaine Village of theirs.

I thought good to adde to this Edition, that the Americans, before the Voyage of Villagagno had never seene Dogs: and therefore, when they beheld a Dog of the kinde of Hounds, which with certaine whelpes we brought thither, and that he fauned on us, they were astonished, and fled away from him, because (as I mentioned before) hee came neere unto the shape of the Jan-ouare. For that cause also, Gomara in his Generall Indian Historie, testifieth, that in the yeere 1509. when Christopherus Columbus first arrived at the Iland Beringua, called also by the name of Saint John, the Indians of this Countrie, who made warre with the Spaniards, greatly feared a red Dog, and that he stood them in as good stead almost as two Harquebussers: because he did not onely fiercely assaile the Barbarians, but also discerning his companions from the Enemies, although being provoked, he was not offensive unto them, but also taking notice of the Caribas (the worst, and most detestable nation of all those Countries) pursued them, fleeing into the middest of the Armie of the Enemies, and being so much provoked, tooke no rest untill he had torne the Enemie in pieces on whom he seized: fighting so fortunately for the Spaniards, that being accompanied with him, they fought so cheerfully against the Indians, as if they had had three horsemen in their companie. Yet this Dog, while hee swam after I know not what Cariba, being shot with a poisoned Arrow died, and made his Master very sorrowfull, and the Indians joyfull and glad. So, Vallovas also, the most valiant Captaine of the Spaniards, when he first discovered the South Sea, letting slip the Dogs which hee had, against the Indians, who withstood him from entring on the Land, the Barbarians were stricken with so great a feare, that they were compelled to provide for themselves by flight: and the Dogs of Vallovas, prevailed as much as the best Souldiers of them all.

Dogs, first seen by the Americans.

Cap. 44.

[IV. vii. 1328.]

Cap. 62.

Cay Monkeys. Moreover, many Monkeyes are found on the Brasilian coast, little and blacke, which they call Cay, which I cease to describe, because they are very well knowne unto us. I will onely declare this one thing, that seeing they continually live in the tops of trees, bearing fruits in cods like unto our Beanes, wherewith they are nourished, and meete together there in companies, especially when the smoaking showres fall, it is a pleasant thing to heare them crying, and making a noise. But seeing at one birth they onely bring forth one young one, the Monkey, as soone as he commeth into the world is indued with that naturall industrie, that he firmely hangeth about the necke of the Syre, or the Damme: therefore if Hunters come suddenly upon them, the Syre or Dammes leaping through the boughs, he also taketh his flight together with them. For which cause, the Barbarians cannot easily catch Monkeyes of any age whatsoever: yet they cast them downe from trees wounded with Arrowes, and afterward having healed them, and made them tame a little while at home, they exchange and barter them for Merchandises. But at the first, they are so fierce, that they wound the fingers of them that handle them, with their teeth, so that being bitten, they are very often compelled through paine, to kill them with strokes.

The industrie of the Monkeyes in delivering their young from danger.

The manner of taking Monkeyes.

Sagouin a beautifull little beast. There is also another kinde of Monkey among the Americans, which they call Sagouin, of the bignesse of a Squirrell, and of a red haire: but as touching the shape, in the snout, breast, necke, and almost all the other parts, being very like unto a Lion, and also hardie, it giveth place in beautie to none of the little beasts, which surely I saw there. And if it were as easily brought over the Sea as the rest, it would be of farre greater price and estimation. But seeing it is of so weake a little bodie, that it cannot indure the working of the ship; for it is of that haughtinesse of spirit, that if it be offended never so little, it would die through discontentment: yet some are here to be found. But,

that I may freely confesse the matter as it is, although I have beene curious, I was not so diligent in observing all the living creatures of America, as I desired, nevertheless, that I may once make an end, I will yet describe two kindes, which are monstrous in shape, as those that art most.

Hay, a deformed beast.

The one which the Barbarians call Hay, is of the bignesse of a Dog, with an hanging bellie, like a farrowing Sow with pigge, of an ash-colour haire very much washed, with a very long tayle, hairy feet after the manner of a Beare, and long clawes: but as, while it liveth in the Woods, it is very fierce; yet being taken, it is very easily tamed. But the naked Tououpinambaultii doe not willingly play with him, because he hath both long, and also sharpe clawes. They say, it liveth onely on aire.

Coaty, with a monstrous great snout.

The other, whereof I am also to speake, called by the Barbarians, Coaty, is of the height of an Hare, with short and spotted haire, little and sharpe eares, both of a little head, and also with an eminent snout from the eyes, more then a foote long, round like a walking-staffe, suddenly decreasing at the end, so that it is altogether of an equall thicknesse, with so narrow a mouth, that it can scarce receive the little finger. None may be found more monstrous: afterward, when this wilde beast is taken, gathering her foure feet together, shee bendeth her selfe to the one side or the other, or falleth flat downe: nor can shee ever be raised, nor compelled to eate, unlesse Ants be given her, on which she also feedeth in the Woods.

Chap. 11

This Chapter also, wherein I will intreate of Birds, I thought good to beginne with those which are fit for the maintainance of mans life, and by a generall name, are called Oura, by the Tououpinambaultii: they have great plentie of those Hennes, unto the which wee gave the name from India, and they call them Arginau-oussou: from that time also since the Portugals lived among the Barbarians, our Countrymen used to nourish Hennes,

Oura, birds.

Arginau-oussou, Indian Hennes.

Arginau miri, our Countrie Hennes.

called by them, Arginau-miri. And although (as I have else-where mentioned) they esteeme the white ones very much, that plucking off the feathers, and dying them red, they might clothe and decke themselves; yet for the most part they abstain from both kinds, as touching the eating of them. Moreover, seeing they perswade themselves, that the Egs, which they call Arginau-ropia, are, as it were, poison, they were not only astonished, if we supped Egs before them, but also reproving us, added moreover, that it was not to be suffered; for, while we prevented the hatching of chickens, we eate an Henne in an egge. Therefore, they are almost as carefull of their Hennes, as of the Birds, which live in the Woods. They suffer them to lay wheresoever they are disposed. But the Hens in like manner, bring home their chickens out of the briars and bushes, so that the Americane women may be without trouble.

Arginau-ropia, an egge.

[IV. vii. 1329.]

Upec, Indian Duckes.

Together with the Hennes, the Barbarians also nourish Indian Duckes at home, they call them Upec. But because the Tououpinambaultii are so superstitious, that they thinke, if they should eate so slow a creature, they should get the same slowness, so that if the Enemies should assaile them, they could not seeke their safetie by flight: no man may easily perswade them to taste the least morsell of them, and for that cause they abstaine from all those creatures which goe slowly, and also from fishes, as Raies or Thornebacke, and others which cannot swimme swiftly. As touching these Birds which live in the woods, they take them as great as Capons, and those of three sorts, which the Barbarians called Jacoutin, Jacoupen, and Jacou-ouassou. They have all blacke and ash-colour Feathers, and come neere unto the Pheasants in taste, and I may truely affirme, that no sweeter or more delicate meate can ever be eaten, then those Jacoas are.

Jacous, a kinde of Pheasant.

Mouton, a rare Bird.

Besides, there are two kindes of most exquisite and choice Birds, which are named Mouton, of the bignesse

of Peacocks, with the same Feathers which the former had, and they are very seldome found.

A kinde of great Partridges.

Macacoua, and Ynambou-ouassou, are two kindes of Partridges, of the bignesse of our Country Geese, not much unlike the taste of Mutton. These three following have one and the same taste almost, Inambour-miri of the height of Partridges: Pegassou Stockedoves, and Paicacu the Turtle Dove.

But that I may briefly finish the discourse of Birds, which are found in great plentie, both in the Woods, Rivers, and also in the shoares, I will come unto those which are not so fit for foode. Among the rest, there are two kindes of the same bignesse, which come neere to the greatnesse of a Raven or Crow: which as the rest of the American Birds, have crooked bils and talons, as also Parrats, in which number they might be reckoned. As touching the Feathers, as it is easily judged, I scarce thought that Birds of such excellent beautie were to be found in the whole world, in the beholding wherof, abundant matter offereth it selfe, not as prophane men to commend nature, but the creator: and that it may manifestly appeare, the first which the Barbarians call Arat, hath the feathers in the traine and wings, of a foote and a halfe long, partly purple like unto red, and partly of a blew colour, greatly shining, to the which also, the other parts of the body are correspondent. When this Bird moveth in the Sunne, where she very much abideth, no man can ever be satisfied with her sight.

Arat, a Bird with excellent Feathers.

Canide, a Bird with blew feathers.

The other called Canide, with the inferiour Feathers, and those that are round about the necke shining of the colour of gold, and those that cover the backe, wings, and traine of an excellent blew colour, seeing they seeme to be under-laid with embrodered gold, and over-laid with a Velvet Mantle above, it causeth great admiration to the beholders.

But although these Birds be not domesticall, yet they oftner build their nests in the tops of the trees which

are in the middle of the Villages, then in the woods, whereby it commeth to passe, that the Barbarians plucke their Feathers three or foure times in the yeare, of the which Feathers they make Cappes, Garments, and Bracelets, decke the handles of their clubbes, and adorne their bodies. I brought many such Feathers with me into France.

Feathers, of the which, caps, garments &c., are made.

Three or foure sorts of Parrats are taken there: the greatest and fairest whereof the Barbarians call Aiourous. These have the head intermingled with red, yellow, and violet colours, the ends of the wings scarlet or crimson, the taile, which is very long, yellow, and the rest of the body greene; very few such are brought unto us.

Aiourous, great and very faire Parrats.

A Woman in a certaine Village, some foure miles distant from our Iland, had brought up one of this kinde, which as if she had beene indued with reason, conceived those things which she was commanded. As often as we went that way, we presently heard the Mistresse of that Bird say, will you give me a Combe, or a Looking-glasse, and I will presently command my Parrat to sing and daunce before you. If happily we granted her request, the Parrat presently hearing certaine words of her Mistresse, did not onely dance on the pearch where she sat, but also pratled, and whistled; and lastly, she wonderfully counterfeited the Barbarians going to the wars. To be short, if her Mistresse thought good to bid her sing, she sung, if to dance, she danced: contrarily, if not rewarding her, with a little sharper speech she had commanded her their Auge, that is, be stil, then she presently held her peace, nor could we make her with any words to move either her tongue, or feete never so little: wherefore I leave it to the Readers to be considered whether if the Romans had had such a Parrat they would not highly have esteemed her, who, as Pliny recordeth, sometimes solemnized the death of a Crow with innumerable rites of funeral, by which, at the place of Common Pleas, they were every morning by name saluted, and punished him with death, who

A wonderfull storie of a Parrat.

Lib. 10. *cap.* 43.

killed the same. The Barbarian woman called this Parrat Cherimbaué, that is to say, her best beloved. And surely she was so deere unto her, that demanding at what price we might buy her, she answered in scoffing manner Mocaovassou, that is to say, a great brasse piece, and therefore we could not wrest her from her at any price. I found that they made their Nests in the holes of hollow Trees.

Among the rest of the American birds, the first place shall be given to a certaine Bird named Toucan, whereof we made mention of before. It is of the bignesse of a Pigeon, of a blacke colour like a Crow, except the brest, which is of a yellow colour, compassed from the lower part with a ring of red feathers, which being taken away, the Barbarians use it for ornament of the cheeks and other parts of the body. And it is highly esteemed with them, because they use it when they intend to daunce. From thence it hath taken the name Toucan-tabouracè, that is, a Feather to daunce with. Yet notwithstanding, they have such store of them, that they refuse not to change them for our Merchandizes. The bill of this Bird exceedeth the rest of the body in length, wherewith a Cranes beake is not to be compared, and therefore it is to be accompted the most monstrous bill of the whole world.

Toucan, a Bird of the bignesse of a Pigeon.

[IV. vii. 1330.]

The monstrous bill of a Bird.

There is another of the Bignesse and colour of a Black-bird, except the brest, which is as red as Oxe bloud: this, the Barbarians take away after the same manner that they did the former, and call the Bird Panou.

Panu a Bird with a red breast.

There is also another of the bignesse of an Owzell, with all the Feathers of a scarlet colour, this they call Quampian.

Quampian, a Bird of a scarlet colour.

But one very little Bird is not to be omitted, of no lesse admiration then smallnesse, which the Barbarians call Gonambuch, with white and shining Feathers: it exceedeth not a drone Bee, or Beetle in Bignesse, yet maketh wonderfull melodie in singing. Sitting upon that great Milium which the Barbarians call Avati, or other

Gonamboch, a very litle bird.

high plants, she singeth so loud, that unlesse she be seene you would scarce beleeve that so loud, and sweete melodie could proceede from that small body. She is not inferior to our Nightingale.

The variety of the American Birds.

But because I cannot particularly describe all the American Birds, which differ not a little from ours, not onely in kinde, but also in variety of colour, as rose colour, red, violet, white, ash-colour, purple, &c. I will at length describe one, which the Barbarians so observe and esteeme, that they will not onely not hurt her, but suffer them not to escape unrevenged who doe her any wrong. She is of the bignesse of a Pigeon, and ash-colour, the Tououpinambaultii heare her more often in the night then in the day, with a mournefull voyce, and beleeve that she is sent from their friends and kindred, unto them, and also declareth good lucke, and especially, that she incourageth and admonisheth them to behave themselves valiantly in the warres against their enemies. Besides, they verily thinke that if they rightly observe these divinations, it shall come to pass, that they should vanquish their Enemies, even in this life, and after death, their soules should flye beyond the Mountaines, to their ancestors, perpetually to daunce there.

I chanced once to lodge in a Village, named Upec by the French men, there, in the night I heard those Birds, not singing, but making a lamentable noise. I saw the Barbarians most attentive, and being ignorant of the whole matter, reproved their folly. But when I smiled a little upon a French man standing by me, a certaine old man severely enough restrained me with these words: hold your peace, least you hinder us, who attentively harken to the happy tidings of our auncestours. For, as often as wee heare these Birds, so often also are we cheered, and our strength receiveth increase.

The dotage of the Barbarians who observe the singing of a Bird.

American Bees.

The Americane Bees differing from ours, are like unto the lesser blacke flyes wherewith we are troubled in the time of Summer, and make their hony combes in the hole of a rotten tree. The Barbarians are skilfull to

gather hony and waxe. Being gathered, intermingled, they call it Yra-yetic, for Yra signifieth hony, and Yetic waxe. The honey being severed, they eate it after our manner, but keepe the waxe which resembleth the blacknesse of Pitch made into lumps of the bignesse of a mans arme. Yet, not that they make Torches or Candles therewith, for, there is no other use of a Candle with them, then of a certaine wood which sendeth forth a most cleere and bright flame. But they chiefly use that Wax to stop those huge canes, wherein they put their Feathers, least they should be eaten, and gnawed with the Butterflyes, which also we will describe in this place.

Yra, Hony. Yetic, blacke Waxe.

They are called Aravers by the Barbarians, of the bignesse of Grashoppers, they also come in great multitudes to the fire as Creekets doe, and if they finde anie thing they eate it, but especiallie they so gnaw leather doublets and shooes, that they whollie consume the superficies and upper graine thereof. But, if we negligently set up Hennes, or other meates of that kinde, in the morning the bare bones were found without flesh.

Aravers, Butter-flies.

The Barbarians being stung with Scorpions applie bruised Scorpions to the wound, if they can get them. Moreover, as we have elsewhere said, that they are most desirous of revenge, nay, I might almost say, that they are made against all hurtfull things, so that if unawares they stumble at a stone, they bite them after the manner of mad Dogges, and diligently seeke out all living creatures hurtfull unto them, and utterly roote them out as much as they can.

The Barbarians most desirous of revenge.

The Countrie of America hath also land Crabbes, the Tououpinambaultii call them Oussa; they goe in multitudes like Locusts, unto the Sea shoare, and fennie places, and if any one goe thither he may see them flying hither and thither: they convey themselves into the bodies and rootes of trees, out of the which they cannot safely be drawne, for they pinch the fingers and hands of such as take them, with their clawes. They are farre leaner

Land Crabs.

then the Sea Crabs, but because they smell of the Juniper rootes, they are nothing pleasing to the taste.

His discourse of America fishes I have omitted, except this which you shall now heare. I will not omit a storie which I heard reported by a Barbarian. When, saith he, on a certaine day, I was carried in a Boate with certaine others, in a verie calme Sea, a certaine huge fish tooke hold with the hand on the brim of the Boate, and in my judgement, it would either have over turned it, or gotten up into it. I seeing that, cut off the hand with a sickle which I had in a readinesse, so that it fell into the Boate, and it had fine fingers verie like unto ours: besides, for paine which that fish felt, putting the head above water, which was like unto the head of a man, it squeaked a little, and made a certaine noise.

[IV. vii. 1331.] *The report of a Barbarian, concerning a fish with hands and countenance, resembling the shape of a man.*

Chap. 13. *Of the trees, hearbs, roots, and most exquisite fruits which grow in the American soyle. Araboutan, the Brasil tree, and the forme thereof.*

First, because the Brasil tree is the most famous of all that soile (from whence also that Countrie hath taken the name) especially for the colour which our Dyers make therewith, I will describe it in this place. This Tree therefore is called by the Barbarians, Araboutan, and equalleth our Oake in height and plentie of Boughes. Some of these are found, the thicknesse whereof containeth full as much as three men can fathome.

The Country of America wanteth all beasts of burden. The Barbarians cut the timber and carry it into the Ships.

After what manner that Timber useth to be brought into the Shippes, I thought good in this place to describe. But first you are to understand, that except the Merchants were holpen by the Inhabitants, they could scarce lade a Ship with that Timber within a yeare, both for the hardnesse, and therefore the difficultie in cutting, and also chiefely, because that Countrie wanteth all labouring Beasts, and therefore it is to be carried upon the shoulders of men. The Barbarians being hired for Garments, Shirts, Cappes, Knives, and other Merchandizes, doe not onely cut, cleave, and make round that Timber, but also laying it upon their bare shoulders, carrie it into the Shippes, and sometime in most cumbersome places, lying three or foure miles

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distant from the wood to the shoare. But I expressely say, that the Barbarians, since the French men and Portugals came unto them, cut their Brasil trees, for before that time (as farre as I understood from the elder sort) they had no other way of felling them, save that they overthrew them by putting fire unto them. Moreover, because I know some thinke that the timber which is brought unto us, hath the thicknesse of the trees, I purposely added, that the Barbarians made it round, that they might the more easily carrie the same.

The ancient manner of felling trees, among the Barbarians.

Furthermore, it hath bin observed by me, for so long time as I lived in America, and used a cleare fire through the benefit of this wood, that this kinde of wood was nothing moist, which usually happeneth to most of the other kindes of wood: nay, that it was dry as it were by nature, and beeing kindled, yeeldeth very little smoake. One of our men desired to wash our shirts, and unawares, put the ashes of the Brasil wood into the lye, whereby they were so surely died with a red colour, that although they were washed, they never changed the same, and being so died with that colour, we were to put them on.

The Brasil wood, almost without smoak.

The ashes of the Brasil wood dye shirts of a red colour.

Because our Tououpinambaultii doe not meanely wonder, when they see French men, and other strangers comming farre off from remote Countries, take so much paines to carrie backe their Shippes laden with their Araboutan, that is to say, the Brasil or red wood: Therefore a certaine elderly man of the Barbarians, sometimes questioned me in this manner, concerning that matter: What meaneth it, that you Mair and Peros (that is French men and Portugals) come so farre to fetch Wood? doth your Countrie yeeld you no wood for the fire? Then said I, it yeeldeth fuell surely, and that in great plentie, but not of that kinde of trees, such as yours are; especially Brasil, which our men carrie from hence, not to burne, as you suppose, but for to dye. Here he presently excepting; But have

The conference of a certaine Barbarian with the Author.

you, said he, neede of so great plentie of that wood? Yea surely, said I, for seeing even one Merchant with us possesseth more Scarlet Cloathes, more Knives and Sissers, and more Looking-glasses (alledging knowne and familiar examples unto him) then all those which were ever brought hither unto you: he onely will buy all the Brasil, to the end that many Shippes might returne laden from hence. Ah (saith the Barbarian) you tell me strange and wonderfull things. Then presently remembring what he had heard, he proceeded to demand further questions of me. But, saith he, that great rich man, of whom you make report, doth he not die? He dieth, said I, as also other men doe. There, then (as these Barbarians love to comment, and doe not absurdly finish their intended speech without interruption even unto the end) he began to demand of me: Who therefore, saith he, is heire of those goods which this man leaveth when he dieth? His children, said I, if he have any: if he have none, his brethren, sisters, or his next kindred.

When I had said this, surely (saith that my discreete old fellow) hereby I easily perceive, that you Mair (that is French men) are notable fooles. For, what neede you so greatly to tire and turmoile your selves in sailing over the Sea, in passing whereof (as being here arrived you report to us) you sustaine so many miseries? Is it, forsooth, that you might get riches for your children, or living kinsfolke? Is not the Earth, which hath nourished us, sufficient also to maintaine them? we surely have both children, and also kinsfolke, and them, as you see, we love dearely; but seeing we confidently hope, that it shall come to passe, that after our death, the same Earth which nourished us, shall also relieve and cherish them, therein we repose our selves and rest content.

An excellent sentence delivered by a Barbarian.

But that I may present the description of the American Trees, foure or five kindes of Palme trees are found there: among which, that is accounted most common,

Foure or five kindes of the Palmes in America.

which they call Gerau, and another also named Yri: notwithstanding, as I saw none of their fruites, so, as I thinke, I eate none. Yri bringeth forth a round fruite like Damsens in the shape of a large cluster of so great weight, that it may hardly be lifted up with one hand, but the kernell onely is of the bignesse of a Cherrie, and may be eaten. Besides, in the top of these Palmes, there is a certaine white yong tendrell or branch, which we cut off, to eate the same: Philippus who was troubled with the hæmroides, affirmed, that it was a remedy for that disease, the warrantable truth whereof I leave to the Phisitians. [IV. vii. 1332.]

A tendrell or yong branch in the top of the Palmes to be eaten.

There is also another tree, called by the Barbarians Aiiri, which although it be very like the Palme in leaves, with the stocke armed on every side with thornes and pricks, resembling the points of needles. The Fruite is of an indifferent bignesse, in the middest whereof there is a kernell of the whitenesse of Snow, which yet is not to be eaten; and this I suppose to be a kinde of Ebeny: for besides that it is of a blacke colour, and of such hardnesse, that the Barbarians partly use it for the making of their clubs and arrowes (which I will more at large describe when I shall treate of their wars) it is also smoothed, and made very bright, and lastly, is so heavie, that being cast into the water, it presently sinketh to the bottome.

Aiiri, a thorny kinde of Ebeny.

They have divers coloured woods, and divers of differing scent: one smelling like a rose; another called Aou-ai, of the most stinking smell of Garlicke, which no man is able to indure, while it is hewed or burnt: it hath leaves not much unlike the leaves of our Apple trees: but the fruite thereof (which commeth neere in shape to the rough shell of a Chesnut) and especially the kernell, is so venemous, that to him that eateth it, it resembleth the effect of the most strong and deadlie poison. Notwithstanding our Barbarians highly esteeme that fruite, because they make their Rattles of it. Here also it is to be considered, that Brasilia (as we shall

Aou-ai, a kinde of wood of a most stinking smell.

hereafter speake) bearing excellent apples of very many kindes, aboundeth also with trees, which surely yeelde very goodly fruites, yet unprofitable to bee eaten. Especially on the shoare there are many small shrubbes, the apples whereof being very like unto our Country Medlers, are dangerously eaten. Therefore, when the Barbarians see the French men, and other strangers comming to gather those apples, often using the word Ypochi, in their Country language, they admonish them to abstaine from them.

Very many American trees beare poisonous fruits.

The tree called by the Barbarians Choyne, is of an indifferent height, with leaves of the shape and greenenesse of a Bay leafe, with Apples of the bignesse of a childes head, comming neere unto the shape of the Estridges egges, which surely are no meate. Of these the Tououpinambaultii, by reason of the hardnesse of the shell, piersing some of them through whole, in length and breadth wherewith they make their Maraca or Rattles: they also hollow and divide them into halves, for cups and other small vessels.

The tree Choyne, of whose fruite the Barbarians make their Maraca.

Sabaucaie is also numbred among the Brasilian trees, having an apple bigger then both a mans fists, and imitating the forme of a cup: in the bottome whereof certaine small kernels are found, like unto Almonds, and almost they resemble the very taste of Almonds.

Sabaucaie whose fruite is properly used for the making of vessels. This is a kinde of Coco.

Moreover, there is a tree in those Countries, of the height of our Service tree, whose apple the Barbarians name Acajou, of the bignesse and shape of an Hens egge, which when it is ripe, inclining to the colour of Gold, like unto a Quince, is not onely profitably eaten, but also yeeldeth somewhat a tart juice, not unpleasing to the taste, which most comfortably cooleth those that are inflamed with heate.

Acajou, a fruite to be eaten.

Paco-aire, is a shrub, of ten or twelve foote high, with a stocke, sometimes of the thicknesse of a mans thigh, which notwithstanding is so tender, that it may be cut downe at one stroake with a Sword: the Barbarians call the apple Paco, of the length of a mans hand, not

Paco-aire, a tender shrub.

Paco, a long apple.

unlike a Cucumber in shape, and of the same colour also, when it commeth to ripenesse. But these apples grow, for the most part, twentie or five and twenty thicke together, on every bough, which the Americans gathering, carry them into their cottages, of so great a waight as they are able to beare with one hand. And as touching the goodnesse of this apple, when it is ripe, the knop being plucked of after the manner of a fresh gathered Figge, it seemeth clottie and full of clusters: whereby it commeth to passe, that to them that eate it, it resembleth the Figge, whereupon, we called it a Figge: but in taste it excelleth the most delicate Massiliensian Figges; and therefore not unworthily it may be reckoned among the best fruites of all that coast. The forme of the leaves of Paco-aire, is not unlike the leaves of water-Sorrell, but they are of so great a bignesse, that commonly the length is extended to six feete, and the breadth above two: whereby it commeth to passe, that I cannot be perswaded by any meanes to beleeve that in Europe, Asia, and Africa, there are leaves of so great length and breadth. For, although I heard a certaine Apothecary affirming, that he had seene a leafe of Petasitis of the breadth of an Elle and a quarter, that is (for this Plant is round) whose circumference contained in compasse three Elles and three quarters: yet this largenesse came nothing neere to the greatnesse of our Paco-aire. It is true surely that the thicknesse of those leaves answere not the length, nay, they are very slender, yet daily lifted up, so that the middle ribbe onely beareth the violence of the most vehement winde, wherewith that Country is very often troubled; but the rest is so jagged and cut a sunder, that to him that beholdeth them a farre off, these shrubs are supposed to be decked with Estridges feathers.

Paco, a Figge in taste.

The leaves of Paco-aire, are of an huge bignesse. The Author saith it is like the Musa.

Petasitis large round leafe.

As touching the Bombasin Cotton-shrubs, which grow up to an indifferent heighth, they are found in great number, in Brasill: they yeeld flowres, like the little

[IV. vii. 1333.]

The Bombasin Cotton trees.

yellow bels or buddes of Cucumbers: but when the Apple is formed, it commeth not only verie neer unto the Mast of Beech, but also being ripe, divideth it selfe into foure parts, which yeeld Bombasin Cotton in flockes of the bignesse of a ball, which the Barbarians call Ameni-iou. In the midst of those flockes certaine blacke graines are found, close joined and verie much pressed together, after the forme of a mans Kidnie, the greatnesse of which compacture exceedeth not a Beane. Moreover, the Barbarian women are not unskilfull in gathering and spinning that Bombasin Cotton, for of it they make their beds.

Ameni-iou, Bombasin Cotton.

Reeds, wherewith the Barbarians head their Arrowes.

Reeds often grow in the Woods, of the bignesse of a mans legge: but as I said before of Paco-aire, they are so tender, that while they are yet standing, any one of them may bee cut downe with one streake of a Sworde, yet being drie, they are of such hardnesse that when they are cleft, and fashioned after the manner of the Surgeons Lances, the Barbarians so head their Arrowes therewith, that they overthrow wilde beasts flat to the ground at one shoot.

Mastick.

Masticke also groweth in this our America among the briers and bushes, which together, almost, with infinite other odoriferous herbes and flowres, perfumeth the earth with a most sweet and pleasant scent. The Trees are never spoiled of their leaves, being not troubled at all with the cold, they flourish all the whole Yeere, as the Woods use to doe with us in the moneth of May.

Trees continually flourishing in America.

The Plant Ananas, and the leaves thereof.

The plant which bringeth forth the fruit Ananas, is like in forme unto the Flowre-de-luce, with crooked bending leaves, divided round about, comming neere unto Aloe, of the same forme with the greater Thistle, but the Apple which is of the bignesse of an indifferent Melon, and of the shape of a Pine Apple, bending to no part, groweth after the manner of our Artichoke.

Ananas the most excellent fruit of all America.

Those Ananas when they are come to full ripenesse, are of a golden colour imitating blue, and yeeldeth the

smell of the fruit of the Idean Bramble, so that by the smell they were easily found of us, wandring in the Woods and other places where they grow: they are of so sweet and pleasant a taste, that none of our preserved fruits excell them. Therefore I thinke it to bee the best fruit of all America. I sometimes wrung one of them, out of the which I drew a Cruze of juice, which unto me, seemed nothing inferiour unto the Wine which they call Malmesey.

All the trees, herbs, & fruits of America (except three) differ from ours.

Lastly, as I have said, that among the Americans, no foure-footed beasts, birds, fishes, nor any living creatures, in all things resemble ours of Europe: so I now affirme, as much as I could finde by experience wandring through the Woods and Fields, that there are no Trees, or Herbes, and lastly no fruits, which are not unlike to ours, except these three Plants, Purslane, Basill Royall, and Fearne, which grow in certaine places.

§. II.

Of the Warre, Battailes, Fortitude, and Weapons of the Barbarians: and of their Religion.

Chap. 14. *For what cause the Americans make warre.*

ALthough our Tououpinambaultii Tonpinenquin make immortall warre against divers bordering Nations, after the manner of all the rest of the Barbarians. Notwithstanding, they contend not by warre to enlarge their bounds (for they possesse more Lands then they need) or thinke of the getting of Riches, by the spoiles, ransomes, and armes of the conquered. For as they all confesse, they are provoked through no other affection then that they might most severely avenge the death of their Parents and Friends long since taken, and devoured by the enemie. Moreover, when war is first proclaimed between certaine of these people, all of them agreeing in this, that the enemie unto whom injurie is done, will perpetually thinke on the revenging of the same, and therefore that it is to be attributed to cowardise, if being brought into their power, they suffer

The Barbarians cannot be reconciled to their enemies.

him to escape unpunished: their enmities are so inveterate, and of such continuance, that they can never be reconciled each to other.

But the manner whereby our Tououpinambaultii assemble, being readie to goe to the warres, is this, as much as I could observe. Although they have no Kings or Princes among them, but are almost equall in dignitie, yet this is given them by nature (which also was most exactly in former times observed by the Lacedemonians) that they admire and reverence the elder sort whom they call Peoreru Picheh, for their experience of things: therefore in everie Village no contemptible service and obedience is performed unto them. These occasions being offered, either walking or sitting in their Cotton hanging beds, exhort the rest with these, or the like words.

Senatus.

The Americans yeeld obedience to the elder sort.

The Oration of the elder Americans.

What (say they speaking by turne, without interruption of speech) were our Ancestors who not only fought against so many enemies, but also vanquished, slue and devoured them, an Example unto us, that wee should perpetually lye lurking heere at home? Shall wee suffer our Nation, which in former times was so great a terrour to all the rest, that they could not in any sort indure their sight, to be so much reproached to our great disgrace, that our enemies should assaile us by Warre even in our owne houses? Shall we through our cowardize cause, that the Margaites and Peros-ergaipa (that is, those wicked Nations) assault us first? Then that Orator clapping his shoulders and buttocks with his hands, addeth these words with exclamation: Erima, Erima, Tououpinambaults, Conomiouassou Tan, Tan, &c. that is to say, My countrimen, and most valiant young men, wee are not so to doe: but rather let us prepare us for the fight and bequeathe our selves to death and slaughter, or avenge our people.

[IV. vii. 1334.]

With these Orations therefore of the elders, which sometimes are prolonged for six houres, the hearers who most attentively hearken, so that they forget not so much

as one syllable, being increased both in strength and courage, speaking each to other in everie Village, assemble as speedily as they may, at the prefixed place in great multitudes. But before wee bring our Tououpinambaultii to the Battaile, wee are to declare with what Weapons they are furnished.

Tacape, a kinde of woodden Club.

And first surely, they have Tacapes, that is, Clubs, or Swords made some of redde, and some of blacke wood: they are commonly of the length of five or sixe feete, round at the ends, or of an ovall shape, of the breadth of a foote, and of the thicknesse of a Thumbe in the middest, but the edges are verie finely sharpened, for they are made of verie heavie wood, such as Boxe is, and are little inferior to the edge of a verie sharpe Axe: so that I easily beleeve, that one Tououpinambaultian armed with such a Clubbe, and inraged with furie, would bee able to put two of our Countrie Fencers to much trouble, and drive them to their shifts.

Orapat, a Bow.

Moreover, they have Bowes, which they call Orapats, made of the same kinde of wood, to wit, redde and blacke; and they exceed ours so much in length and thicknesse, that none of our men is able either to bend or unbend them: insomuch as they are of necessitie to use all their strength for the bending of the Bowes of Children of tenne yeeres old. They use the herbe called Tocon, for strings, which although it bee verie slender, yet is it of so great a strength, that it may indure the force of an Horse. Their Arrowes are of the length of an Ell, made with three joynts: the middle part consisting of a Cane or Reede, and the other two of blacke wood: and those pieces are so aptly bound together with certaine barkes of Trees, that they could not bee more firmely glued. They apply two little feathers unto them, of the length of a foote, which they binde together with a Cotton Thread, because Glue is not in use with them: they aptly joyne very sharpe bones to the ends, sometimes a piece of a drie Reed, of the length of a mans hand, cut smooth after the

The herbe Tocou, serving in steed of Bow strings. The length of their Arrowes.

manner of a Surgeons Launce: and somtimes the verie end of the taile of the fish Raye, which as I have elsewhere said, is verie venemous. But, since the Frenchmen and the Portugals came into those Countreyes, the Barbarians, after their manner have accustomed to strengthen their Arrowes with Iron heads, or at the least, with verie sharpe Nailes.

We have already spoken what their dexteritie is, in handling their Clubs: but as touching the Bowes, I hope that all they who have seene the Barbarians, will confirme that with their naked armes, they shoot so speedily, and so certainly, that (bee it spoken by the Englishmens leave, who are yet accounted the most skilfull Archers) putting their Arrowes in the hand wherewith they hold their Bow, twelve may sooner bee shot by them, then sixe by the Englishmen.

The Americans most skilfull Archers.

Targets of Leather.

Lastly, they have Targets of the Hide of Tapiroussou, which I mentioned before, broad, plaine, and round, like to the bottome of a Germane Drumme, with these they cover not themselves in fight, after the manner that our Souldiers use, but fighting, receive the Arrowes of the Enemies with them. So these are all the Weapons of the Americans: for they cover not their bodies with other Armour: but contrarily (excepting their Caps of Feathers, Bracelets, and other short attire, wherewith as aforesaid, they decke their bodie,) if they wore but a shirt, being about to goe unto the battaile, they would presently put it off, fearing least they might be intangled and incumbred therewith.

The Barbarians little esteeme Iron Swords.

If they received Iron Swordes from us, as I gave one to a certaine Moussacat of mine, they presently cast away the sheathes: they did the like also receiving Knives, delighting in the brightnesse of them, and thought them more serviceable for the cutting of the boughes of Trees, then for fight.

Eight or tenne thousand people being gathered together after the manner which hath beene spoken, with no small number of women, not to fight, but to

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carrie their bagge and baggage, and provision of victuall, assembling unto the Campe, they of the elder sort, who have slaine and devoured the greatest number of enemiess, have the chiefe command and conducting of the forces: who being their Leaders, they prepare themselves for the journie. And although they goe without order, yet when they march trooping, the most valiant men keeping the Front of the Armie, it is a wonder how well all that whole multitude convey themselves without Tribunes, and Quarter-masters, so that at the sound of the Trumpet they verie speedily assemble in battell array.

The elder Barbarians, Captaines of the Armie.

[IV. vii. 1335.]

The Barbarians keeping no order, yet march without confusion.

But there are some, who with hornes, which they call Inubia, of the length of an elle and an halfe, and of the thicknesse of our Country Speare, of the bredth of an hand at the lower end like a Trumpet, raise the Souldiers, both going out of their Countrie, and when the Campe removeth. Some also carrie Whistles made of the bones of their enemies, slaine and devoured in former time, wherewith they continually pipe by the way, that they might stirre up the mindes of their companions, and increase their desire to kill the enemies in like manner. But if, which often happeneth, they please to undertake a Voyage, against the Enemie, by Boat, they passe along the shoares, and commit not themselves unto the maine Sea. They order themselves in their Boats, which they call Ygat, every one whereof consisteth of the barke of one tree, taken off, and appointed to this use; yet are they of such largenesse, that every one of them may receive fiftie men. Standing therefore after their manner, they drive the boat forward with an Oare, plaine on both sides, which they hold in the middle. Moreover, these Boats seing they are plaine, are rowed with very little trouble: yet is there no use of them in the maine Sea, or if a tempest arise. But, our Barbarians going a warfare, in a great calme, you may see a Fleet consisting of sixtie such Boats. And these passe the Seas with so swift a motion, that they are presently gone out of sight. So,

Inubia, huge hornes.

Whistles, of mens bones.

Ygat, a Boat of the barke of a tree.

these are the Armies of the Toupinenquin, both by Sea, and Land.

The first stratagem of the Barbarians.

Being furnished after this manner, they sometimes goe fiftie miles into the Enemies borders. And first they use this stratagem. All the most valiant, leave the rest with the women and carriages, one or two dayes Journey behind them: they approach with great silence, and possesse the Woods, lying in waite to entrappe the Enemie for whom they so diligently watch, that oftentimes they lie hid there, for foure and twentie houres. And if they set upon the Enemie unawares, as many men, women and children as they meete with, are not onely brought away, but also slaine by the Enemies returning into their Countrey, and put upon Boucan in pieces, and at length devoured. And they surprize them so much the more easily, because the Villages (for they have no Cities) are not compassed with walls, and the Cottages (which yet are fourescore or an hundred paces long) have no Doores, but in their stead, they set the boughs of Palmes, or the stalke of the herbe Pindo at their Gates. Yet they have now learned to fortifie and intrench certaine Villages round about, which border upon the Enemies, with postes of Palmes, of sixe foot long, besides they strengthen the entrances with woodden stakes sharpe at the end: if therefore the Enemies will assaile those Villages by night, which is common with them, then, the Inhabitants of the Village issue safely forth upon them, whereby it commeth to passe, that whether they fight, or flee, they never escape, but some are overthrowne through the paine of their wounded feete, who are presently rosted and eaten by the Inhabitants.

But, if they desire to fight in open warre, bringing forth their forces on both sides, it is scarce credible, how cruell and horrible the battell is: whereof my selfe was a beholder, and therefore can justly make report thereof. I, with another Frenchman, somewhat more curiously, to our great danger, determined to accompanie our Barbarians going to the warres: for if we had beene taken,

or hurt by the Margaiates, wee had certainely beene devoured. These being foure thousand men in number, fought with the Enemie neere unto the shoare, with such fiercenesse, that they would have overcome even the most furious and outragious.

The howling and exclamation of the Barbarians comming to the battell.

The Tououpinambaultii, as soone as they saw the Enemie, brake out into so great and loude howling and exclamation, as they who here hunt Wolves, make no out-cries comparable with those: for the clamour so pierced the aire, that thunder then could scarse have beene heard. But, comming neerer, they doubled their cries, and blew their Hornes, and lastly, whistled with their Pipes, the one threatned the other, and in a bravery shewed the bones of their dead Enemies: and also the teeth, whereof some wore them hanging about their neckes, strung upon a threed above two elles long: and lastly, they terrified the beholders with their gesture. But, when they came to joyne battell, matters fell out farre worse: for, a multitude of Arrowes was shot on both sides, like swarming Flyes in number. Such as were wounded, who were not few, stoutly plucked the Arrowes out of their bodies, which they bit like madde Dogs, and yet abstayned not therefore from the battell. For this Nation is so fierce and cruell, that so long as they have any little strength, they fight continually, and never betake themselves to flight: we withdrawing our selves a little from the conflict, were contented with that spectacle. In the meane space, I protest, who have divers times here seene mightie Armies both of horse and foot ordered in battell array, that I was never so much delighted in seeing the Legions of footmen in their glittering Armour, as in beholding these Tououpinambaultii, while they were fighting. For besides that they were pleasantly seene whistling, leaping, and very speedily and nimbly gathering themselves round in a ring: a very thicke cloude of Arrowes was moreover added; the feathers whereof being rose-colour, blue, red, greene, and of other such like colours, gave a radiant

The shewing of the bones of the slaine.

The Barbarians are exceeding fierce.

The bodies & weapons of the Barbarians decked with feathers.

lustre in the Sunne; their garments also, Caps, Bracelets, and other ornaments of feathers, which made a wonderfull glittering showe in the eyes of the beholders.

[IV. vii. 1336.] This battell being ended in the space of three houres, and many slaine and wounded on both sides, our Tououpinambaultii carried away the victorie, and brought about thirtie captives more or lesse, both men and women, to their people. And wee, who performed no other service, but encouraged the Barbarians with our drawne swords, and small shot, somtimes discharging them, as we beheld them fighting (in that it was most acceptable unto them if strangers went with them to the warres) procured so great an opinion of us, that from that time the elder sort embraced us with a speciall good-will and love.

The captives are bound.

The Captives therefore being placed in the middest of the Armie, and some of the stronger bound with ropes, we went unto the Bay of Ganabara, from which we were distant about foure and twenty miles. A few dayes after, certaine Barbarians, who had captives with them, came unto our Castle, whom by Interpreters, we intreated that they would sell certaine slaves to Villagagno. So, a great part of the captives was delivered from the jawes of the Barbarians: yet hardly, and against the will of the Barbarians; which not long after was plainly declared unto mee. I bought a certaine woman with her little childe scarce two yeeres old, the price was certaine merchandise, the value whereof amounted to three French pounds. But hee that sold them, complained thus unto mee: What will be hereafter I know not, but since Paycolas (for so they named Villagagno) arrived here, wee have scarce eaten the halfe part of our captives. I greatly desired to keepe that little childe unto my selfe, but Villagagno, restoring my merchandises, challenged both the mother and the sonne. I sometimes said, unto the mother, that when I passed over Sea, I would transport the little childe hither. But shee (the desire of taking revenge is so inherent in the mindes of that Nation) answered that

Captives bought by the Frenchmen.

Their feasting with mans flesh, &c. is here omitted, though fully handled by the Author: because we have glutted you already, &c.

shee had rather that he should be devoured by the Tououpinambaultii, then to be carried into so remote Countries: for shee hoped, that growing older, he might by some meanes escape, and convey himselfe unto his Countrymen, and revenge the death of his kindred.

Chap. 16. Of their Religion. Cicero 1. de Legibus.

ALthough that saying of Cicero, be held for a most certaine Axiome by the common account of all men, that there is no Nation so savage, nor so fierce, that doth not know that they are to have a God, although they be ignorant what manner of God they ought to have: yet, how this may appeare to be true in our Tououpinambaultii, I doe not sufficiently knowe. For, they are ignorant of the true God, and neither acknowledge nor worship any false Gods, either celestiall or terrestriall: and therefore have no publike place where they may assemble for the cause of Religion. They are ignorant also of the creation of the World, distinguish not dayes by names, nor preferre one before another: they observe not weekes, moneths and yeeres, but measure times by the Moones. They are not onely altogether ignorant of Scripture, whether it be sacred or profane, but also utterly without Characters, wherewith they might bee able to write the meaning of the minde. When I first came into those Countries, I writ certaine words and sentences, to acquaint my selfe with their Speech and read them presently before them. They thinking it to be a juggling tricke, spake one to another in these words: Is it not a wonder, that this man, who yesterday, knew not so much as one word of our Language, (by the meanes and helpe of this Paper which teacheth him to speake our words) should now so skilfully pronounce them, that they may be understood of us?

The Tououpinambaultii are ignorant of the true God, and acknowledge no false gods, nor the creation of the world.

Computation of times. What the Barbarians thinke of the Scripture.

The Barbarians hearing of the true God, continue standing still and wondring.

As often as we talked with them, and happened to make mention of God, we said, that we beleeved in one God, Creator of Heaven and Earth, who as he hath made the World, and whatsoever things are therein,

so he governeth all things at his pleasure. When they heard this, looking one upon another, and breaking out into this word Teh, which is a familiar token of admiration with them, they stood still, fixed, and astonished: Moreover, because, as wee shall speake in his proper place, they are vehemently terrified with the noise of Thunder (which they call Toupan) if bearing with their rudenesse, wee took occasion thereby to instruct them, and said, that that was the God whereof we spake unto them, who that he might declare his power, shooke Heaven and Earth after that manner: they answered, that that God by whom they were so terrified, was a naughty one. I doe not beleeve that there is any Nation in the whole World, which may be more estranged from all Religion. Yet, that I may also declare how little apparance of light I perceived, among those thick mysts of darknesse wherewith they are blinded: I affirme, that they doe not onely beleeve the immortalitie of the soules: but are also certainly perswaded, that after death their soules who have embraced vertue (but they define vertue after their manner, to wit, to avenge them of their Enemies, and to eate very many) flying beyond the highest Mountaines, are gathered to the soules of their Fathers and Grand-fathers, and there, in most pleasant Gardens, leade a joyfull life in perpetuall delights, and dansing: (this is that long peregrination of Socrates, and the Poets Elysian fields) but contrarily the soules of the fearefull cowards, who lived ingloriously, without any care of defending their Countrie, are violently carried away by Aygnan (for so they call the Devill) and live in perpetuall torment with him.

Toupan, Thunder.

Psal. 29.

The Americans beleeve the immortalitie of the soule.

These most miserable Barbarians are wofully even in this life tormented by the Devill (whom by another name they call Kaagerre): For, I have sometimes seene them, even while they were talking with us, immediately crying out like frantike men, Hei, hei, helpe us, for Aygnan beateth us. Nay, they affirmed, that the wicked spirit was seene of them sometimes in the shape of a cruell

[IV. vii. 1337.]

Aygnan an evill Spirit vexeth the Savages.

A.D. 1557-8.

Beast, sometimes of a Bird, and sometimes also in some monstrous forme. And because they greatly wondred that wee were not vexed by the Devill: therefore, wee telling them that we were delivered from those torments by that God, whereof wee often spake unto them, who was farre above Aygnan, and hindered him from procuring us any trouble. It somtimes happened that danger enforcing them, they promised to beleeve in God, but being delivered, they were unmindfull of the promise. But, that it may evidently appeare, that the torments wherwith they are vexed, are no pastimes, I my selfe have somtimes seen them so stricken with a shivering and quaking feare, remembring that miserie, that sweating through anguish, and clapping their thighes with their hands, they complained unto us with these words. Mair Atourassap, Acequeiey Aignan Atoupaué: that is, My foole, my companion, I feare the Devill above all other evils. But contrariwise, if any of us spake unto him in these words, Nacequeiey Aygnan, I feare not the Devill: then, bewailing their condition, they said; Ah, how happie were we, if thereby we might be secured from him: whereupon we answered, that therefore they were to beleeve in him who is mightier then Aygnan. But although, as hath beene said, in the present danger they promised that they would doe it, yet they presently returned to their owne disposition of nature.

Master Knivet, which lived long with the Savages hath told me, that he knew one of their Caraibes or Diviners conferre with this Spirit in tormenting one of his fellowes; and threatning if he so dealt with them, that they would all goe to the white men, &c. whereupon the man recovered, whereas many other had died.

Therefore, although our Americans confesse not God with the mouth, seeing among themselves they are convinced that there is some divine power; therby I gather, that they shal neither be excusable, nor justly take occasion to pretend Ignorance. But besides those things which have beene spoken by mee, concerning the immortalitie of the Soule, which they beleeve; of the Thunder, whereof they are horribly affraid; and

And this shewes that which Tully saith of the universalitie of religion, howsoever these want solemne formes of it. Deos fecit timor. They which will not Deum vereri tanquam parentem, timebunt ut hostem. Varre. They are so much liker the Devill, which worships not God, yet beleeveth and trembleth. Jam. 2.

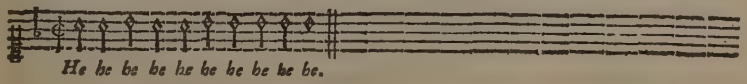
Devils, by whom they are tormented: (which three things are first of all to be noted) I will moreover adde a fourth principall matter. That they have Prophets or certaine Priests among them, which they call Caraibes, who going from Village to Village, perswade those miserable men, that they (because they have familiaritie with Spirits) give not onely fortitude and courage to whomsoever they please, whereby they might overcome their enemies in warre, but also that through their helpe, all fruits, and those great Roots growe, which we have said that the American soile produceth. Moreover, (as farre as I understood by the Neustrian Interpreters, who had lived many yeeres in those Countries) the Tououpinambaultians have this custome, that every third or fourth yeere they assemble together. At which assemblie, as shall immediatly be declared, I was present unawares: concerning which I am to report that which followeth. I, with a certaine Frenchman named Jacobus Ruffus, and also a certaine Neustrian Interpreter, travelling farre from home, turned in to a certaine Village to lodge; the next day after, wee prepared our selves early in the morning for our Journey, at which time we saw the Borderers come flocking thither from all places. So, the Inhabitants of that Village joyned themselves with them that came, and presently wee saw sixe hundred gathered together in a certaine voide plat of ground. We demand the cause of that meeting, and saw that multitude divided into three parts. All the men went into a certaine Cottage, the women into another, and the children also went into the third. I, who had seene certaine Caraibes intermingled with the men, suspecting that some unaccustomed and strange thing should be done by them, earnestly entreated my companions, that they would stand still there with me to observe the whole matter: which I obtayned of them. The Caraibes, before they departed from the women and children, with great care forbid the women to goe out of their Cottages, but diligently to attend to the singing, and also charged us to keepe

Caraibes false Prophets.

A relation of a great solemnitie of the Barbarians.

A.D. 1557-8.

our selves close in that Cottage where the women were: Being earnestly busied about our break-fast, and ignorant of those things which they purposed to doe, we heard a certaine lowe and soft muttering noise breaking out of the house into the which the men had severed themselves (for that Cottage was almost thirtie paces distant from ours) the women which were about two hundred in number, standing, and giving eare, gather themselves as it were on an heape. But the men lifting up their voices by little and little, so that their distinct words were heard of us exhorting, and likewise repeating this Interjection,



The singing of the Barbarians.

we heard the women presently, with a trembling voice singing the same Interjection againe, he, he, he, &c. And they lifted up their voices with so great vehemency of minde, and that for the space of one whole quarter of an houre, that they drew us who were the beholders into admiration. And surely, they did not onely horribly howle, but also leaped forth with great violence, and shaked their paps, and fomed at the mouth, nay some of them (not unlike unto those that are troubled with the Falling-sicknesse) fell downe dead. So that I thinke, that the Devill entred into their bodies, and they suddenly became possessed with the Devill. Moreover, having plainly perceived those things which Bodinus writeth, in the Booke which he called Dæmonomania, concerning the extasie of Witches, which hee affirmeth to bee common to all Witches, who have made an expresse covenant with the Devill, and who are often violently carried away in spirit, the bodie remayning voide of all sense, although also they are sometimes carried away, both in bodie and minde. Adde (saith he) that they never meete together in any place, but they danse, among which, as farre as he could gather by the confession of certaine Witches, they all crie out together,

The howling, and horrible gestures of the Americane women.

[IV. vii. 1338.] *Lib.* 3. *cap.* 3.

Lib. 2. *cap.* 3. & *lib.* 3. *cap.* 1.

Har, har, (which very well agreeth with He, he, of our Americans) the Devill crieth, Danse hither, danse hither: and others answere, Sabbath, Sabbath, that is, A festivall day, or day of rest; lifting up their hands, and the crops of herbes or trees which they have in their hands, that they may shew a most assured token of joy, and signifie that they serve the Devill with all their heart: and so, that they imitate the adoration due unto God. For, in the Law of God, it was prescribed to the Israelites, that they should lift up their hands unto the Lord, and shew themselves cheerefull before him. These things, I say, being certainly knowne, I gather, that Satan is Lord of them both: and that they are led by the same spirit, so that the distance of places hindereth not, but that the Father of lyes may worke here and there upon them who through the just judgement of God are delivered unto him. Likewise, when I heard the children crying altogether (although I had now lived halfe a yeere with the Barbarians, and was almost acquainted with their manners) yet, not to dissemble, I was then somewhat afraid, especially, seeing I knew not what should be the end of that matter. At length those cries were ended, the men being somewhat silent, the children and women also altogether holding their peace, presently the men began to sing so sweetly, and with so great harmonie, that I was wonderfully desirous to see them. But when I would have gone out of the Cottage, I was both kept backe by the women, and also admonished by the Interpreter, that he (who had already lived seven yeeres among the Barbarians) durst never come to those solemne meetings; and lastly, that if I went unto them I should not doe wisely. Whereby he caused me to stay a while, for feare of danger; yet, because hee alledged no probable reason thereof, the women and Interpreter somewhat resisting, I went forth: relying upon the friendship of certaine ancient men, Inhabitants of that Village. Going therefore unto that place where I heard that Musicall

Deut. 12.6.7.

The Americane women are led with the same spirit, wherewith our countrie Witches are.

I once saw Tomocomo a Virginian dance, with such extaticall visages and diabolicall behaviour, as if the Devill had beene in him.

harmonie, I made an hole through the roofe of the Cottage, that I might the better perceive what was done within. For they are somewhat long, and round, after the manner of our Countrie garden Arbours, and covered with grasse from the top to the bottome. Then, making a signe with my finger, I called my companions, and at length wee entred into that Cottage. As soone as wee saw that the Barbarians were not moved through our presence (which thing the Interpreter suspected, would have been done) and that they kept their order very well, and proceeded with their Verses: we went apart into a certaine corner, and beheld them without feare. These are their gestures in dansing. They were ordered in a round circle, standing close each to other: yet so, they tooke not one another by the hand stooping, with their bodie somwhat bending downward, shaking onely one of their legs, to wit, the right, with their right hand laid upon their buttockes, and the left hanging downe, and after this fashion they both dansed and sung. All that whole multitude made three such round Circles, in the middle whereof were three or foure Caraibes, attired with Caps, Garments, and Bracelets of feathers. Each of them in either hand carried Maraca, that is, that rattle of a fruit exceeding the bignesse of an Estridges egge, whereof we have made mention before, for that use, as they said, that the Spirit might speake out of them: and that they might rightly consecrate them, they continually shooke them.

The forme of the American Cottages.

The gesture of the Barbarians dansing in a round circle.

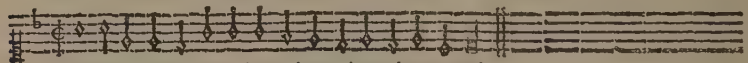
The Caraibes consecrating Maraca.

Moreover, those Caraibes dansing, sometimes, went forward, and sometimes backward, and did not continually stand still in the same place, as the rest. Further, I observed that with a very long Cane, wherein they put the herbe Petum * set on fire, they often turned themselves hither and thither, and blew out the fume of that herbe upon them that stood round about them, with these words: Receive the spirit of fortitude, whereby you may all overcome your enemies. And this was often done by these Caraibes. The celebrating of these

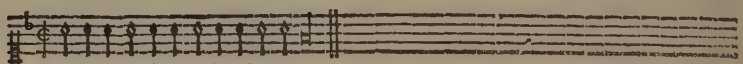
Petum by the Authour is thought to differ from Tobacco, because it hath a pleasing sent, &c. I thinke it the same.

The Caraibes blowing upon the Barbarians.

Rites and Ceremonies was prolonged for the space of two houres: those men continually dansing and singing. And their tunable singing was so sweet, that to the unskilfull it is scarce credible, how excellently well that harmonie agreed, especially, seeing the Barbarians are utterly ignorant of the Art of Musike. And surely, although in the beginning I was stricken with a certain feare, as I lately mentioned, yet contrarily I was then so much over-joyed, that I was not only ravished out of my selfe: but also now, as often as I remember the tunable agreement of many voices, both my minde rejoyceth, also mine eares seeme continually to ring therewith: but especially the burden of the song yeelded a pleasing sound unto the eares, which at the end of every Verse, they sung after this manner.



[IV. vii. 1339.] Being about to make an end of that tunable singing, shaking the ground with the right foote more vehemently than before, they all spit also, and all with one voice, and that hoarse, sing this Song often repeated.



Then because I did not yet plainly understand their Language, and conceived not many things which had beene spoken by them, I intreated the Interpreter that hee would declare them unto me. He signifieth, that these men, first lamented their dead Ancestors, who were most valiant, but in the end were hereby comforted, in that they hoped that after death they should at length go unto them beyond the Mountaines, and dance with them, and celebrate merrie meetings: and that afterward they most grievously threatned the Ouetacates, (which are a people not farre remooved from them, with whom they have perpetuall enmitie, whom also they could never

overcome) and foretold, that it should shortly come to passe, that they should be taken and devoured, as the Caraibes luckily ghessed. Moreover, I know not what they intermingled with their Songs concerning a floud, that the waters in times past so overflowed, that they covered the whole earth : and that through that inundation all men perished except only their Ancestors, who climbed up into exceeding high Trees. Which last thing commeth very neere unto the sacred Historie, and I never once heard it from them before.

The confused opinion of the Barbarians concerning the floud.

The same day they were sumptuously received by the Barbarians, for they liberally entertained both with most exquisite meates, and plentifull drinke Cauoin. I also with my companions, who were present at those Feasts of Bacchus unexpected, were most honourably entertained by our Moussacat, that is the Masters of the house, who give food to their guests. But beside those things which have bin spoken by me, those daies being past (wherein these solemne meetings are celebrated every third or fourth yeere among the Tououpinambaultii) sometimes also before they came thither, those Caraibes goe about from Village to Village, and command three or foure of those Rattles which they call Maraca, to bee decked with the best feathers in every Family : which being so decked, they sticke the longer part of the staffe, wherewith they are thrust through in the ground, and then command meate and drinke to be set before them. Whereby it commeth to passe, that those miserable people, through the perswasion of those Impostors, beleeve that those hollow fruits decked after that manner devoure the meats. Wherefore every Moussacat carefully setteth before them, not only meale with flesh and fish : but also Caouin. Moreover, they serve those Maracas being so stucke in the ground, for fifteene whole daies together with very great diligence. Lastly, those miserable people after that so great bewitching of those Maraca, (which they continually carrie in their hands) conceive an opinion, attributing holinesse unto them,

Feast following.

The decking of Maraca.

A grosse Superstition.

A most grosse Errour.

that while they are shaken by them, a certaine Spirit speaketh with them from the middest thereof. And they were so bewitched with those delusions, that if we travelling that way, seeing some more delicate meates, which they had set before their Maraca, tooke them to eate (which we oftentimes did) the Barbarians supposing that some great misfortune would thereby happen unto us, were offended. Moreover, if taking occasion thereby to discover their errours, we signified that they were deceived by the Caraibes, not only because they taught them that Maraca did eate and drinke, but especially in this, that they most falsly vaunted that through their meanes, the fruits, and great Roots which they eate, increased and grew: which only was to be attributed unto God, from whom wee were to beleeve that wee had received the same: these things, I say, were of so great moment with them, as if any here should speake against the Pope, or at Paris, denie that the Image of Genouef would procure raine. For which cause those Impostors the Caraibes did no lesse hate us, then sometimes the false Prophets of Baal did Elias detecting their delusions. And therefore they shunned our sight.

1. *Reg.* 18. 19.

Truth putteth falsehood to flight.

But although our Tououpinambaultii, as hath beene declared by mee in the beginning of this Chapter, neither honour their Caraibes, nor Maraca, with any externall rite, no not with kneeling unto them, nor worship any thing created, much lesse adore it, or call upon it for helpe. I will adde an example of those Relikes of Religion which I observed among them. When by chance I was sometimes with other Frenchmen in a certaine towne (which they call Ocarentim) and that we supped abroad in the open Aire, the Barbarians Inhabitants of that village flocking together to see us, not to feast with us (for this is their usuall custome, that they never sit together at meate, with those whom they reverence most) the elder men especially with many tokens of friendship stood round about us as our guard or attendants: and holding in their hands the bone of the beake of a certaine fish,

How the ancient Barbarians entertaine the Frenchmen.

of three or foure foot long, in the forme of a Sawe, they drove away the children from us, with these words: Get you hence Knaves: for you are unworthy to come unto these men. So they beheld us attentively, and holding their peace, not speaking the least word the meane while: untill the Banket being ended, a certaine elderly man observing us to beginne meate with Prayers, and also to end Supper with Prayer, comming unto us, spoke thus. [IV. vii. 1340.] What meaneth this custom, which you now used, when taking of your caps, you all kept silence, save one, that spoke? to whom appertained that speech which he made? to any of you that are present, or to some that are absent? There fitly taking that occasion offered, that I might speake unto them concerning the true worship of God, seeing besides the largenesse of that village, & the great resort of people (I also perceived the Barbarians more attentive then they were wont) I intreated our Interpreter that he would declare my speech unto them in their Language, that they might conceive the same. Then beginning with the question of the old man, I answered that our Prayers were directed unto God: and that although he could not see him, he had not only plainly heard us, but also did apparantly know whatsoever we had hid in our hearts. From thence comming to the Creation of the World, I first of all laboured to teach them, that among the creatures God made man the most noble and excellent, that hee should so much the more endevour to extoll the glorie of his Creator. And that we surely in that we worshipped him, were delivered by his hand from infinite dangers of a very long Navigation, in so vast a Sea, and depending upon his helpe, were freed from all feare of Aignan, both in this life and in the life to come. Wherefore, if they would reject the delusions of their Caraibes, and that barbarous custome of devouring mans flesh, they should undoubtedly obtaine the same gifts of God, which they saw we had. Moreover, we added many things concerning the corruption and fall of mankind, that we might prepare their minds

The occasion of declaring the true God unto the Barbarians.

The Barbarians hearing speech of the true God, were astonished.

unto Christ, applying Reasons and Examples to their capacitie, as much as might be. Now when they had harkened unto us above the space of two houres with great attention and admiration: one of them reverent for his authoritie and yeeres, discoursed after this manner: Surely, you have here told us wonderfull and excellent things; and such as we have never heard before, and certainly your speech hath brought into my memorie, what wee have often heard our Grandfathers report: To wit, that even from ancient time, and so many Moones since, as we cannot now remember, a certaine Mair (that is a Frenchman, or stranger of any other Nation) came into these Countries, attired after your manner, and having a beard. And that hee, to the end hee might draw them to the obedience of your God, made such a speech unto them, as you delivered unto us this day. But, as it was reported unto us by tradition from our Fathers, they will not give credit to his words. Therefore, presently another succeeded, who gave them a Sword, in token of a curse. Hereupon, followed warres amongst us, and from that time, wee have not ceassed to exercise crueltie one towards another, through mutuall slaughters. But now, after we have accustomed our selves to these outrages by continuall use, if we should now suddenly leave our ancient custome, wee should become a laughing stocke, and derision, to the neighbouring Nations.

A relation of a Barbarian most worthy to bee noted.

Heere wee testified with great vehemencie and earnest speech, that it was so farre off, that they ought to be mooved with the scoffes of the borderers, that contrarily, if they seriously worshipped that Creator both of Heaven and Earth, they should carrie away the victorie from all those, who for that cause, should willingly be troublesome unto them. Lastly, the Lord gave that efficacie to our words, that not only many Barbarians afterwards promised to frame their lives according to that Law which they had learned of us, and that they would never eate the flesh of their slaine enemies any more: but also according to this

The Barbarians promise to embrace the worship of God, & are present at Prayers.

A.D. 1557-8.

conference, kneeling on the ground, gave thankes with us, unto God. That Prayer which was made unto God, by one of our men, with a loude voice, in the middest of their assembly, was presently expounded unto them by our Interpreter: and so they brought us to sleepe in those hanging beds of Bombasin Cotton. But sleepe had not yet taken us, when, behold, wee heare these Barbarians singing and crying out together, that they were to take vengeance on their Enemies, and that more should be eaten then before. Behold the inconstancie of this miserable people, and the lamentable example of humane nature. Yet surely, I perswade my selfe, if Villagagno had never revolted from the true Religion, and that wee had stayed longer in those Countries, it would have happened, that at length, some should have beene wonne unto Christ.

The Barbarians acknowledge their owne ignorance and blindnesse.

Another time I being with three Savages, and singing the 104. Psalme, at the request of one of them I declared the sense and antiquitie thereof, so many thousand Moones. Whereat he cried Teh, how happie are you Mair, who know so many secrets, which are hid from us poore miserable men. Afterward, one of them to gratifie mee, presented mee with a certaine little beast, which he carried, called Agouti, speaking unto mee in these words. Heere, take you this, because you have sung sweetly. I have willingly added this digression, to the intent I might declare that the Barbarous Americans, although outragious against their enemies, are not yet so rude that they cannot discerne those things which they heare, with judgement. Nay, I dare affirme, that they are more apt in framing speeches, then our Countrie Peasants are, and very many of them also, who esteeme highly of themselves.

[IV. vii. 1341.]

§. III.

Of their Marriages, Education of Children, Politie, Hospitalitie, Diseases, Physicians, Funerals and Lamentations.

The degrees of Consanguinitie.

IN Marriages, these degrees of Consanguinitie only, are observed: none of them taketh his Mother, Sister, or Daughter to wife: no regard is had of the rest: the Uncle marrieth the Neece, and so consequently. Nevertheless, as shall bee hereafter spoken in the American Dialogue, no man may marrie the Daughter or Sister of his Atourassap. And he is called Atourassap, whose familiaritie with any one is so great, that both their goods are common. There is no place for Rites or Ceremonies. Hee who desireth a Widdow, or Virgin, being certainly perswaded of the good will of her whom hee loveth, goeth to her Parents, or if she have none, to her next Kindred, and asketh them whether they will marrie their Daughter unto him? If they consent, he presently bringeth her home, without giving her any assurance of Dowrie and so keepeth her for his lawfull Wife. And if he suffer the repulse, he giveth over his Sute without any perturbation of mind. But it is to bee noted, that Polygamy is usuall with them, and therefore it is lawfull for a man to marrie as many Wives, as he shall think good. Nay, the more Wives that any one hath the more valiant and generous hee is esteemed. Among the rest I saw one, who had eight at home, and hee often spoke very much of them in commendation of himselfe. But this is chiefly to be wondred at, that in so great a multitude of Wives although one be beloved of the Husband above the rest, the other never take it grievously, or become jealous, or openly murmur. Therefore they live most quietly and with great agreement, weaving their Cotton beds, looking to the affaires of the house, making Gardens and planting Roots.

Polygamie.

The wonderfull agreement betweene the American women.

A.D. 1557-8.

They so hate adulterous women, that it lyeth in the Husbands power either to kill the adultresse, or at the least, to put her away with great ignominie and reproach. This surely is true, that they are not very carefull of preserving the chastitie of unmarried women: nay, they easily prostitute them to any man. So that (as I have alreadie said) I have seene very many in divers Villages deflowred by the Neustrian Interpreters, who yet were not reprochfully disgraced for the same.

The Savages abhorre adulterie.

Single women loose.

I have observed that the younger sort both men and women are not very much given to lust: and I would our Countrey people could moderate themselves aswell in this behalfe. But that I may attribute no more unto them then is meete, I remember, that often in their brawling they used to object this reproach Tyvire, that is, Buggerers, one unto another, whereby we may conjecture, that that hainous and abhominable wickednesse raigneth among them. The women great with childe, abstaine only from the greater burthens, and performe the other accustomed duties. And surely the women much exceed the men in labour, for the men (save that sometimes in the Morning, never at noone, they place certaine Trees to make Gardens) spend the time in warfare, hunting, fishing, making of woodden Clubs, Bowes, Arrowes, and other things of that kinde. As touching the travell of women; I and another Frenchman lodging in a certaine Village, about midnight heard a great out-cry of a woman, and supposing she had beene surprized by the cruell beast Jan-ouare, we arose, and ran unto her, and found the woman in travell, to whom the Husband performed the office of a Midwife: he receiving the Infant in his armes, cut the navell string asunder with his teeth, but pressed downe the Nose (for they esteeme the beautie of children to consist in the flatnesse of the Nose) the new borne Infant is presently washed, and painted by the Father with colours blacke and red: then, not being wrapped in swadling-clouts at all, it is put into a Cotton hanging

How the American women great with child behave themselves.

Child-birth.

The American men performe the office of Midwives.

The little Infants Gugawes to play withal.

bedde. But if it bee a Male childe, the Father will give him a little woodden Sword, a small Bow and little Arrowes, presently after his birth, and lay them in the bedde with the childe, and kissing the little Babe will speake unto him in these words. My Sonne, when thou art come to mans estate, be valiant, to take revenge of thine enemies. As touching the giving of names, I remember that hee of whom I now spoke, was named by the Father Orapacen, which word signifieth a Bow and Bow-strings: for the word is compounded of Orapat, which is a Bow, and Cen which signifieth a stringe. The same manner also is observed in others.

What the manner is of giving American names.

The food of Infants.

Their nourishment, beside the Mothers Milke, is chewed Meale, and every most tender kinde of meate. The woman lately delivered lieth downe two daies only, or three daies at the most. Afterward putting the little childe in a Cotton Scarffe, shee either goeth to the Garden, or to dispatch her other businesse.

This opinion hath prevailed with us, that little children would have crooked legges, unlesse they were carefully wrapped and bound in swadling clouts: But, I affirme, that the Barbarians nothing regard these things (who put the new borne Infants naked, and unswadled in their Cotton beds) whose children notwithstanding, goe most straight and upright of all the men in the World. The Mothers who both want linnen, and also use not the helpe of leaves for these services (whereof notwithstanding they have great plentie) so diligently wipe the hinder parts of the Infants with small chips of wood, that they are continually free from all filth. The elder sort also observe the same manner, whom also (digressing a litle into this filthy matter) I thought good to mention, that they use to make water in their houses, and yet no evill nor stinking savour ariseth from thence: although they shine bright almost continually with often fires, and are strewed with sand; but as often as they doe their easement, they use to goe apart farre from the Houses.

[IV. vii. 1342.] *The American Infants are very clean without the use of linnen clothes.*

In what things the Barbarians busie themselves.

Moreover, proceeding to speake of the Marriage of

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the Tououpinambaultians, as far as shame and modestie will permit, I affirme (contrarie to that which some have forged) that the men observing naturall shamefastnesse, doe no where openly company with their Wives.

Naturall shamefastnesse is observed in the American Marriages.

This is especially worth the noting, that for the space of an whole yeere, while we lived in those Countries, we never saw any woman having the flowres. I thinke that they divert that Fluxe by some meanes unknowne to us. For I saw Maidens of twelve yeeres olde, whose sides were cut by their Mothers, from the arme-hole downe to the knee, with a very sharpe tuske of a certaine beast. And the young Girles gnashing with their Teeth through extremitie of paine, bleed very much: I conjecture that they prevented their monthly Fluxe by this remedie.

The purgation of the American women.

As touching the Policie of the Barbarians, it is scarce credible how well they agree among themselves, being guided only by the light of Nature. Nor may this be spoken, but to their great shame who are instructed in divine and humane Lawes, which yet is to bee understood of them who are of the same kindred, or of the Confederates: for how they behave themselves towards their enemies, it hath beene alreadie by us declared. Yet if any contention arise betweene certaine persons among them (which very seldome happeneth, for in the whole space of a yeere, while I lived among them, it was my chance twice only to see them brawling) the beholders care not to pacifie the strife: but suffer them to doe their pleasure, although they bee readie to put out one anothers eies. But if the one wound the other, and that hee can bee taken, hee is wounded in the same part of the bodie by the Kinsmen of him that is wounded. Nay, if peradventure death follow the wound, the Murtherer is slaine by the Kinsmen of the dead. Lastly, they recompence eie for eie, tooth for tooth, and life for life. But these things as I said, very seldome happen among them.

The Barbarians live peaceably together.

The punishment of murtherers among the Barbarians. Levit. 24. 19. 20.

The things of the ground, with them are Cottages, and fields farre larger then might be required for maintenance of the Inhabitants. As touching the Cottages, you are first to understand, that every Village containeth sixe hundred men: wherefore very many are of necessitie to dwell in one and the same Cottage. Notwithstanding everie Family possessing their place without any distance betweene (for there is nothing that may hinder, but that from one end unto the other those houses lie open, which for the most part are extended sixtie paces in length) everie Master of a Family hath his wife and children placed apart. Moreover, you are to observe (which surely is to be wondred at) that the Americans inhabit not one place above five or sixe moneths. But carrying away the matter and herbe Pindo, whereof their houses consist, they often transport their Villages, which yet alwaies reteine the same names. Wee our selves saw some Villages remooved a mile from the accustomed place. No man buildeth a Cottage, which he is not compelled to finish, nay, to build and plucke downe, about twentie times before his death, if hee have attained to the full age of a man. Now if it be demanded of them, why they change their habitation so often? The answere is easily made. That the changing of the Aire is verie profitable for the health: besides, that if they should alter the custome of their ancestors, they should presently perish. As touching the fields, everie Moussacat hath certaine particular plats of ground, which he chooseth at his pleasure wheresoever he thinketh good for the making of Gardens. But that excessive care of dividing the grounds, setting limits, and bounding the fields, they leave to our Countrie covetous persons, and to the Lawyers.

After what manner the villages and American families are ordered.

The transporting of the American Villages.

What grounds the Americans peculiarly possesse.

Concerning their houshold stuffe, I have often spoken in the former Chapters. Yet that wee may not omit any of those things which appertaine to the houshold government of the Barbarians, I will heere recite the cunning of the American women in spinning of Cotton,

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whereof there is manifold use, as well for Ropes, as for the weaving of their hanging beds.

How the American women spin the cotten.

Being drawne out of the flockes, in stead of all picking and carding, they plucke it out somewhat in length with the fingers, and then lay it upon the ground in a heape (for they know not how to use Distaffes) in stead of a Spindle they take a little wand of the thicknesse of a finger, and a foot in length, which they thrust through a little wooden round ball, and fasten the Bombasin Cotton to the top of the small wand, then turning that Instrument about upon their thigh (as our Countriewomen doe their Spindles) they let it slip out of their hands. That little round ball is turned about, through the houses and streets, like a Wherve. And after that manner they spinne Threed, not only course and great for the weaving of their Cotton Beds, but also that which is most fine. Of this sort I brought some into France, wherewith I caused a faire stomacher to be made of the white Web, which was of so fine and small a Threed, that some tooke it for the best and choicest Silke.

[IV. vii. 1343.]

Inis, Cotton Beds.

They call their Cotton beds Inis. The women, to whom this workmanship appertaineth, have their work-houses for their Loomes somewhat unlike to those of our Countrie: for they are neither made flat and plaine, nor consist of so many subtile inventions, but being framed to the height of their stature, they worke after their manner, and also beginne their weaving from the bottome.

How the Beds of the Barbarians are prepared and spred.

They make certaine of those beds in the forme of Nets, and others thicker, like the finest Cloth. They are five or sixe foot long, and an elle broad: unto either end Cotton loopes are added, unto the which they fasten cords: and hang them up in their houses upon beames, made fit for this use. But, living in the Campe, or in the woods for hunting, or on the shoares for fishing, they hang them upon trees. These beds (that wee omit nothing) when they have gathered filth either through humane sweat, or by the smoake, by reason of the con-

tinuall fire, are washed cleane after this manner. The women gather a certaine fruit in the woods, not much unlike in shape unto a plaine Gourd, but farre larger, so that every Apple may scarce bee borne with one hand: these fruits they cut into small pieces, and having cast them into some very great earthen vessell, they moisten them with water. Then, they vehemently stirre them about with a sticke, and cause a fome to arise from them, through the helpe whereof (in stead of Sope) they make their Beds so cleane, that in whitenesse they may be comparable with the Snowe, or Fullers Clothes. The use of such Beds is farre more commodious in watches, then that the Souldiers, after the accustomed manner, should tumble in Beds of grasse; for they both foule their garments, and get Lice, and that which is more, if they be to arise unto the fight, the bodie is bruised in some sort with the Armes, which Souldiers continually weare: which in the siege of the Citie Sancerra, we proved in good earnest: For the Enemie lay a whole yeere at our Ports.

Fome, which among the Americans supplieth the use of Sope.

That we may gather the rest of the Americane houshold-stuffe into a short summe, the women (who have the charge of domesticall matters) prepare huge Cannes, and make very great Earthen vessels, wherein to put their Cao-uin. They also make Pots of divers fashions, little and indifferent Basons, Platters, and other things of that sort, vessels which on the outside surely, are nothing smooth, but are so polished within, and beautified with I know not what kinde of tincture, which presently waxeth hard, so that those women may easily match the industrie of all our Countrie people. Besides, I know not what kinde of ash-colour painting they steepe in water, and afterwards make divers formes of things in their vessels, within, and specially in those wherein they lay up their Meale, and other kindes of meates, to bee preserved. The use therefore of them is most acceptable, nay those vessels farre excell them of wood, which very many use here with us. Yet these

The American women make huge, meane, and little earthen vessels.

Women-painters have this fault, that when they have pourtrayed with the Pencill whatsoever they please, if they be intreated to paint the same againe, they are not possibly able to doe it: because they have no example proposed, beside the industrie of their owne fantasie. Hence it commeth to passe, that two of these kinde of pictures may scarce be found alike.

Pots and other vessels, of fruits, paniers and baskets.

Moreover, (as I have elsewhere said) the Barbarians have Gourds, and other kindes of fruits, which they divide, and make hollow, and they use them in stead of Cups, (which they call Coui) and other vessels of divers uses. They have also Panniers, large and meane, and likewise Baskets, very finely made of bul-rushes, or yellowish grasse, not much differing from Wheaten straw. These they call Panacon, and in them they put Meale and other things which they thinke good.

The Barbarians curteously entertain guests.

Although the Tououpinambaultians receive strangers very curteously, yet the Frenchmen, and other Strangers, who are ignorant of their Language, were not a little astonished in the beginning, by reason of their unaccustomed behaviour. When I first conversed among them (which happened about twenty dayes after our arrivall at the Castle of Colligne) a certaine Interpreter brought me to certaine Villages, in the Continent: that which I first saw, in their native Language is called Ybouraci, but in French, Pepin, by the name of a certaine Pilot, who sometime laded a ship at that place; foure miles only distant from our Castle. In the very entrance the Barbarians came thicke about me, and spake unto me in these words, Marapé derere, Marapé derere? that is, By what name are you called? which words, surely, to mee were very barbarous, but one of them taking off my Hat, put it upon his head: another girdeth my Girdle and Sword unto his naked side: another putteth on my Coat: and they dull me with their cries, and being clothed with my spoiles, runne hither and thither. I then thought that I had lost all, and did not well knowe how safe I might be among them. But,

A pleasant discourse of those things which befell the Authour when he first went unto the Barbarians.

as I found by experience, that feare arose from my ignorance of their customes, for they use to doe the like to all strangers, especially unto them whom they never saw before. Now, when for their recreation, they had walked about a little while in that habite, they precisely restore every thing againe. Then I was advertised by the Interpreter, that they greatly desired to understand my name: but in declaring that, I was to forbeare usuall names with us, which the Barbarians could neither pronounce (for in stead of John, they said Nian) nor yet well remember: but was to propound somewhat which might be knowne unto them. The matter succeeded so happily, that, as the Interpreter signified unto mee, who was very skilfull in the Brasilian Language, my name Lerius signified an Oyster: I therefore answered, that I was called Leriy-oussou. They liked it very well, and often using Teh, their Interjection of admiration, they spake thus unto me. An excellent name surely, nor have we ever found any Mair, who had such a name. They have so good and sure a memorie, that if they have once heard any mans name, they never forget it.

The Authors name in the American language.

[IV. vii. 1344.]

Their memorie.

The same day, accompanied with the Interpreter, I went further, and turned into the Village Euramiri, so called in their native Language, but in French, Goset, after the name of a certaine Interpreter, who dwelt there some little while: wee came thither about Sunne set, and found them dansing, and drinking their Cao-uin, by reason of a Captive, whom they had slaine that day. I perceived the pieces of his flesh laid upon Boucan. I thinke, you need not enquire with how great and horrible feare I was then stricken: yet that was but a small matter, if it be compared with the feare wherewith I was afterward astonished. Wee entred into a Cottage, and sate upon the hanging beds, after the accustomed fashion; the women lament after that manner which we will declare, and the Master of the Familie entertaineth us with friendly words. The Interpreter who was acquainted with these matters, and who was very much

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delighted with their drinkings, leaveth me unsaluted, and ignorant of all things, and went away to them that were dansing, and drinking. But being wearie, after I had refreshed my selfe with Meale, and certaine other meates that were set before us, I lay downe in the bed. Notwithstanding, through the noise of their dansing, drinking, and devouring of the Captive, I was presently awaked, and (which was the chiefest matter) by one comming unto mee, who carried the rosted foot of the Captive in his hand, and demanding of mee, as I afterwards understood, (for then, I conceived not his words) whether I would eate thereof; I was so astonished through feare, that I was altogether freed from drowsinesse and sleepe. And I verily beleeved, by that gesture, which I tooke in the worst part, that the Barbarian had shewed me, that my flesh should shortly after be devoured after the same manner. Moreover, as feare begetteth suspicion, it came presently into my minde, that the Interpreter had betrayed, and delivered mee into the Barbarians hands. Wherefore, if I had had any way open to flee, I had quickly taken my flight. But they stood round about mee, whose minde I did not sufficiently knowe, for they attempted no evill against mee. Now being confirmed in feare, I unluckily ghessed, that I should presently have beene slaine, wherefore I passed the whole night in powring forth prayers unto God. At the first dawning of the day, the Interpreter (who had passed all the night in pleasure with the Barbarians) returned unto mee, and saw mee pale, and taken with a Fever, whereupon he demanded whether I were ill at ease, & whether I had not quietly rested. Then I began sharply to reprove him, who had left me alone among those Barbarians, whose speach I understood not at all. Hee openeth the whole matter to them who stood by me all the night, to congratulate my comming: they signifie, that they perceived the matter in some sort, and yet were sorrie, that I had passed that night in so great feare of them. And at length they breake out into dissolute

laughter, which was the solace and comfort of that my feare. From thence I and that Interpreter, went unto certaine other Villages.

These are the Rites which the Barbarians observe in entertayning Guests. First of all, as soone as the Guest entreth into the house of that Moussacat, which hee hath chosen to bee his Host, (which is to be done in every Village, nor are you to turne into another, unlesse you will incurre his displeasure) he must presently sit downe upon a Cotton hanging Bed, and remaine quietly there a while without speaking any word. By and by, the women come unto him, compasse the Bed about, and sitting on the ground, put their hands on their eyes, and bewayling the happie comming of the Guest after this manner, they rehearse innumerable things in his commendation. As for example: Have you taken so much paines to come unto us: you are good, you are valiant. But if the Guest be a Frenchman, they adde, you have brought very many excellent merchandises unto us, which we want here. To conclude, those women, as hath beene said, entertaine Guests weeping, with such like flattering speeches. But the Guest who sitteth on a Cotton bed, if he desire to procure favour with his Host, settling his countenance, unlesse hee meane to weepe in good earnest (as I saw some of our men of so weake a courage, that teares were forced from them, through the howling lamentation of these women) he must of necessitie counterfeit weeping, answering somewhat at the least, and fetching deepe sighes. This most pleasant salutation being ended by the women, Moussacat, that is, the Master of the Familie, being busily employed in making of an Arrow, casts not so much as his eyes for a certaine time upon the Guest, as if he marked nothing. At length comming unto the Guest, hee speaketh unto him in these words: Ere Ioube? that is, Are you come? then, how doe you? what seeke you? &c. After, hee demandeth, whether you be hungrie? if you grant that you are, presently he com-

The American women bewayle the comming of Guests.

The gesture of the Guest among the Americans.

How Moussacat entertaineth his Guest.

mandeth meates of divers kindes to be set before you in earthen vessels, to wit, Meale, which with them supplieth the place of bread, Venison, Fowle, Fish, and other things of that kinde: but because there is no use with them, for Tables, and Benches, all those things are set on the ground. As touching Drink, if you desire Cao-uin, & that it be in the house, it shall presently be given you. Lastly, after the women have stoutly solemnized the comming of the Guests with weeping, they come unto them bringing Fruits, and other trifling Presents, and so, secretly, demand Combes, Looking-glasses, and little Beades of glasse, which they winde about their armes.

Moreover, if you will lodge all night in that Village, the Moussacat commandeth a very neat and cleane bed to be hanged up for you, round about which he will cause smal fires to be kindled, and often quickned in the night with Bellows, which they call Tatapecoua, not much unlike the little round Fannes, wherewith the nicer and more delicate sort of women with us, defend the scorching of fire from their faces. Not because that Countrie is subject unto cold, but by reason of the moisture of the night, and especially, because it is their usuall manner. Now seeing we have chanced to mention Fire, which they call Tata, and Smoake Tatatin, I thinke it needfull that I declare the excellent manner of kindling the same. They have two kindes of wood, whereof the one is very soft, but the other very hard, which they use after this manner, to kindle fire. They sharpen a twig of a foot long of that hard wood at the one end like a Spindle, and sticke the point thereof in any piece of that soft wood, then laying it on the ground, or upon a stocke, they turne that twig swiftly about with the palmes of their hands, as if they would pierce an hole through the piece of wood which lieth under. Through that so swift and violent motion, smoake is not onely raised, but also fire; putting Cotton unto it, or certaine drie leaves (in stead of our Countrie tinder) [IV. vii. 1345.]

fire is very aptly ingendred: whereof I my selfe have made triall.

How strangers requite their Host.

After that the Guests have refreshed themselves with meate, and lodged after the manner which we have declared, if they be liberall, they use to give unto the men Knives, Scizzers, and Pinsers fit for the plucking out of the haires of their beards: to the women, Combes, and Looking-glasses: and to the children, Fish-hookes. But, if the Guest want victuals, when he hath agreed of the price, he may carrie them away. Moreover, because they want all kinde of beasts of burden, they are all of necessitie to travell on foot. If Strangers bee wearie, and give a Knife to any of the Barbarians, he presently offereth his helpe to carrie him that is wearie. I my selfe when I lived in those Countries, was divers times carried by those Porters, and that surely two miles journey together. And if wee admonished them to rest a little, they laughed at us with these words; What? Thinke you that wee are so effeminate, or of so weake a courage, that wee should faint, and lie downe under our burden? I would rather carrie you all the day without any intermission. But we breaking out into laughter, wondered at those two legged Hackneyes, and encouraging them, said: let us therefore proceed on the way.

The Barbarians carrie Strangers upon their shoulders.

Two legged amblers.

The Barbarians practise charitie even by the direction of nature.

They exercise naturall charitie abundantly among themselves, for they daily give one unto another, both Fish, Meale, and Fruits, and also other things: nay, they would be very sorrie, if they saw their neighbours want those things which they have. They also use the like liberalitie towards Strangers: whereof, it shall be sufficient, to bring one example. In the tenth Chapter of this Booke, I made mention of a certaine danger, which my selfe, and two other Frenchmen escaped, to wit, that we were in great perill of death, by reason of an huge Lizard which met us in the way: at that time, wee wandred two dayes through the middle of the Woods out of the way, and indured no meane hunger,

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and at length came unto a certaine Village called Pavo, where wee had lodged before. There wee were most liberally entertained by the Barbarians. For, having heard the troubles which wee had suffered, and specially the great danger wherein we were, that we were likely to have beene devoured by wilde beasts, but chiefly, that wee were in danger to bee slaine by the Margaiates, our common enemies, neere unto whose borders wee approached unawares: and, seeing also the hurts and scratches of thornes, wherewith our skin was miserably rent, they tooke our harmes so grievously, that I may here truly affirme, that the faigned flatteries wherewith our Countrie people use to comfort the distressed, are farre from the sincere humanitie of that Nation, which we call Barbarous. For, they washed our feet with cleare water (which put me in minde of the ancient custome) every one of us sitting apart upon an hanging Bed. Then the Masters of the Families, who had alreadie provided meates to be prepared for us, and caused new Meale to be ground, which (as I elsewhere said) is nothing inferiour unto the crumme of white bread, in goodnesse, presently, after wee had beene a little refreshed, commanded all the best meates, to wit, Venison, Fowle, Fish, and the most exquisite and choicest Fruits, wherewith they continually abound, to bee set before us. Moreover, the night approching, the Moussacat our Host, removeth all the children from us, that wee might the more quietly rest. The next day after, early in the morning, he commeth unto us, and demandeth, goe to Atourassap, (that is, dearly beloved Confederates,) have you quietly rested this night? wee answered, very quietly. Then saith he; my sonnes, rest your selves yet a while, for, yesterday, I perceived that you were very wearie. To be briefe, I am not able to expresse with words, how friendly, and curteously wee were entertained. But wee never travelled farre from home without a Sachell full of Merchandises, which might serve us in stead of money among those Barbarians.

A notable example of the curtesie of the Barbarians.

Departing therefore thence, we gave our Hosts, what wee thought good: to wit, Knives, Sizzers, Pinsers, to the men: Combes, Looking-glasses, Bracelets, and glassen Beades, to the women: and Fish-hookes to the children.

How much the Barbarians esteeme knives, and other merchandises.

I one day turned out of the way to lodge in a certaine Village, and was requested by my Moussacat, to shew him what I had in my Sachell, who commanded a great earthen vessell to bee brought, wherein to put my merchandises: I tooke them all out, and set them in order: whereat he greatly wondring, calleth the rest of the Barbarians unto him, and saith. See I pray you, my good friends, what manner of man I have entertained with me: doth it not manifestly appeare that he is very rich, seeing he carrieth so great wealth about him? yet those would scarce have beene sold at Paris, for two silver Cardicues. Then, because (as we have said) they love liberall men, that I might procure authoritie and favour among them, I gave my Moussacat the best of my Knives before them all, which he esteemed no lesse, then any one with us would regard a golden chaine, of very great price, bestowed upon him. [IV. vii. 1346.]

Pages, the Barbarians Physicians.

If peradventure it happen, that any of them fall sicke, when the inward and familiar friend of the sicke person hath declared the grieved part, one sucketh it with his mouth, sometimes also that service is performed by certaine impostors, which they call Pages, that is, Physicians, or Surgeans. (But they are a kinde of People differing from the Caraibes, whereof I have spoken before.) And they also say, that they draw out the paine, and prolong the life. They are sometimes sicke of Fevers, and other common diseases; but, not so often, as wee use to bee. Moreover, they are troubled with a certaine incurable disease, which they call Pians. This, for the most part proceedeth of lust: yet, I have seene the little children infected therewith, not unlike the manner of our Countrie Measels. This contagion breaketh out into pustles, broader then a thumbe, which overspread the whole

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How the Barbarians handle the sicke.

bodie, and also the face it selfe. They never give meate to the sicke, unlesse he desire it, although he be readie to perish through hunger. Moreover, although it be the most grievous disease, they that are healthie, never cease dansing, singing, and drinking after the accustomed manner, to dull and wearie the miserable sicke person with the noise: nor doth he complaine, because he knoweth, that he shall not prevaile at all. But, if hee die, that singing (especially if he be a Master of any familie) is suddenly turned into teares, and so great lamentation is made, that if by chance we turned into a certaine Village, at the time of that mourning, we were of necessitie to goe to some other place, or passe the night without sleepe. First of all, not without admiration, the women are heard, which so crie out and exclaime, that you would say they were the howling of Wolves or Dogs, and no humane voices. But they powre forth these complaints with a trembling voice. That most valiant man is dead, who sometimes gave us so many Captives to be devoured. Then the rest say, O notable Hunter, O most excellent Fisher, O valiant Killer of the Portugals, and Margaiates. To be briefe, those women provoking one another to mourning, and embracing armes together, desist not from these lamentations, and praises, before the dead bodie be brought forth.

Lastly, these Barbarian women imitate the Bearneansian custome in bewayling their dead men, whom, as I have heard, they follow with these complaints. La mi amou, la mi amou, cara rident, œil desplendou, cama leuge, bet dansadou: La me balen, lo m'esburbat: mati depes: fort tard cougat. that is, My friend, my friend, with a merrie countenance, shining eyes, swift legs, notable danser, strong and valiant, thou diddest arise early, and goe late to bed. The Vascone women also, who adde these things to the former, Yere, yere, o le bet renegadou, o le bet iougadou qu'bere: that is, Alas, alas, how stout and deepe a Swearer was hee, how notable

a Gamester? Moreover, to those complaints whereof we spoke, the Barbarian women often adde this burden of the Song, He is dead, he is dead, whom we now lament. Then the men answere: Alas, he is dead, and wee shall see him no more, untill wee danse with him behind the Mountaines, as our Caraibes teach. Those howling lamentations are prolonged for sixe houres; for, they use not to keepe their Dead any longer unburied.

The Graves and rites of buriall of the Americans.

Then digging a Trench, not long as we use, but circular, like a great Drie-fat, they burie the dead bodie bolt upright. The dead Masters of Families, they burie in the middest of their houses, wrapped in their Cotton bed, with feathers, and other things, wherein they delighted in their life time, laide in the Grave. Since their commerce with the French they have forborne to put precious things in the Graves: but they retained a strange and very devillish Superstition. The first night after the Funerall, the Barbarians, who are thus perswaded, that Aygnan, unlesse he found other meates prepared, would digge up the dead bodie, and devoure it, set no small store of vessels, with Meale, Fish, Flesh, and other meats carefully prepared, and also great pots full of their drinke Cao-uin, about the Grave. Which Sacrifice they performe so long, untill they thinke that the dead bodie bee wholly consumed. From the which errour they were the more hardly removed, because certaine Neustrian Interpreters, by example of the Sacrifices of Bell, divers times before our comming, privily stole away those meates. Through which fact they so confirmed the Barbarians in errour, that although we shewed them, that those meates set downe in the evening, remained in the morning, yet with great labour and difficultie we disswaded very few from that errour.

A very devillish errour.

Dan. 4.

As often as the Barbarians transport their Villages unto another place, after the manner which wee have declared, they put certaine coverings of the herbe Pindo upon the Graves of the Dead. Whereby it commeth to passe, that Travellers may take notice of a certaine forme of

a place of buriall. At which places, if at any time wandring in the Woods, they remember the dead men, they make so great lamentation, that they may be heard farre off.

Worse then their howlings here, worse then their former man-eatings, is the tragicall famine which attended Lerius and his fellowes in their returne, besides dangers of shipwracke, resolution of some to kill their fellowes for food; Thether by Sea in 500. fathome depth seeming like a marish, the herbes yellowish, with Berries like those of Juniper, the leaves like Rue, with threads like grownd Ivie floting on the Sea, but not safely handled; in some places redde filth like coxcombes swimming; the touching of which caused the hand presently to swell) as also his Brasilian Dictionarie, &c. for brevitie I have omitted. Villagagnons Apostasie from the Religion was the cause of their departure; whose malice pursued them homewards to pronounce them to bee burned for Heresie upon his accusation at home: as they were faine to live from him in Brasill. Wee will leave this Religious Frenchman, and acquaint you with a Germane. [IV. vii. 1347.]

END OF VOLUME XVI.

1906

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